This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

**Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

**About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD·VNIVERSITY·LIBRARY

# THE

# WORKS

OF

## SIR WALTER RALEGH, Kt.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED:

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

THE LIVES OF THE AUTHOR,

BY OLDYS AND BIRCH.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

STANFORD LIBRARY

OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXXIX.

624747

THE

# CONTENTS

MAXIMS OF STATE. P. 1
THE CABINET-COUNCIL. 37
THE PREROGATIVE OF PARLIAMENTS. 157
ON A MATCH BETWEEN LADY ELIZ. AND THE PRINCE OF PIEDMONT. 223
ON A MARRIAGE BETWEEN PRINCE HENRY AND A DAUGHTER OF SAVOY. 237
A DISCOURSE OF WAR IN GENERAL. 253
A DISCOURSE TOUCHING A WAR WITH SPAIN. 299
A DISCOURSE OF THE INVENTION OF SHIPS, ANCHORS, COMPASS, &c. 317
OBSERVATIONS ON THE NAVY AND SEA-SERVICE. 335
OBSERVATIONS TOUCHING TRADE AND COMMERCE, &c. 355
THE DISCOVERY OF GUIANA. 391
APOLOGY. 479
THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FIRST. 521
ON THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. 538
CAUSES OF THE MAGNIFICENCY AND OPULENCY OF CITIES. 541
THE SCEPTIC. 548
INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON AND TO POSTERITY. 557
A TREATISE OF THE SOUL. 571
A DISCOURSE OF TENURES WHICH WERE BEFORE THE CONQUEST. 592
LETTERS.
To Prince Henry; touching the Model of a Ship. 627

POEMS.

A Description of the Country's Recreations. 697
Dispraise of Love, and Lovers' Follies. 699
Phillida's Love-call to her Coridon, and his Replying. *ib.*
The Shepherd's Slumber. 701
De Morte. 704
A Nymph's Disdain of Love. 705
The Shepherd's Description of Love. 706
Hymn. 707
Song. By Christopher Marlow. *ib.*
The Answer. By Sir Walter Ralegh. 708
Another of the same nature made since. 709
An Heroical Poem. 711
The Shepherd to the Flowers. 713
Upon Gascoigne's Poem, called "The Steel-glass." *ib.*
Thirsis the Shepherd to his Pipe. 714
Love the only price of Love. 715
The Shepherd's Praise of his sacred Diana. 716
The silent Lover. *ib.*
A Vision upon the Fairy Queen. 718
On the same. *ib.*
The Lover's absence kills me, her presence kills me. 719
A Defiance to disdainful Love. *ib.*
Dulcina. 720
His Love admits no Rival. 722
His Pilgrimage. 723
The Farewell. 725
On the Snuff of a Candle. 729
Sir Walter Ralegh the night before his death. 729

ADDITIONAL POEMS.

The Lover's Maze. 730
Farewell to the Court. *ib.*
The Advice. 731
Verses. *ib.*

Moral Advice. 732
A Lover's Verses. ib.
False Love and True Love. 733
The Answer to the Lie. 735
Errorin Responsio. ib.
Epitaph on Secretary Cecil. ib.
A Riddle. 736
The Answer. ib.
APPENDIX.
Account of Sir Walter Ralegh by Aubrey. 737
Two Letters. 746
A Letter concerning my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh. 756
A Letter of Gondamar to some secretary or minister of state concerning Sir Walter Ralegh's expedition to Guiana. 771
Letter of Queen Anne to the Duke of Buckingham. 772
De Warranto speciali pro Decollatione Walteri Raleigh militis. 773
The effect of Sir Walter Ralegh's Speech. 775
A Letter relating to the last behaviour of Sir Walter Ralegh. 780
Sir Lewis Stukley's Apology. 783
A brief relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's troubles. 786

# MAXIMS OF STATE.

## OF GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT is of two sorts.

1. Private, of a man's self, sobriety; of his family, called economy.

2. Public, of the commonwealth, called policy. A man must first govern himself, ere he be fit to govern a family; and his family, ere he be fit to bear a part in the government of the commonwealth.

## OF POLICY.

POLICY is an art of government of a commonwealth, and some part of it, according to that state or form of government wherein it is settled for the public good.

State is the frame or set order of a commonwealth, or of the governors that rule the same, especially of the chief and sovereign governor that commandeth the rest.

The state of sovereignty consisteth in five points.

1. Making or annulling of laws.
2. Creating and disposing of magistrates.
3. Power over life and death.
4. Making of war or peace.
5. Highest or last appeal.

Where these five are, either in one or in more, there is the state.

These five points of state rest either in

1. One; monarchy or kingdom.

2. Some few chief men for virtue and wisdom, called aristocracy.

3. Many, called a free state, or popular state.

These three sorts of government have respect to the common good, and therefore are just and lawful states.

These three degenerate into three other governments, viz.

1. Monarchy into tyranny.

2. Aristocracy into oligarchy.

3. Popular estate into commonwealth or government of all the common and baser sort, and therefore called a commonwealth by an usurped nickname.

These all respect their own, and not the public good, and therefore are called bastard governments.

### 1. *Monarchy.*

A monarchy or kingdom is the government of a state by one head or chief, tending to the common benefit of all.

Monarchies or kingdoms are of three sorts, touching the right or possession of them; viz.

1. Hereditary, by descent, as the English, French, &c.

2. Elective, by suffrage of the other orders, or some of them, as the Polonian.

Mixed, or of both kinds, viz. by descent, yet not tied to the next of blood, as the ancient Jewish state.

Monarchies are of two sorts, touching their power or authority; viz.

1. Entire, where the whole power of ordering all state matters both in peace and war, doth by law and custom appertain to the prince; as in the English kingdom, where the prince hath power to make laws, leagues, and war; to create magistrates; to pardon life; of appeal, &c. Though to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making laws, yet ever subject to the prince's pleasure or negative will.

2. Limited or restrained, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of state; as the military king that hath not the sovereignty in time of peace, as to the making of laws, &c. but in war only, as the Polonian kings.

### II. *Aristocracy, or Senatory state.*

An aristocracy is the government of a commonwealth by some competent number of the better sort, preferred for their wisdom and other virtues for the public good.

Aristocracies are of three sorts; viz. where the senators are chosen, for,

1. Virtue, riches, and the common good, as the Venetian.

2. Virtue and the public good, without respect of wealth; as sometimes the Roman, when some of the senators were fetched from the plough, and some from the schools.

3. Virtue and wealth, more respecting their private than the public good, which inclineth towards an oligarchy, or the government of the richer or nobler sort, as in Rome towards the end.

### III. *Free state, or Popular state.*

The popular state is the government of a state by the choicer sort of people, tending to the public good of all sorts; viz. with due respect of the better, nobler, and richer sort.

In every just state, some part of the government is or ought to be imparted to the people: as in a kingdom, a voice or suffrage in making laws; and sometimes also in levying of arms (if the charge be great, and the prince forced to borrow help of his subjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a parliament, that the tax may seem to have proceeded from themselves; so consultations, and some proceedings in judicial matters, may in part be referred to them. The reason, lest seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they mislike the state or kind of government: and where the multitude is discontented, there must needs be many enemies to the present state. For which cause tyrants (which allow the people no manner of dealing in state matters) are forced to bereave them of their wealth and weapons, and all other means wherein they may resist or amend themselves, as in Rushland, Turkey, &c.

### IV. *Tyranny.*

A tyranny is the swerving or distorting of a monarchy, or the government of one tending not to the public good, but the private benefit of himself and his followers. As in

the Russen and Turkish government, where the state and wealth of other orders are employed only to the upholding of the greatness of the king or emperor. This is the worst of all the bastard states, because it is the perverting of the best regimen, to wit, of a monarchy, which resembleth the sovereign government of God himself.

### V. *Oligarchy, or the government of a few.*

An oligarchy is the swerving, or the corruption of an aristocracy, or the government of some few, that are of the wealthier or nobler sort, without any respect of the public good. The chief end of these governors is their own greatness and enriching, and therefore their manner is to prepare fit means to uphold their estates. This state is not altogether so bad as is the tyranny, and yet worse than the commonwealth, because it respecteth only the good of a few.

### VI. *Commonwealth.*

A commonwealth is the swerving or depravation of a free or popular state, or the government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other orders.

These two states, to wit, the oligarchy and commonwealth, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between them. For that the richer or nobler sort suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superior but in some respects only, to wit, in riches, birth, parentage, &c. On the other side, the common people suppose there ought to be an equality in all other things, and in some state matters, because they are equal with the rich or noble, touching their liberty; whereas indeed neither the one nor the other are simply equal or superior, as touching government and fitness thereunto, because they are such, to wit, because they are rich, noble, free, &c. but because they are wise, virtuous, valiant, &c. and so have fit parts to govern a state.

The several states are sometimes mixed and interwrought one with the other, yet ever so, as that the one hath the pre-

eminence or predomination over the other, as in the humours and complexions of the body. So in the Roman state, the people had their plebiscita, and gave the suffrage in the election of magistrates; yet the senate (as the state stood) for the most part swayed the state, and bare the chief rule. So in the Venetian state, the duke seemeth to represent a monarch, and the senate to be his council; yet the duke hath no power in state matters, but is like a head set on by art, that beareth no brain. And so that state is senatorical or aristocratical.

*Causes of states and commonwealths in general.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Causes of states or of common-wealths are of three sorts, viz. | 1. Founding or settling a state, where are to be considered, | 1. Measure.<br>2. Parts, and their qualities. |
| | 2. Preserving a state. | |
| | 3. Changing and altering a state. | |

*Founding a state.*

In founding a state are to be considered two things; 1. Proportion. 2. Parts.

1. Proportion is a just measure or mediocrity of the state, whereby it is framed and kept in that order, as that neither it exceed nor be defective in his kind; to wit, so that a monarch be not too monarchical, strict, or absolute, as the Russe kings; nor aristocratical, that is, over-mated, or eclipsed by the nobility, as the Scottish kingdom, but ever respective to the other degrees. That aristocracy be not too magnificent nor entire to itself, but communicate with the people some commodities of state or government, as the Venetians, and sometimes the Romans allowed the people to elect certain magistrates out of themselves, to have a tribune, to make plebiscita, &c. So a free state or commonwealth, that it be not over popular, viz. that it depress not too much the richer, wiser, nor learned sort; but admit them to offices with a caution out of the rules and mysteries of that state, that they seek no alteration of the present state. The reason, because the moderate states in their se-

veral kinds (as all other things that observe the mean) are best framed for their continuance, because they give less cause of grudge, envy, and affecting the wealth, honour, and liberty, which they see in others that govern the state; and so are less subject to stirs and commotions, and easiest kept in their present state wherein they are set.

2. The parts of the state, or those magistrates that bear place or sway in the public government.

Parts or partakers of public government are,

1. Council or senate, which consulteth of all matters pertaining to war and peace, magistrates, &c. in admitting of whom there ought to be more special care, that they may be men expert in matter of policy, because it is their trade and vocation, as men use to choose for pilots and masters of ships such as know the art of navigation, and not husbandmen, &c. and so the contrary.

2. Magistrates and officers, which are to be executioners of that which is consulted, and found to be expedient for the commonwealth, wherein are to be observed the kinds of magistrates, that they be such as fit that kind of government; the time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appointing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they be chosen.

3. Judges, to determine in civil and criminal matters, where are to be observed out of whom they are to be chosen, what kinds are necessary, and the manner of judgment and judicial proceeding.

In magistracies are to be observed their kinds; as

1. Civil.

1. Superiors, which are to be such, and of that kind, as agree with the state; as consuls for a year, and not perpetual dictators in a senatory state. Pretors and censors, that oversee manners and orders of the people.

For a kingdom, lieutenants of shires, marshals, masters of horse, admirals, &c.

Inferiors, as conservators of peace, constables, &c.

Overseers of youth, that take care of their education for civil and warlike exercise.

Clerks of the market, that provide for the quantity and price of victual.

Ediles, for buildings, streets, bounds.

Questors or treasurers, to keep and dispense the public treasury.

Actuaries or recorders, which keep the public records.

Jailors to keep prisons and prisoners.

Surveyors of woods and fields, &c.

2. Ecclesiastical.

1. As bishops or pastors, elders, wardens.

2. Time of magistrates, whereof some are perpetual, some for a time, viz. for more years, a year, half a year, according to the necessity of the commonwealth, and not perpetual; or at least not hereditary in a kingdom. Yearly in an aristocracy, or half yearly in a free state.

3. Manner of choice, by whom and how to be chosen, where especially they are to be chosen by suffrage, and not by lot.

*Causes of preserving a state, or commonwealth.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In preserving of states two things required. | 1. Mysteries, or sophisms. | 1. General, to all states. |
| | | 2. Particular, for every several state. |
| | 2. Rules, or actions. | 1. General, for all states. |
| | | 2. Particular, for every state. |

*Mysteries, or sophisms.*

Mysteries, or sophisms of state, are certain secret practices, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting such effects as tend not to the preservation of the present state, as it is set or founded.

State mysteries are of two sorts.

1. General; that pertain to all states; as first, to provide by all means, that the same degree or part of the commonwealth do not exceed both in quantity and quality. In quantity, as that the number of the nobility, or of great persons, be not more than the state or commonwealth can bear. In quality, as that none grow in wealth, liberty, honours, &c. more than it is meet for that degree: for as in weights, the heavier weights bear down the scale; so in commonwealths, that part or degree that excelleth the rest in quality and quantity overswayeth the rest after it, whereof follow alterations, and conversions of state. Secondly, to provide by all means, that the middle sort of people exceed both the extremes, viz. of nobility and gentry, and the base rascal and beggarly sort. For this maketh the state constant and firm, when both the extremes are tied together by a middle sort, as it were with a band; as for any conspiracy of the rich and beggarly sort together, it is not to be feared. To these two points the particular rules in sophisms of every commonwealth are to be applied.

2. Particular; that serve for preservation of every commonwealth in that form of state wherein it is settled. As in a kingdom; that the nobility may be accustomed to bear the government of the prince, especially such as have their dwelling in remote places from the prince's eye, it is expe-

dient to call them up at certain times to the prince's court, under pretence of doing them honour, or being desirous to see and enjoy their presence, and to have their children, especially their eldest, to be attendant upon the prince, as of special favour towards them and theirs, that so they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the prince, and be as hostages for the good behaviour and faithful dealing of their parents, especially if they be of any suspected note. To that end serves the Persian practice, in having a band or train of the satraps' children, and other nobles, to attend the court; which was well imitated by our train of [a]henchmen, if they were of the nobler sort. Again, sometimes to borrow small sums of his subjects, and to pay them again, that he may after borrow greater sums, and never pay: so in an oligarchy, lest it decline to a popular state, they deceive the people with this and the like sophisms; viz. they compel their own sort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their assemblies for choosing of magistrates, for provision of armour, warlike exercises, making and execution of laws, &c. By that means seeming to bear a hard hand over the richer, but to suffer the poorer and meaner sort to be absent, and to neglect these assemblies, under pretence that they will not draw them from their business, and private earnings: yet withal to cite thither some few of them, viz. so many as are easily overmatched by the richer sort, to make a show that they would have the people, or poorer sort, partakers likewise of those matters, yet terrifying those that come to their assemblies with the tediousness of consultations, greatness of fines, if they should misdo, to the end, to make them unwilling to come again, or to have to do with those consultations; by which means the richer sort do still govern the state, with the people's liking, and good contentment.

Axioms or rules of preserving the state are,

I. General, that serve for all commonwealths.

II. Particular, that serve for every several state.

[a] Pages.

*General rules.*

The first and principal rule of policy to be observed in all states, is to profess and practise and maintain the true worship and religion of Almighty God prescribed unto us in his word, which is the chief end of all government. The axiom, that God be obeyed simply without exception, though he command that which seemeth unreasonable and absurd to human policy; as in the Jews' commonwealth, that all the men should repair yearly to one place to worship God four times, leaving none to defend their coast, though being beset with many enemies; nor to sow the seventh year, but to suffer the ground to rest untilled without respect or fear of famine, &c.

2. To avoid the causes of conversion, whereby states are overthrown that are set down in the title of conversions: for that commonwealths (as natural bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and state thereof, and are also cured by contrary medicines.

3. To take heed that no magistrate be created or continued contrary to the laws and policy of that state. As, that in a senate there be not created a perpetual dictator, as Cæsar in Rome. In a kingdom, that there be no senate or convention of equal power with the prince in state matters, as in Poland.

4. To create such magistrates as love the state as it is settled; and take heed of the contrary practices, as to advance popular persons in a kingdom or aristocracy. And secondly, to advance such as have skill to discern what doth preserve and what hurteth or altereth the present state.

5. To that end to have certain officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort agreeable to the present state, but desire rather to be under some other form or kind of government.

6. To take heed that magistracies be not sold for money, nor magistrates take bribes in their offices, which is especially to be observed in that commonwealth which is governed by a few of the richer sort; for if the magistrate

gain nothing but his common fees, the common sort, and such as want honour, take in good part that they be not preferred; and are glad rather that themselves are suffered to intend private business. But if the magistrate buy and sell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both because they are debarred of those preferments, and of that they see to grow by them; which is the cause that the German oligarchies continue so firm, for they both suffer the poorer sort to grow into wealth, and the richer sort are by that means freed, and secured from being under the poor.

7. To take heed that the state, as it is settled and maintained, be not over strict, nor exceed in his kind; viz. that a kingdom be not too monarchical, nor a popular state too popular: for which cause it is good, that the magistrates sometimes yield of their right touching honour, and behave themselves familiarly with those that are equal unto them in other parts, though inferior for place and office; and sometimes popularly with the common people, which is the cause that some commonwealths, though they be very simply and unskilfully set, yet continue firm, because the magistrates behave themselves wisely, and with due respect towards the rest that are without honour; and therefore some kind of moderate popularity is to be used in every commonwealth.

8. To take heed of small beginnings, and to meet with them even at the first, as well touching the breaking and altering of laws, as of other rules which concern the continuance of every several state. For the disease and alteration of a commonwealth doth not happen all at once, but grows by degrees, which every common wit cannot discern, but men expert in policy.

9. To provide that that part be ever the greater in number and power, which favours the state as now it stands. This is to be observed as a very oracle in all commonwealths.

10. To observe a mean in all the degrees, and to suffer no part to exceed or decay overmuch. As first, for preferments, to provide that they be rather small and short, than

great and long; and if any be grown to overmuch greatness, to withdraw or diminish some part of his honour. Where these sophisms are to be practised, observe to do it by parts and degrees; to do it by occasion or colour of law, and not all at once. And if that way serve not, to advance some other, of whose virtue and faithfulness we are fully assured, to as high a degree, or to a greater honour, and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth above that which is meet. As touching wealth, to provide, that those of the middle sort (as before was said) be more in number; and if any grow high, and overcharged with wealth, to use the sophisms of a popular state, viz. to send him on embassages, and foreign negotiations, or employ him in some office that hath great charges and little honour, &c. To which end the edileship served in some commonwealths.

11. To suppress the factions and quarrels of the nobles, and to keep others that are yet free, from joining with them in their partakings and factions.

12. To increase or remit the common taxes and contributions, according to the wealth or want of the people and commonwealth. If the people be increased in wealth, the taxes and subsidies may be increased. If they be poor, and their wealth diminish, especially by dearth, want of traffick, &c. to forbear taxes and impositions, or to take little; otherwise grudge and discontentments must needs follow. The sophisms that serve for impositions are these and other of like sort: to pretend business of great charge, as war, building of ships, making of havens, castles, fortifications, &c. for the common defence; sometimes by lotteries, and like devices, wherein some part may be bestowed, the rest reserved for other expenses; but princely dealings need no pretences.

13. To provide that the discipline and training of youth of the better sort be such as agreeth with that commonwealth: as, that in a kingdom the sons of noblemen be attendant on the court, that they may be accustomed to obedience towards the prince. In the senatory state, that the sons of the senators be not idly nor over-daintily brought

up, but well instructed and trained up in learning, tongues, and martial exercise; that they may be able to bear that place in the commonwealth which their father held; and contrariwise in a popular state.

14. To take heed, lest their sophisms or secret practices for the continuance and maintenance of the state be not discovered; lest by that means they refuse and disappoint themselves, but be wisely used, and with great secrecy.

### *Particular Rules.*

### *Rules and axioms for preserving of a kingdom, hereditary or conquered.*

Kingdoms hereditary are preserved at home by the prince's ordering,

1. Himself; viz. by the tempering and moderation of the princely power and prerogative. For the less and more temperate their power and state is, the more firm and stable is their kingdom and government; because they seem to be farther off from a master-like and tyrannical empire, and less unequal in condition to the next degree, to wit, the nobility, and so less subject to grudge and envy.

2. His nobility, &c. by keeping that degree and due proportion, that neither they exceed in number more than the realm or state can bear, as the Scottish kingdom, and sometimes the English, when the realm was overcharged with the number of dukes, earls, and other nobles; whereby the authority of the prince was eclipsed, and the realm troubled with their factions and ambitions: nor that any one so excel in honour, power, or wealth, as that he resembles another king within the kingdom, as the house of Lancaster within this realm. To that end, not to load any with too much honour or preferment, because it is hard even for the best and worthiest men, to bear their greatness and high fortune temperately, as appeareth by infinite examples in all states. The sophisms for preventing or reforming this inconvenience are to be used with great caution and wisdom. If any great person be to be abated, not to deal with him by calumniation or forged matter, and so to cut him off

without desert, especially if he be gracious among the people; which besides the injustice, is an occasion many times of great danger towards the prince. Nor to withdraw their honour all at once, which maketh a desperate discontentment in the party, and a commiseration in the people, and so begetteth greater love towards him, if he be already gracious for his virtue and public service: nor to banish him into foreign countries, where he may have opportunity of practising with foreign states, whereof great danger may ensue, as in the example of Coriolanus, Henry IV, and such like. But to use these and the like sophisms; viz. to abate their greatness by degrees, as David, Joab, Justinian, Bellisarius, &c.; to advance some other men to as great or greater honour, to shadow, or over-mate the greatness of the other; to draw from him by degrees his friends and followers, by preferments, rewards, and other good and lawful means; especially, to be provided that these great men be not employed in great and powerful affairs of the commonwealth, whereby they may have more opportunity to sway the state.

3. His people; viz. so to order and behave himself, that he be loved and reverenced of the people. For the prince need not greatly fear home conspiracies, or foreign invasion, if he be firmly loved of his own people. The reason, for that the rebel can neither hope for any forces for so great enterprise, nor any refuge, being discovered and put to flight, if the multitude affect their prince: but the common people being once offended, he hath cause to fear every moving, both at home and abroad. This may be affected by the prince, if he use means and art of getting the favour of the people, and avoid those things that breed hatred and contempt; viz. if he seem as a tutor, or a father, to love the people, and to protect them; if he maintain the peace of his kingdom, for that nothing is more popular, nor more pleasing to the people, than is peace.

4. If he shew himself oftentimes graciously, yet with state and majesty, to his people; and receive complaints of his suppliants, and such like.

5. If he sit himself in open courts, and place of justice, that he may seem to have a care of justice among his people. If he bestow many benefits and graces upon that city which he maketh the seat of his empire, and so make it sure and faithful unto him: which is fit to be in the middle of his kingdom, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the sun in the middle of heaven; both to divide himself more easily into all the parts of his dominions, and lest the furthest parts at one end move, whilst the prince is in the other. If he go in progress many times to see his provinces, especially those that are remote.

6. If he gratify his courtiers and attendants in that sort, and by such means, as that he may seem not to pleasure them with the hurt and injury of his people, as with monopolies, and such like.

7. If he commit the handling of such things as procure envy, or seem grievous to his ministers, but reserve those things which are grateful and well pleasing to himself; as the French kings, who for that purpose, as may seem, have erected their court at Paris, which acquitteth the prince from grudge and envy, both with the nobles and the people.

8. If he borrows sometimes sums of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the same justly without defalcation of any part of his exchequer, or other officer.

9. If he avoid all such things as may breed hatred or contempt of his person; which may be done, if he shew himself not too light, inconstant, hard, cruel, effeminate, fearful, and dastardly, &c. but contrariwise, religious, grave, just, valiant, &c. Whereby appeareth the false doctrine of the Machiavelian policy; for what better means to keep the people in obedience, than love and reverence of the people towards the prince?

10. If the prince be well furnished with warlike provision, which is to be rumoured and made known abroad; if it be known that he is reverenced and obeyed by his people at home.

11. If he provide so much as lieth in him, that his

neighbour kingdoms grow not overmuch in power and dominion; which if it happen, he is to join speedily with other princes which are in like danger, to abate that greatness, and to strengthen himself and the rest against it. An oversight of the Christian princes towards the king of Spain.

12. If he get him intelligencers by reward or other means, to detect or hinder the designs of that prince with whom he hath differences, if any thing be intended against his state. Or at least have some of his own lodging abroad about that prince's court, under colour of embassage, or some other pretence; which must be men of skill and dexterity to serve for that turn.

13. To observe the laws of his country, and not to encounter them with his prerogative, nor to use it at all where there is a law, for that it maketh a secret and just grudge in the people's hearts, especially if it tend to take from them their commodities, and to bestow them upon other of his courtiers and ministers.

14. To provide especially, that that part which favoureth the state as it standeth, be more potent than the other which favoureth it not, or desireth a change.

15. To make special choice of good and sound men to bear the place of magistrates, especially such as assist the prince in his counsels and policies, and not lean overmuch to his own advice, contrary to the rule of Machiavel, who teacheth, that a prince can have no good counsel, except it be in himself; his reason, because if he use the counsel of some one, he is in danger to be over-wrought, and supplanted by him; and if he counsel with more, then he shall be distracted with the differences in opinions. As if a prince of great or mean wisdom could not take the judgment of all his counsellors in any point of policy, or of so many as he himself thinketh good, and to take it either by word or in writing; and himself then in private peruse them all, and so, after good and mature deliberation, make choice of the best, without any distraction, or binding himself to the direction of any one. For the proverb is true, that two heads are bet-

ter than one; and therefore the advices and consultations of a senatory of state is compared by some to a feast or dinner, where many contribute towards the shot, by which means they have more variety of dishes, and so better fare; and yet every man may make choice of that dish that serveth him best for his health and appetite.

16. The prince himself is to sit sometimes in place of public justice, and to give an experiment of his wisdom and equity, whereby great reverence and estimation is gotten; as in the example of Solomon, which may seem the reason why our kings of England had their king's-bench in place of public justice, after the manner of the ancient kings that sat in the gate; where, for better performing of this princely duty, some special causes may be selected, which may thoroughly be debated and considered upon by the prince in private, with the help and advice of his learned counsel, and so be decided publicly, as before is said, by the prince himself; at least, the prince is to take account of every minister of public justice, that it may be known that he hath a care of justice, and doing right to his people; which makes the justices also to be more careful in performing of their duties.

17. To be moderate in his taxes and impositions; and when need doth require to use the subjects' purse, to do it by parliament, and with their consents, making the cause apparent to them, and shewing his unwillingness in charging them. Finally, so to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto this end, to compound the dissentions that rise amongst the nobles with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parties, whereby many times the prince is endangered, and the whole commonwealth set in a combustion; as in the example of the barons' war, and the late wars of France, which grew from a quarrel betwixt the Guision faction and the other nobility.

19. To stir up the people, if they grow secure and negligent of armour, and other provision for the commonwealth,

by some rumour or fear of danger at home, to make them more ready when occasion requireth. But this seldom to be used, lest it be supposed a false alarm when there is need indeed.

20. To have special care that his children, especially the heir apparent, have such bringing up as is meet for a king, viz. in learning, especially of matters pertaining to state, and in martial exercise; contrary to the practice of many princes, who suffer their children to be brought up in pleasure, and to spend their time in hunting, &c. which by reason of their defects afterwards is a cause of misgovernment and alteration of state.

II. *Kingdoms new-gotten, or purchased by force, are preserved by these means.*

First, if they have been subjects before to his ancestors, or have the same tongue, manners, or fashions as have his own country, it is an easy matter to retain such countries within their obedience, in case the prince's blood of the said country be wholly extinct. For men of the same quality, tongue, and condition, do easily shoal and combine themselves together, so much the rather if the people of that country have served before, and were not accustomed to their own liberty; wherein especially is to be observed, that the laws and customs of that purchased country be not altered nor innovated, or at least it be done by little and little: so the Burgundians and Aquitaines were annexed to France. The reason, because partly they have been accustomed to serve, and partly for that they will not easily agree about any other to be their prince, if the blood royal be once extinguished. As for the invasion of a foreign country, whereunto the prince hath no right, or whereof the right heir is living, it is not the part of a just civil prince, much less a Christian prince, to enforce such a country; and therefore the Machiavelian practices in this case, to make sure work by extinguishing the blood royal, is lewd and impertinent. The like is to be said of murdering the natives, or the greatest part of them, to the end he may hold the rest in

sure possession; a thing not only against Christian religion, but it is inhuman, unjust, cruel, and barbarous.

2. The safest way is, (supposing a right,) that some good part of the natives be transplanted into some other place, and our colonies, consisting of so many as shall be thought meet, be planted there in some part of the province; castles, forts, and havens seized upon, and more provided in fit places, as the manner was of the Babylonian monarch, which transplanted ten tribes of the Jews; and of the Romans in France, Germany, Brittany, and other places. The reasons:

1. For that otherwise forces of horse and foot are to be maintained within the province, which cannot be done without great charge.
2. For that the whole province is troubled and grieved with removing and supplying the army with victuals, carriages, &c.
3. For that colonies are more sure and faithful than the rest.

As for the natives that are removed from their former seats, they have no means to hurt, and the rest of the natives being free from the inconvenience, and fearing that themselves may be so served, if they attempt any thing rashly, are content to be quiet.

The Turks' practice in Asia, where the chief grounds and dwellings are possessed by the soldiers, whom they call Timariatæ.

3. That the prince have his seat and his residence in his new purchase, especially for a time, till things be well settled; especially if the province be great and large, as the Turks in Greece. The reasons:

1. Because the presence of the prince availeth much to keep things in order, and get the good-will of his new subjects.
2. They conceive that they have refuge by the prince's presence, if they be oppressed by the lieutenants and inferior governors: where it will be convenient for the winning the people's hearts, that some example be

made of punishing of such as have committed any violence or oppression.

3. Because being present, he seeth and heareth what is thought and attempted; and so may quickly give remedy to it, which being absent he cannot do, or not do in time.

4. If the prince himself cannot be present to reside, then to take heed that the charge of governing, or new purchase, be committed to such as be sure men, and of other meet quality, that depend wholly upon the prince's favour, and not to natives, or other of their own subjects, that are gracious for their nobility or virtue; especially, if the province be great, and somewhat far distant, which may soon seduce the unsettled affections of those new subjects: as for such governors as depend wholly upon the prince's favour, being not born, but created noble, they will not so easily suffer themselves to be won from their duty; and in case they would revolt, yet they are not able to make any great strength, for that the people obey them but as instruments and ministers, to keep them in subjection, and not for any ill-will.

5. To have the children of the chief noblemen, and of greatest authority, hostages with these in safe keeping, the more the better; for that no bond is stronger than that of nature to contain the parents and allies in obedience, and they the rest.

6. To alter the laws but by degrees one after another, and to make others that are more behoveful for the establishing of the present government.

7. To keep the people quiet and peaceable, and well affected so much as may be, that they may seem by being conquered to have gotten a protector, rather than a tyrant; for the common people, if they enjoy peace, and be not distracted nor drawn from their business, nor exacted upon beyond measure, are easily contained under obedience; yet notwithstanding, they are to be disused from the practice of arms, and other exercises which increase courage, and be

weakened of armour, that they have neither spirit nor will to rebel.

8. If there be any faction in the country, to take to him the defence of the better and stronger part, and to combine with it, as Cæsar in France.

9. To look well to the borders and confining provinces, and if any rule there of great and equal power to himself, to join league with some other borderers, though of less strength, to hinder the attempts (if any should be) by such neighbour prince. For it happeneth often, that a country infested by one neighbour prince calleth in another of as great or greater power, to assist and rescue it from the other that invadeth it: so the Romans were called into Greece by the Ætolians, the Saxons by the Britains, the Danes by the Saxons.

10. To leave their titles and dignities to the natives, but the command and authority wholly to his own.

11. Not to put much trust, nor to practice too often the sophisms of policy, especially those that appertain to a tyrannical state, which are soon detected by men of judgment, and so bring discredit to the prince and his policy among the wiser and better sort of his subjects, whereof must needs follow very ill effects.

The sophisms of tyrants are rather to be known than practised (which are for the supporting of their tyrannical states) by wise and good princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

*Rules of politic tyrants.*

Rules practised by tyrants are of two sorts; viz.

1. Barbarous and professed, which is proper to those that have got head, and have power sufficient of themselves, without others' help, as in the Turkish and Russe government.

2. Sophistical and dissembled; as in some states that are reputed for good and lawful monarchies, but inclining to tyrannies; proper to those which are not yet settled, nor have power sufficient of themselves but must use the power

and help of others, and so are forced to be politic sophisters.

I. *Sophisms of a barbarous and professed tyranny.*

To expel and banish out of his country all honest means, whereby his people may attain to learning, wisdom, valour, and other virtues, that they might be fit for that estate and servile condition. For that these two, learning and martial exercise, effect two things most dangerous to a tyranny, viz. wisdom and valour; for that men of spirit and understanding can hardly endure a servile state. To this end, to forbid learning of liberal arts and martial exercise; as in the Russe government: so Julian the Apostate dealt with the Christians. Contrariwise, to use his people to base occupations and mechanical arts, to keep them from idleness, and to put away from them all high thoughts and manly conceits; and to give them a liberty of drinking till drunk, and of other base and lewd conditions, that they may be sotted, and so made unfit for other enterprises. So the Egyptian kings dealt with the Hebrews; so the Russe emperor with his Russe people; and Charles the Fifth with the Netherlands, when he purposed to enclose their privileges, and to bring them under his absolute government.

2. To make sure to him and his state his military men by reward, liberty, and other means, especially his guard, or prætorian band; that being partakers of the spoil and benefit, they may like that state, and continue firm to it; as the Turk his janizaries, the Russe his boyarens, &c.

3. To unarm his people of weapons, money, and all means whereby they may resist his power; and to that end, to have his set and ordinary exactions, &c. once in two, three, or four years, and sometimes yearly, as the Turk and Russe; who is wont to say, That his people must be used as his flock of sheep, viz. their fleece taken from them, lest it overlade them, and grow too heavy; that they are like to his beard, that the more it was shaven, the thicker it would grow. And if there be any of extraordinary wealth, to borrow of them in the mean while, till the tax come about,

or upon some devised matter, to confiscate their goods, as the common practice is of the Russe and Turk.

4. To be still in wars, to the end his people may need a captain; and that his forces may be kept in practice, as the Russe doth yearly against the Tartar, Polonian, and Sweden, &c.

5. To cut off such as excel the rest in wealth, favour, or nobility, or be of a pregnant or aspiring wit, and so are fearful to a tyrant; and to suffer none to hold office, or any honour, but only of him; as the Turk his bashaws, and the Russe his ruzzes.

6. To forbid guilds, brotherhoods, feastings, and other assemblies among the people, that they have no means or opportunity to conspire, or confer together of public matters, or to maintain love amongst themselves, which is very dangerous to a tyrant: the Russe's practice.

7. To have their beagles or listeners in every corner, and all parts of the realm, especially in places that are most suspected; to learn what every man saith or thinketh; that they may prevent all attempts, and take away such as mislike their state.

8. To make schism and division among his subjects; viz. to set one nobleman against another, and one rich man against another, that through faction and disagreement among themselves they may be weakened, and attempt nothing against him; and by this means, entertaining whisperings and complaints, he may know the secrets of both parties, and have matter against them both when need requireth. So the Russe made the faction of the Zemsky and the Oppressiony.

9. To have strangers for his guard, and to entertain parasites, and other base and servile fellows, not too wise, and yet subtle; that will be ready for reward to do and execute what he commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust. For that good men cannot flatter, and wise men cannot serve a tyrant.

All these practices, and such like, may be contracted into one or two; viz. to bereave his subjects of will and

power to do him hurt, or to alter the present state. The use is caution, not imitation.

II. *Sophisms of the sophistical or subtle tyrant, to hold up his state.*

1. To make show of a good king, by observing a temper and mediocrity in his government, and whole course of life; to which end it is necessary, that this subtle tyrant be a cunning politician, or a Machiavelian at the least; and that he be taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to be feared and regarded, and he is thought thereby not unworthy to govern others.

2. To make show, not of severity, but of gravity; by seeming reverend, and not terrible in his speech, and gesture, and habit, and other demeanour.

3. To pretend care of the commonwealth; and to that end, to seem loath to exact tributes and other charges, and yet to make necessity of it, where none is: to that end to procure such war as can bring no danger towards his state, and that might easily be compounded, or some other chargeable business; and to continue it on, that he may continue his exaction and contribution so long as he list. And therefore to employ some in his public service, the rest to hoard up in his treasury, which is sometimes practised even by lawful princes, as Edward the IVth in his wars against France, when having levied a great sum of money throughout his realm, especially of the Londoners, he went over seas, and returned without doing any thing.

4. Sometimes to give an account, by open speech and public writing, of the expense of such taxes and impositions as he hath received of his subjects, that he may seem to be a good husband and frugal, and not a robber of the commonwealth.

5. To that end, to bestow some cost upon public buildings, or some other work for the common good, especially upon the ports, forts, and chief cities of his realm, that so he may seem a benefactor, and have a delight in the adorning of his country, or doing some good for it.

6. To forbid feastings and other meetings, which increase love, and give opportunity to confer together of public matters, under pretence of sparing cost for better uses. To that end the curfew-bell was first ordained by William the Conqueror, to give men warning to repair home at a certain hour.

7. To take heed that no one grow to be over great, but rather many equally great, that they may envy and contend one with another; if he resolve to weaken any of this sort, to do it warily and by degrees; if quite to wreck him, and to have his life, yet to give him a lawful trial, after the manner of his country: and if he proceed so far with any of great power and estimation, as to do him contumely, or disgrace, not to suffer him to escape, because contumely and disgrace are things contrary unto honour, which great spirits do most desire, and so are moved rather to a revenge for their disgrace, than to any thankfulness or acknowledging the prince's favour for their pardon or dismission: true in atheists, but not in true Christian nobility.

8. To unarm his people, and store up their weapons, under pretence of keeping them safe, and having them ready when service requireth, and then to arm them with such, and as many as he shall think meet, and to commit them to such as are sure men.

9. To make schism and division underhand among his nobility, and betwixt the nobility and the people, and to set one rich man against another, that they combine not together, and that himself, by hearing the griefs and complaints, may know the secrets of both parties, and so have matter against them both, when it listeth him to call them to an account.

10. To offer no man any contumely or wrong, especially about women's matters, by attempting the chastity of their wives or daughters, which hath been the ruin of many tyrants, and conversion of their states. As of Tarquinius, by Brutus; Appius, by Virginius; Pisistratus, by Harmodius; Alexander Medices, duke of Florence, Aloisus of Placentia, Rodericus king of Spain, &c.

11. To that end, to be moderate in his pleasures, or to use them closely, that he be not seen; for that men sober, or watchful, or such as seem so, are not likely subject to contempt or conspiracies of their own.

12. To reward such as achieve some great or commendable enterprise, or do any special action for the commonwealth, in that manner as it may seem they could not be better regarded, in case they lived in a free state.

13. All rewards, and things grateful, to come from himself, but all punishments, exactions, and things ungrateful, to come from his officers and public ministers; and when he hath effected what he would by them, if he see his people discontented withal, to make them a sacrifice, to pacify his subjects.

14. To pretend great care of religion and of serving God, (which hath been the manner of the wickedest tyrants,) for that people do less fear any hurt from those whom they do think virtuous and religious; nor attempt lightly to do them hurt, for that they think that God protects them.

15. To have a strong and sure guard of foreign soldiers, and to bind them by good turns, that they having at least profit, may depend upon him and the present state; as Caligula the German guard, where the nobility are many and mighty. The like practised by lawful kings, as by the French king.

16. To procure that other great persons be in the same fault or case with them, that for that cause they be forced to defend the tyrant for their own safety.

17. To take part and to join himself with the stronger part; if the common people and mean degree be the stronger, to join with them; if the rich and noble, to join with them. For so that part, with his own strength, will be ever able to overmatch the other.

18. So to frame his manners and whole behaviour, as that he may seem, if not perfectly good, yet tolerably evil; or somewhat good, somewhat bad.

These rules of hypocritical tyrants are to be known, that

they may be avoided, and met withal; and not drawn into imitation.

*Preservation of an aristocracy.*

Rules to preserve a senatory state are partly taken from the common axioms, and partly from those that preserve a kingdom.

*Preserving of an oligarchy by sophisms.*

*Rules.*

1. In consultations and assemblies about public affairs: to order the matter, that all may have liberty to frequent their common assemblies and councils; but to impose a fine upon the richer sort, if they omit that duty. On the other side, to pardon the common people if they absent themselves, and to bear with them, under pretence that they may the better attend their occupations, and not be hindered in their trades and earnings.

2. In election of magistrates and officers: to suffer the poorer sort to vow and abjure the bearing of office, under colour of sparing them, or to enjoin some great charge as incident to the office, which the poor cannot bear; but to impose some great fine upon those that be rich, if they refuse to bear office, being elect unto it.

3. In judicial matters: in like manner to order, that the people may be absent from public trials, under pretence of following their business; but the richer to be present, and to compel them by fines to frequent the court.

4. In warlike exercise and arms: that the poor be not forced to have armour, horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to be drawn from their trades by martial exercises; but to compel the richer sort to keep their proportion of armour, horse, &c. by excessive fines, and to exercise themselves in warlike matters, &c.

5. To have special care of instructing their children in liberal arts, policy, and warlike exercise, and to observe good order and discipline. For as popular states are preserved by the frequency and liberty of the people, so this

government of the richer is preserved by discipline, and good order of governors.

6. To provide good store of warlike furniture, especially of horse and horsemen, and of armed men, viz. pike, &c. which are proper to the gentry; as shot and light furniture are for a popular company.

7. To put in practice some points of a popular state; viz. to lade no one man with too much preferment; to make yearly or half-year's magistrates, &c. For that the people are pleased with such things, and they are better secured by this means from the rule of one; and if any grow to too much greatness, to abate him by the sophisms fit for this state.

8. To commit the offices and magistracies to those that are best able to bear the greatest charges for public matters, which both tendeth to the conservation of this state, and pleaseth the people, for that they reap some relief and benefit by it.

9. To the same end, to contract marriages among themselves; the rich with the rich, &c.

10. In some things which concern not the points and matters of state, as electing magistrates, making laws, &c. to give an equality, or sometimes a preferment to the common people, and not to do as in some oligarchies they were wont, viz. to swear against the people, to suppress and bridle them; but rather contrary, to minister an oath at their admission, that they shall do no wrong to any of the people; and if any of the richer offer wrong to any of the commons, to shew some example of severe punishment.

For other axioms that preserve this state, they are to be borrowed from those other rules that tend to the preserving of a popular and tyrannical state; for the strict kind of oligarchy is kin to a tyranny.

*Preservation of a popular state.*

*Sophisms. Rules or axioms.*

1. In public assemblies and consultations about matters of state, creating of magistrates, public justice, and exer-

cise of arms, to practise the contrary to the former kind of government, to wit, an oligarchy. For in popular states, the commons and meaner sort are to be drawn to those assemblies, magistrates, officers, warlike exercise, &c. by mulcts and rewards, and the richer sort are to be spared, and not to be forced by fine, or otherwise, to frequent these exercises.

2. To make show of honouring and reverencing the richer men, and not to swear against them, as the manner hath been in some popular states, but rather to prefer them in all other matters that concern not the state and public government.

3. To elect magistrates from among the commons by lot, or balloting, and not to choose any for their wealth's sake.

4. To take heed that no man bear office twice, except it be military, where the pay and salary, &c. is to be reserved into their own hands, to be disposed of by a common council, &c. and to see that no man be too highly preferred.

5. That no magistracy be perpetual, but as short as may be, to wit, for a year, half a year, &c.

6. To compel magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an account of their behaviour and government, and that publicly before the commons.

7. To have public salaries and allowance of their magistrates, judges, &c. and yearly dividends for the common people, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make judges of all matters out of all sorts, so they have some aptness to perform that duty.

9. To provide that public judgments and trials be not frequent; and to that end to inflict great fines and other punishments upon pettifoggers and dilators, as the law of requital, &c.; because for the most part the richer and nobler, and not the commons, are indicted and accused in this commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the state; whereby many times the popular state is turned into an oligarchy, or some other government. Hereto tendeth that art of civil law made against accusers and

calumniators: *Ad senatusconsultum Turpilianum*, l. 1. *de Calumniatoribus*.

10. In such free states as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide that public assemblies be not too often, because they want salaries for pleaders and orators; and if they be rich, yet to be wary that all the revenue be not divided amongst the commons: for that this distribution of the common revenue among the multitude is like a purse or barrel without a bottom. But to provide that a sufficient part of the revenue be stored up for the public affairs.

11. If the number of the poor increase too much in this kind of state, to send some abroad out of the cities into the next country places, and to provide above all, that none do live idly, but be set to their trades. To this end, to provide that the richer men place in their farms and copyholds such decayed citizens.

12. To be well advised what is good for this state, and not to suppose that to be fit for a popular state that seemeth most popular, but that which is best for the continuance thereof; and to that end, not to lay into the exchequer or common treasury such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrate things; which except it be practised, confiscations and fines of the common people would be frequent, and so this state would decay by weakening the people.

*Conversion of states in general.*

Conversion of a state is the declining of the commonwealth, either to some other form of government, or to its full and last period appointed by God.

*Causes of conversions of states are of two sorts; general and particular.*

General; viz. 1. Want of religion; viz. of the true knowledge and worship of God prescribed in his word; and notable sins that proceed from thence in prince and

people, as in the examples of Saul, Uzziah, the Jewish state, the four monarchies, and all other.

2. Want of wisdom and good counsel to keep the state, the prince, nobles, and people in good temper, and due proportion, according to their several orders and degrees.

3. Want of justice, either in administration (as, ill laws or ill magistrates) or in the execution; as, rewards not given where they should be, or there bestowed where they should not be, or punishments not inflicted where they should be.

4. Want of power and sufficiency to maintain and defend itself, viz. of provision, as armour, money, captains, soldiers, &c. execution, when the means or provision is not used, or ill used.

5. Particular; to be noted and collected out of the contraries of those rules that are prescribed for the preservation of the commonwealth.

*Particular causes of conversion of states are of two sorts.*

1. Foreign; by the over-greatness of invasion of some foreign kingdom, or other state of meaner power, having a part within our own, which are to be prevented by the providence of the chief, and rules of policy for the preserving of every state: this falleth out very seldom, for the great difficulty to overthrow a foreign state.

2. Domestic; sedition or open violence by the stronger part. Alteration without violence.

*Sedition.*

Sedition is a power of inferiors, opposing itself with force of arms against the superior power. *Quasi ditio secedens.*

*Causes of sedition are of two sorts.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. General. | Liberty. | When they that are of equal quality in a commonwealth, or do take themselves so to be, are not regarded equally in all or in any of these three. |
| | Riches. | Or when they that are higher in quality, or take themselves so to be, are regarded but equally, or with less respect than those that be of less degree in these three things, or in any of them. |
| | Honour. | |

1. Covetousness or oppression by the magistrate or higher power; viz. when the magistrates, especially the chief, increaseth his substance and revenue beyond measure, (either with the public or private calamity, whereby the governors grow to quarrel among themselves, as in oligarchies,) or the other degrees conspire together, and make quarrel against the chief, as in kingdoms: the examples of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, &c.

2. Injury, when great spirits, and of great power, are greatly wronged and dishonoured, or take themselves so to be; as Coriolanus, Cyrus Minor, earl of Warwick. In which causes, the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. Preferment, or want of preferment; wherein some have over-much, and so wax proud, and aspire higher; or have less than they deserve, as they suppose, and so in envy and disdain seek innovation by open faction; so Cæsar, &c.

4. Some great necessity or calamity; so Xerxes after the foil of his great army, and Sennacherib after the loss of 185,000 in one night.

2. Particular.

1. Envy; when the chief exceeds the mediocrity before mentioned, and so provoketh the nobility and other degrees to conspire against him; as Brutus, Cassius, &c. against Cæsar.

2. Fear; viz. of danger, when one or more despatch the prince by secret practice or force, to prevent his own danger; as Artabanus did Xerxes.

3. Lust or lechery; as Tarquinius Superbus by Brutus, Pisistratidæ by Armodius, Appius by Virginius.

4. Contempt, for vile quality and base behaviour; as Sardanapalus by Arbaces, Dionysius the younger by Dion.

5. Contumely; when some great disgrace is done to some great spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation; as Caligula by Chæreas.

6. Hope of advancement or some great profit; as Mithridates, Ariobarsanes.

*Alteration without violence.*

Causes of alteration without violence are, 1. Excess of the state; when by degrees the state groweth from that temper and mediocrity wherein it was, or should have been settled, and exceedeth in power, riches, and absoluteness in his kind, by the ambition and covetousness of the chief, immoderate taxes, and impositions, &c. applying all to his own benefit, without respect of other degrees, and so in the end changeth itself into another state or form of government; as a kingdom into a tyranny, an oligarchy into an aristocracy.

2. Excess of some one or more in the commonwealth; viz. When some one or more in a commonwealth grow to an excellency or excess above the rest, either in honour, wealth, or virtue, and so by permission and popular favour are advanced to the sovereignty; by which means popular states grow into oligarchies, and oligarchies and aristocra-

cies into monarchies. For which cause the Athenians, and some other free states, made their laws of Ostracismos, to banish any for a time that should excel, though it were in virtue, to prevent the alteration of their state; which because it is an unjust law, it is better to take heed at the beginning to prevent the means, that none should grow to that height and excellency, than to use so sharp and unjust a remedy.

THE

# CABINET-COUNCIL:

CONTAINING

## THE CHIEF ARTS OF EMPIRE,

AND

## MYSTERIES OF STATE;

DISCABINETED

IN POLITICAL AND POLEMICAL APHORISMS, GROUNDED ON AUTHORITY AND EXPERIENCE;

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH THE CHOICEST EXAMPLES AND HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MILTON.

*Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina digne scripserit?*

## TO THE READER.

HAVING had the manuscript of this treatise, written by sir Walter Ralegh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers, upon reading thereof I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public; it being both answerable in style to other works of his already extant, as far as the subject will permit, and given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces.

JOHN MILTON.

THE

# CABINET-COUNCIL:

CONTAINING

## THE CHIEF ARTS OF EMPIRE

AND

## MYSTERIES OF STATE.

### CHAP. I.

*The definition and division of public weals and sovereign states, according to their several species or kinds.*

A COMMONWEALTH is a certain sovereign government of many families, with those things that are common among them.

All commonwealths are either monarchies, aristocracies, democracies.

A monarchy is that state where the sovereignty resteth in the person of one only prince.

An aristocracy is where some small part of the people have in them, as a body corporate, the sovereignty and supreme power of the whole state.

A democracy is where all the people have power and authority sovereign.

So doth it appear, that the place and person where the sovereignty resteth, doth cause the state to be either a monarchy, an aristocracy, or popular government.

## CHAP. II.

*Of sovereign or monarchical government, with its essential marks and specifical differences.*

SOVEREIGNTY is an absolute and perpetual power in every public state; and he is properly and only a sovereign that acknowledgeth no superior or equal, nor holdeth of any other prince, person, or power, but God and his own sword.

The first mark of sovereignty is absolute power and authority to command all subjects in general, and every of them in particular, without consent of any other person or persons, either greater or inferior to himself.

The second mark of majesty is authority to make war, and conclude peace, at his pleasure.

The third is power to bestow all honours and chief offices at his pleasure.

The fourth mark of sovereignty is appellation.

The fifth mark and last, is power to pardon all subjects by rigour of law or otherwise, condemned in life, lands, goods, or honours.

These powers are not to be imparted to any officer, deputy, or other magistrate, but in the prince's absence, and for some urgent occasion.

Monarchies are of three sorts; signioril, royal, tyrannical.

The diversity of monarchies doth not proceed from the nature of the state, but the diverse proceedings of those princes that govern; for great difference there may be between the nature of the commonwealth and the government thereof. That prince that giveth the magistracy, honours, and offices, without respect of nobility, riches, or virtue, may be said to govern popularly; and that monarchy may be said to be governed aristocratically, when the monarch imparteth the principal honours and offices to the noble and rich men only.

The same difference there is to be found in states aristo-

cratical and popular; for the one and the other may be both signioril, or tyrannical.

A monarch signioril is he who by force of arms and just war is made owner of men's bodies and goods, and governeth them as a master of a family governeth base servants and slaves.

A monarch royal is he whose subjects are obedient unto his laws, and the monarch himself obeyeth the laws of God and nature, suffering every subject to enjoy liberty natural, with property in lands and goods, governing as a father governeth his children.

A monarch tyrannical is he who without regard to the law of God or nature, commandeth freemen as slaves, and useth their lands and goods as his own.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of monarchy signioril, exemplified in the Turkish and West Indian empire.*

ALL people subject to princes are governed as freemen by their prince, and certain other particular lords of lands and liberties, who, not by the prince's commission, but by ancient laws or custom, have inheritance and tenements; or else they are by one prince and his ministers commanded, which ministers have not by law or ordinance any authority or interest of themselves, but being like to the people, (base men and slaves,) they command only by commission in the prince's name; and the authority of those ministers doth cease at the prince's pleasure, so that the people do not acknowledge any superior but the prince, nor owe any service to other mean lords, so as all the people stand without property in lands or goods; for example, the empire of Turkey and the West Indies.

The provinces of this monarchy are allotted to sundry magistrates or ministers, and they altered and removed at the prince's pleasure; but it is otherwise in a monarchy royal, because the monarch is there accompanied with many mean lords. And albeit those mean lords are subjects unto the prince, yet have they particular tenants who may not

without just cause be dispossessed by the prince; and those people having had dependency of their lords and their ancestors, do ever bear unto them a certain natural love and dutiful respect: whoso therefore compareth these principalities shall perceive, that to conquer a state signioril there is great difficulty, but being conquered it may easily be maintained; for the difficulty to conquer such a state proceedeth from the lack of mean lords to call in and assist the prince that doth invade: who therefore desireth to subdue a nation thus governed must of force assault all the people, and rather trust in his own strength than the aid of the country. But if he can prevail, then one only fear remaineth, which is the prince's posterity, which necessarily must be extinguished, because the prince's race only hath interest both in the people and soldiers. But to enter a monarchy royal is an enterprise of no great difficulty, when he that doth enter hath the friendship and aid of some mean lords to take his part, and prepare the place where he is to arrive.

## CHAP. IV.

*Of monarchies royal, with the means to maintain them.*

MONARCHIES royal are for the most part ancient and hereditary, and consequently easy to be governed. For it is sufficient for the prince to maintain the old laws, and on occasion temporise with those accidents that happen: such a state cannot be taken from the prince without excessive force; and if it be, it shall be soon recovered. Example, England and France.

But if a monarchy newly conquered be annexed unto an old, and not properly ancient, then is it with much more difficulty maintained.

First, For that men naturally inclined to variation are easily induced to take arms against him that newly governeth.

Secondly, Every new prince is forced to exact as well upon those subjects that joined with him as those that did resist him, and therefore shall offend both. Example, Ire-

land annexed to the crown of England, Sicily and Naples to Spain.

The means to maintain such a monarchy is,

First, To extinguish the race of him that was anciently prince.

Secondly, To continue all laws and customs in the former force; for so shall the subject find nothing altered but the prince, and therefore will soon rest contented; and the rather if that new monarchy and the ancient dominion of the prince be of one language; but if the people be of a contrary language and humour, then to hold it there needeth great industry and fortune: in that case, the best way is that the prince should inhabit there, as well to encounter all inconveniencies proceeding from the subject, as to preserve the people from oppression of his own ministers. Another way is to send thither certain colonies, and plant them in fit places, or else to settle some garrisons both of horse and foot; but colonies are less chargeable to the prince. As for the people inhabitant, (who must necessarily remove, they being a small number, and dispossessed,) they cannot have power to offend; for in that case this rule or maxim shall be found true, that men must be either kindly entreated, or with all extremity oppressed; because of light injuries they may be revenged, but of utter oppression they cannot.

A third way to hold a conquered dominion is, to cherish and defend the neighbours of little power, and oppress or keep under those that are most potent, and, above all, to take order that no foreign prince or power do enter; for it is ever to be looked for, that so many of the nation as are discontented, either for ambition or fear, will be ever ready to bring in strangers; and to conclude this matter of principality annexed, I say it behoveth every prince possessed of such a state never to increase the power of any potent neighbour, never to oppress those that are of small power, never to permit any foreign potentate to enter, but ever to plant colonies and garrisons, or else to make that dominion his chief habitation.

## CHAP. V.

*Of monarchies tyrannical.*

TYRANNICAL princes are not advanced by favour, neither do they trust unto fortune, but by degrees of war, or else by some other indirect means, do aspire unto greatness; and therein do maintain themselves by all ways either honest or dishonest, without respect of justice, conscience, or law either of nations or nature: a prince by such impious means aspired, and desiring to hold that he hath gained, will take order that the cruelties he committeth may be done roundly, suddenly, and, as it were, at an instant; for if they be executed at leisure, and by piecemeal, then will the prince's fears continue long, and the terror in subjects take deeper impression, whose nature is such that either they must be bound by benefits, or by cruelty made sure from offending. Example, Dionysius and Agathocles.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of new-found monarchies and principalities, with the means to perpetuate them.*

SOME other princes there are that from private estate have aspired to sovereignty, not by unnatural or impious proceedings, as the former, but by virtue and fortune, and being aspired have found no great difficulty to be maintained; for such a prince having no other dominion, is forced to settle himself where he is become a prince. But here is to be noted, that albeit such a man be virtuous, yet wanting fortune his virtue proveth to small purpose, and fortune without virtue doth seldom work any great effect. Howsoever it be, a prince being aspired, both by the aid of the one and of the other, shall notwithstanding find some difficulty to hold what he hath gotten; because he is forced to introduce new laws and new orders of government differing from the old, as well for his own security as confirmation of the government; for avoiding of which dangers, he is to consider whether he be of himself able to compel his subjects to obey, or must pray in aid of others. If he can

do the first, he needeth not doubt; but being driven to the other, his greatness cannot long continue: for albeit a matter of no difficulty it is to persuade a people, yet to make them constant is a work well near impossible. Example, Theseus, Cyrus, Romulus. The second sort of new princes are such as be aspired by favour or corruption, or by the virtue or greatness of fortune or friends: a prince by any or all these means advanced, and desirous to hold his estate, must endeavour by his own virtue to maintain himself without depending upon any other, which may be done by this means: first, to assure all enemies from offending; secondly, to win the love and friendship of so many neighbours as possibly he may; thirdly, to compass all designs tending to his honour or profit, and bring them to pass either by fraud or force; fourthly, to make himself honoured and followed of captains and soldiers; fifthly, to oppress all those that would or can offend; sixthly, to be obsequious and liberal to friends, magnanimous and terrible to foes; seventhly, to casse all old and unfaithful bands, and entertain new; eighthly, to hold such amity with kings and princes, as they ought reasonably to favour him; or if they would offend, easily they cannot. Example, Giovannic, Torrigiani, Cæsar Borgia.

The third and last means, whereby private persons do aspire to principalities, is not force and violence, but mere good-will and favour of men. The cause or occasion thereof is only virtue or fortune, or at least a certain fortunate craft and wittiness, because he aspireth either by favour of the people, or by favour of the nobility; for these contrary humours are in all commonwealths to be found; and the reason thereof is, that the great men do ever endeavour to oppress the people, and the people do labour not to be oppressed by them. Of these divers appetites one of these three effects do proceed; viz. principality, liberty, or licentious life. Principality may come either by love of the multitude, or of the great men; for when any of these factions do find themselves oppressed, then do they soon consent to make one a prince, hoping by his virtue and

valour to be defended. Example, Francesco Sforza, Alessandro de Medici.

A prince in this sort aspired, to maintain his estate, must first consider well by which of these factions aforesaid he is advanced; for if by favour of great men he be aspired, then must he meet with many difficulties; for having about him divers persons of great quality, and such as were but lately his equals, hardly shall he command them in such sort as it behoveth: but if the prince be advanced by the people, few or none shall hardly disobey him. So it appeareth that a prince made by the multitude is much more secure than he whom the nobility preferreth; for common people do not desire to enjoy more than their own, and to be defended from oppression; but great men do study, not only to hold their own, but also to command and insult upon inferiors.

Note, That all monarchies are principalities, but all principalities are not monarchies.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of councils, and counsellors in general.*

A SENATE or council is a certain lawful assembly of counsellors, to give advice to him or them that have in the commonweal power sovereign.

A counsellor is called in the Latin *senator;* which word signifieth in effect an old man. The Grecians and Romans also most commonly composed their councils of ancient and expert persons; for if they, or the greater part of them, had been young men, then might the council have more properly been called a juvenate than a senate.

The chief and most necessary note required in a counsellor is, to have no dependance on any other prince or commonweal; either oath, homage, natural obligation, pension, or reward. In this point the Venetians have been ever most precise, and for that reason do not admit any cardinal or other clergyman to be either of or at their councils; therefore, when the Venetian senate is assembled, the usher being ready to shut the door, crieth aloud, *Fuora preti*, De-

part priest. Note also, that in every state, of what quality soever, a secret or cabinet-council is mainly necessary.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of councils in some particular monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies.*

THE king of Spain, for the government of his dominions, hath seven councils; viz. the council of the Indies, the council of Spain, the council of Italy and the Low Countries, the council of war, the council of orders, the council of inquisition, and the council royal.

In France are three councils, viz. the council-privy, the council of judges, which they call presidents *et conseillers de parliament*, and the great council, which they call *assemblée du trois estates*.

### *Of councils in aristocracies.*

In Venice, besides the senate and great council, are four councils; viz. the sages of the sea, the sages of the land, the council of ten, the three presidents of Quarantia, and the senate: all which councils do amount to an hundred and twenty persons, with the magistrates.

The great council of Ragusa consisteth of sixty persons, and hath another privy-council of twelve.

### *Of councils in democracies.*

Genoa hath three councils; the great council of two hundred, the senate, which consisteth of sixty, and the privy-council, which hath twenty-six counsellors; so it doth appear that in all commonwealths, be they monarchies, aristocracies, or popular states, the council-privy is most necessary, and often used; also this difference is to be noted between the councils in monarchies and the councils in aristocracies and states popular; that is to say, that all deliberations fit to be published are in a monarchy consulted and resolved upon in the council-privy, and after ratified by common-council: but in optimacies, or popular government, the custom is contrary.

Here also is to be noted, that albeit the use and authority of every senate and privy-council is most needful, yet hath it no authority to command, but in the name of those in whom the sovereignty resteth; for if counsellors had power to command absolutely, then should they be sovereigns, and consequently all execution at their pleasure; which may not be without detracting from majesty, which is a thing so sovereign and sacred, as no citizen or subject, of what quality soever, may touch or approach thereunto.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Of officers and commissioners, with their respective distinctions.*

AN officer is a person public, that hath charge ordinary, and limited by law.

A commissioner is also a person public, but his charge is extraordinary and limited by commission.

Officers are of two sorts, and so be commissioners; the one hath power to command, and are called magistrates, the other hath authority to execute; so the one and the other are persons public, yet are not all public persons either officers or commissioners.

Commissioners are ordained to govern in provinces, in war, in justice, in disposing the treasure, or some other function concerning the state; but all commissions do spring and proceed from the sovereign, magistrates, and commissioners. And here is to be noted, that every commission ceaseth, if he that granted the commission doth die, or revoke it, or if the commissioners during his commission shall aspire to office and authority equal to his that made it.

## CHAP. X.

### *Of magistrates, their qualifications and elections.*

A MAGISTRATE is an officer having power to command in the state; and albeit that every magistrate be an officer, yet every officer is not a magistrate, but they only that have power to command.

Also in making of officers and magistrates in every com-

monweal three things are specially to be observed; viz. who doth make them, what men they are that should be made, and the form and manner how they are made.

The first appertaineth to him or them in whom the sovereignty resteth; the second also belongeth to majesty, yet therein the laws are commonly followed, especially in aristocracies and states popular: in the one, the magistrates are chosen out of the most wealthy or most noble; in the other, elected out of the whole multitude.

The form and manner of choosing magistrates in aristocracies and states popular, is either by election, by lot, or by both, and their office is to compel those that do not obey what sovereignty commandeth; for all force of commandment lieth in compulsion.

Commandment likewise is of two sorts: the one may be called sovereign and absolute, above laws, above magistrates, and above people. In monarchies such command is proper to the prince only; in aristocracies it resteth in the nobility, and in democracies the people have that power.

The second commandments are subject both to sovereignty and law.

Here is to be noted, that every magistrate may recall his own commandment, and forbid what he did command, yet cannot revoke that which he hath judged.

Also in presence of the sovereign, all authority of magistrates ceaseth; and in presence of great magistrates the inferior have no power: and magistrates equal cannot do any thing but by consent, if his colleagues or fellow-magistrates be present.

## CHAP. XI.

*Observations intrinsically concerning every public state in points of justice, treasure, and war.*

THE first concern matter intrinsic.

The second touch matter extrinsic.

*Matters intrinsic are three.*

The administration of justice.

The managing of the treasure.

The disposing of things appertaining to war

*Matters extrinsic are also three.*

The skill how to deal with neighbours.

The diligence to vent their designs.

The way how to win so much confidence with some of them, as to be made partaker of whatsoever they mean to enterprise.

*Touching administration of justice.*

The good and direct administration of justice is in all places a principal part of government; for seldom or never shall we see any people discontented and desirous of alteration, where justice is equally administered without respect of persons; and in every state this consideration is required, but most of all in countries that do front upon other princes, or were lately conquered: hereunto the prince's vigilancy and the magistrates' uprightness are especially required; for oftentimes the prince is deceived, and the magistrates corrupted. It behoveth also the prince to maintain the judges and ministers of justice in their reputation, and yet to have a vigilant eye upon their proceedings, and the rather, if their authority do include equity, and from their censure be no appeal; and if their office be during life, and they are men born and dwelling in the same country, all these things are duly to be considered of the prince: for as to call the judges into question is, as it were, to disgrace the judicial seat; so to wink at their corruptions were matter of just discontent to the subject. In this case therefore the prince cannot do more than by his wisdom to make choice of good men; and being chosen, to hold them in good reputation, so as the ordinary course of justice may proceed; for otherwise great disorder, contempt, and general confusion will ensue thereof. Secondly, he is to keep his eye upon their proceedings; and lastly, to reserve unto himself a supreme power of appellation.

*Touching the treasure.*

The want of money is in all states very perilous, and most of all in those which are of least strength, and do con-

fine upon nations with whom they have commonly war, or unassured peace, but most perilous of all to those governments which are remote from the prince or place where they are to be relieved.

*The means to levy treasure are four.*

First, The customs and impositions upon all sorts of merchandise and traffic is to be looked into and advanced.

Secondly, The excessive eating of usury must be suppressed.

Thirdly, All superfluous charges and expenses are to be taken away.

Lastly, The doings and accounts of ministers are severally to be examined.

Touching the matter of custom and impost, thereof assuredly a great profit is in every state to be raised; chiefly where peace hath long continued, and where the country affordeth much plenty of commodities to be carried out, and where ports are to receive shipping.

The moderating of interest is ever necessary, and chiefly in this age, by reason that money aboundeth in Europe, since the traffic into the Indies; for such men as have money in their hands in great plenty, would in no wise employ the same in merchandise, if lawful it were to receive the utmost usury, being a course of most profit and greatest security.

The taking away of superfluous expenses is no other thing than a certain wise and laudable parsimony; which the Romans and other well-governed states did use. These expenses consist in fees, allowances, and wages granted to ministers of little or no necessity; also in pensions, rewards, entertainments, and donaries, with small difficulty to be moderated, or easily to be suppressed.

By abridging or taking away of these needless expenses a marvellous profit will be saved for the prince; but if he continue them, and by imposing upon the people do think to increase his treasure or revenue, besides the loss of their love, he may also hazard their obedience, with many other inconveniencies.

*Touching war.*

Whatsoever prince or commonweal is neighbour to any people which can, will, or were wont to offend, it is necessary to have not only all things prepared for a defence of his person and country, but also to forecast and use every caution and other diligence; for the inconveniences which happen to government are sudden and unlooked for; yea, the providence and provision required in this case ought to be such, as the expenses all other ways employed must stay to supply the necessity of war.

## CHAP. XII.

*Extrinsic observation, shewing how to deal with neighbour-princes and provinces respectively; how to prevent their designs, and decipher their intendments.*

THIS first point of matter extrinsic is of such quality as being well handled procureth great good, but otherwise becometh dangerous; for the proceeding must be diverse, according to the diversity of ends which the prince or governor intendeth; for if he desire to continue peace with his neighbours, one way is to be taken; but otherwise he is to work that seeketh occasion to break, and to become an enemy to one or more of his neighbours. If he do desire to live peaceably with all, then he is to observe these rules; viz.

First, To hold and continue firmly all contracts and capitulations.

Secondly, To shew himself resolved neither to offer nor take the least touch of wrong or injury.

Thirdly, With all care and favour to further commerce and reciproke traffic for the profit of the subject, and increase of the prince's revenue.

Fourthly, Covertly to win so great confidence with neighbours, as in all actions of unkindness among them he may be made umpire.

Fifthly, To become so well believed with them, as he may remove such diffidences as grow to his own disadvantage.

Sixthly, Not to deny protection or aid to them that are the weakest, and chiefly such as do and will endure his fortune.

Lastly, In favouring, aiding, and protecting, (unless necessity shall otherwise so require,) to do it moderately, so as they who are to be aided become not jealous, and consequently seek adherency elsewhere, which oftentimes hath opened way to other neighbours that desire a like occasion.

*How to prevent their designs.*

This point in time of war is with great diligence to be looked unto; also in time of peace to prevent all occasions that may kindle war is behoveful; for to foresee what may happen to the prejudice of a prince's profit or reputation is a part of great wisdom. The means to attain the intelligence of these things are two:

The first is by friends, the next by espials; the one for the most part faithful, the other not so assured.

These matters are well to be considered; for albeit the nature of man desireth nothing more than curiously to know the doings of others, yet are those things to be handled with so great secrecy and dissimulation as the prince's intent be not in any wise suspected, nor the ministers made odious; for these sometimes, to win themselves reputation, do devise causes of difference where no need is, divining of things future which prove to the prejudice of their own prince.

*To win confidence with neighbours.*

This is chiefly attained unto by being loved and honoured; for these things do work so many good effects, as daily experience sufficeth, without any express example, to prove them of great force.

The ways to win love and trust is, in all actions to proceed justly, and sometimes to wink at wrongs, or set aside unnecessary revenges; and if any thing be done not justifiable, or unfit to be allowed, as oftentimes it happeneth, there to lay the blame upon the minister; which must be performed with so great show of revenge and dissimulation, by reproving and punishing the minister, as the princes offended may be satisfied, and believe that the cause of unkindness proceeded from thence.

Now only it resteth that somewhat should be said touching provision, to the end the people may not be drawn into despair, by famine or extreme dearth of victual, and chiefly for want of corn, which is one principal consideration to be regarded, according to the Italian proverb, *Pane in Piazza, Giustitia in Palazzo, siverezza per tutto:* whereunto I could wish every prince or supreme governor to be thus qualified; viz. *Facile de audienza, non facile de credenza; desioso de spedition, essemplare in costumi proprii, et in quei de sua casa tale che vorra governare, e non esser governato da altro, che della raggione.*

## CHAP. XIII.

*Observations confirmed by authorities of princes and principalities, charactering an excellent prince or governor.*

EVERY good and lawful principality is either elective or successive; of them, election seemeth the more ancient, but succession in divers respects the better: *Minore discrimine sumitur princeps quam quæritur.* Tacit.

The chief and only endeavour of every good prince ought to be the commodity and security of the subjects; as contrariwise the tyrant seeketh his own private profit with the oppression of his people: *Civium non servitus sed tutela tradita est.* Sal.

To the perfection of every good prince two things are necessarily required; viz. prudence and virtue; the one to direct his doings, the other to govern his life: *Rex eris si recte feceris.* Hor.

The second care which appertaineth to a good prince is, to make his subjects like unto himself; for thereby he is not only honoured, but they also the better governed: *Facile imperium in bonos.* Plaut.

Subjects are made good by two means; viz. by constraint of law, and the prince's example; for in all estates the people do imitate those conditions whereunto they see the prince inclined: *Qui quid faciunt principes, præcipere videantur.* Quintil.

All virtues be required in a prince, but justice and cle-

mency are most necessary; for justice is a habit of doing things justly, as well to himself as others, and giving to every one so much as to him appertaineth. This is that virtue that preserveth concord among men, and whereof they be called good: *Jus et æquitas vincula civitatum.* Cic.

[a] It is the quality of this virtue also to proceed equally and temperately; it informeth the prince not to surcharge the subjects with infinite laws; for thereof proceedeth the impoverishment of the subjects and the enriching of lawyers, a kind of men which in ages more ancient did seem of no necessity: *Sine causidicis satis fœlices olim fuere futuræque sunt urbes.* Sal.

The next virtue required in princes is clemency, being an inclination of the mind to lenity and compassion, yet tempered with severity and judgment; this quality is fit for all great personages, but chiefly princes, because their occasion to use it is most; by it also the love of men is gained: *Quid vult regnare, languida regnet manu.* Sen.

After clemency, fidelity is expected in all good princes, which is a certain performance and observation of word and promise; this virtue seemeth to accompany justice, or is as it were the same, and therefore most fit for princes: *Sanctissimum generis humani bonum.* Liv.

As fidelity followeth justice, so doth modesty accompany clemency; modesty is a temperature of reason, whereby the mind of man is so governed, as neither in action or opinion he over-deemeth of himself, or any thing that is his; a quality not common in fortunate folk, and most rare in princes: *Superbia commune nobilitatis malum.* Sal.

This virtue doth also moderate all external demonstration of insolence, pride, and arrogance, and therefore necessary to be known of princes, and all others whom favour or fortune have advanced: *Impone fœlicitati tuæ frænos, facilius illam reges.* Curt.

But as princes are to observe the bounds of modesty, so

[a] The author of the Epistle Dedicatory to the duchess of Suffolk, prefixed to Mr. Latimer's Sermon, saith that lawyers' covetousness hath almost devoured England.

may they not forget the majesty appertaining to their supreme honour, being a certain reverend greatness due to princely virtue and royal state; a grace and gravity no less beseeming a prince than virtue itself; for neither over-much familiarity nor too great austerity ought to be used by princes: *Facilitas autoritatem, severitas amorem minuit.* Tac.

To these virtues we may apply liberality, which doth not only adorn, but highly advance the honour due to princes: thereby also the good-will of men is gained; for nothing is more fitting a prince's nature than bounty, the same being accompanied with judgment, and performed according to the laws of liberality: *Perdere multi sciunt, donare nesciunt.* Tac.

It seemeth also that prudence is not only fit, but also among other virtues necessary in a prince; for the daily use thereof is in all human actions required, and chiefly in matters of state and government: *Prudentia imperantis propria et unica virtus.* Arist.

The success of all worldly proceedings doth show that prudence hath compassed the prosperous event of human actions, more than force of arms or other power: *Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus.* Eurip.

Prudence is either natural, or received from others; for whoso can counsel himself what is fit to be done needeth not the advice of others; but they that want such perfection, and are nevertheless capable, and are willing to know what others inform, ought to be accounted wise enough: *Laudatissimus est qui cuncta videbit, sed laudandus est is qui paret recte monenti.* Hesiod.

## CHAP. XIV.

### *Of the prince's intimate counsellors and ministers of state, with their several requisites.*

ALBEIT the excellent spirit of some princes be such as doth justly deserve the highest commendation; yet for that every course of life needeth the aid of men, and the mind of one cannot comprehend the infinite care appertain-

ing to public affairs, it behoveth princes to be assisted: *Magna negotia adjutoribus egent.* Tac.

These assistants may be properly divided into counsellors and ministers; the one to advise, the other to execute: without counsel, no kingdom, no state, no private house can stand; for experience hath proved that commonweals have prospered so long as good counsel did govern; but when favour, fear, or voluptuousness entered, those nations became disordered, and in the end subject to slavery: *Quiddam sacrum profecto est consultatio.* Plato.

Counsellors are men specially selected to give advice to princes or commonwealths, as well in peace as in war: the chief qualities required in such men are fidelity and knowledge, which two concurring do make them both good and wise, and consequently fit for counsel: *Prudentis proprium munus recte consulere.* Arist.

The election of counsellors is and ought to be chiefly among men of long experience and grave years; for as youth is fittest for action in respect of corporal strength, so elder folk, having felt the force of every fortune, and observed the course of worldly proceedings, do seem most meet for consultation: *Consilia senum, facta juvenum.* Plato.

Albeit we say, that the excellency of wisdom should be in counsellors; yet do we not require so quick and fiery a conceit as is more apt for innovation than orderly government: *Hebetiores quam acutiores melius remp. administrant.* Thucyd.

To fidelity and experience we wish that our counsellors should be endued with piety, liberty, constancy, modesty, and silence; for as the aid and assistance of God is that which governeth all good counsels, so liberty of speech, and magnanimous uttering of what is good and fit, is necessary in counsellors. Likewise to be constant, and not to vary in opinion, either for fear or favour, is very commendable: also, as modesty in giving counsel escheweth all offences, and gaineth good-will, so secrecy is the best and most secure means to govern all public affairs: *Res magnæ sustineri non possunt ab eo qui tacere nequit.* Curt.

The first obstacle to good counsel is pertinacy, or opiniativeness, a condition far unfit for counsellors; yet some men are so far in love with their own opiniastre conceits, as that they cannot patiently endure opposition; secondly, discord must from counsellors be removed, because private offence many times impeacheth public proceedings; thirdly, affection is an enemy to counsel, the same being commonly accompanied with anger, wherewith nothing can be rightly or considerately done; lastly, avarice seemeth a vice worthy to be abhorred of all counsellors, because it driveth away both fidelity and honesty, the principal pillars of all good counsel: *Pessimum veri affectus et judicii venenum, utilitas.* Tac.

To good counsel other impediments there are, which square not with wisdom; for all crafty and hazarding counsels do seem in the beginning likely to succeed, but afterwards, and chiefly in the end, do prove hard, and of evil event. It therefore seemeth behoveful to be wary in resolving, and bold in executing: *Animus vereri qui scit, scit tuto aggredi.* Pub.

Another let to good consultation is immoderate desire, which every wise man must endeavour to restrain: *Cupiditate pauca recte fiunt, circumspectione plurima.* Thucyd.

Thirdly, Haste is an enemy to good deliberation, for whoso greedily desireth any thing, proceedeth rashly, and rash proceeding endeth ever in repentance: *Scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescunt.* Tac.

### *Of ministers of state.*

Having already spoken of counsellors, somewhat is to be spoken of ministers; I mean those that either publicly or privately serve the prince in any function. In choice of which men care must be had, first, that they be persons honestly born, for no man descended of base parentage may be admitted, unless in him be found some noble and excellent virtue: *Optimus quisque nobilissimus.* Plato.

Secondly, They ought to be of honest condition, and of good fame; for that commonweal is better and more secure where the prince is not good, than is that where his min-

isters are evil. It seemeth therefore that ministers should be men of good quality and blameless: *Emitur sola virtute potestas.* Claud.

Thirdly, Consideration is to be had of their capacity and fitness for that function wherein they are to be used; for as some men are apt for learning, so others are naturally disposed to arms. Also, it is necessary that every one square with the office whereunto he is appointed, in which matter some princes have used great caution; for as they little liked of men excellent, so they utterly detested the vicious; the one they doubted to trust in regard of themselves, the other were thought a public indignity to the state. Wise men have therefore resolved that those wits which are neither over-haughty and singular, nor they which be base or dull, are fittest for princes' secrets and services; howsoever we may say with Tacitus, *Nescio quomodo aulica hæc comitia affectus dirigit, et fato quodam ac sorte nascendi, ut cætera, ita principium inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos est.* Tac.

And because the course and quality of men's lives serving in court is of all other the most uncertain and dangerous, great heed and circumspection ought therein to be used; for whosò serveth negligently, forgetting the dutiful endeavours appertaining to the place, seemeth to take a way of no good speed: *Quanto quis obsequio promptior, tanto honoribus et epibus extollitur.* Tac.

It shall also become such a man to look well unto his own profit, and behave himself rather boldly than bashfully: *Malus minister regii imperii pudor.* Sen.

To be modest, and closely to handle all actions, is also a course well beseeming a courtier; neither shall he do well to attribute any good success to his own virtue or merit, but acknowledge all to proceed from the prince's bounty and goodness, by which means envy is eschewed, and the prince not robbed of his honour: *Hæc est conditio regum, casus tantum adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos virtuti suæ.* Prov. Emped.

And to conclude these precepts summarily, I say it be-

hoveth all ministers and servants in court to be patient, wary, and of few words: *Fraudum sedes aula.* Sen.

## CHAP. XV.

*The art of ruling, or mystery of regimen.*

TO govern is a certain skill how to command and continue subjects in due obedience, so as offend they ought not, or, if they will, they cannot; wherein two special things are to be considered, viz. the nature of men and the nature of the state; but first the condition of the vulgar must be well conceived: *Noscenda natura vulgi, et quibus modis temperanter habeatur.* Tac.

The disposition of men is diverse; some are apt to anger, some are hardy, some fearful; it therefore behoveth the prince to accommodate his government to the humour of the people whom he governeth: *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.* Mart.

Likewise the nature of commonweals is mutable and subject to change, and kings are not only accompanied with fortune, but also followed with hate; which breedeth a continual diffidence, chiefly towards those that are nearest to majesty: *Suspectus semper invisusque dominantibus quisquis proximus destinatur.* Tac.

Moreover the vulgar sort is generally variable, rash, hardy, and void of judgment: *Ex opinione multa, ex veritate pauca judicat.* Cic.

To confirm a government, force and arms are of greatest necessity; by force, I mean the guards and arms which princes use for their defence or ornament: *Miles in foro, miles in curia principem comitari debet.* Tac.

To this may be added, fortification and strong buildings, in these days much used by new princes, and others also, to whom people yield not willing obedience. In ancient times princes planted colonies, as well to suppress rebellion in conquered countries, as to front suspected neighbours: *Coloniæ vera sedes servitutis.* Tac.

The government of princes is also greatly increased by a virtue which I call a commendable affection in subjects,

proceeding of love and authority; these effects do grow from the prince's own merit, but their being liveth in the mind of the people; this love is gained by lenity, liberality, and mercy, yet is every of them to be tempered: *Nec aut reverentiam terrore, aut amorem humilitate captabis.* Plin.

Affection is also no way sooner won than by liberality, the same being used with judgment and moderation: *Bellorum sociis, periculorum consortibus, sive de te bene ac fortiter——meritis.* Sen.

By indulgence likewise, and princely affability, the love of men is gained; for the multitude desire no more than necessary food, and liberty to use ordinary recreations: *Vulgo, sicut pueris, omne ludicrum in pretio est.* Sen.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Of princely authority; wherein it consists, and how far to be extended and delegated.*

AUTHORITY is a certain reverend impression in the minds of subjects and others touching the prince's virtue and government; it resteth chiefly in admiration and fear: *Ingenita quibusdam gentibus erga reges suos veneratio.* Curt.

Authority consisteth in three things; viz. the form of government, the strength of the kingdom, and the condition of the prince; for in them all reputation and security resteth: *Majestas imperii, salutis tutela.* Curt.

Whoso desireth to govern well, it behoveth him to use severity, constancy, and restraint; for overmuch lenity introduceth contempt, and certain hope of impunity; the condition of men being such as cannot be restrained by shame, yet it is to be commanded by fear: *Salutaris severitas vincit inanem speciem clementiæ.* Cic.

Yet ought severity to be used with great respect, and sparingly, because over-great terror breedeth desperation: *Pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat.* Cic.

To govern constantly is nothing else but to continue the old and ancient laws in force without change or innovation, unless exceeding great commodity or urgent necessity shall

so require; for where extreme punishments are used, reformation is always needful: *Nocet interdum priscus rigor et nimia severitas.* Tac.

Also to restrain authority is a matter of great necessity, and worthy a wise prince; else he maketh others partakers of the honour and power to himself only due, the same being also dangerous: *Periculosum privati hominis nomen supra (immo et juxta) principes extolli.* Tac.

It seemeth also perilous that great authority given to private men should be long; for thereby oftentimes they are made insolent, and apt to innovation: *Libertatis sive principatus magna custodia est, si magna imperia diuturna esse non sinas.* Liv.

Authority is also reinforced and enlarged by power, without which no prince can either take from others or defend his own: *Parum tuta sine viribus majestas.* Liv.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of power and force, and how to be raised and maintained.*

POWER and strength is attained by these five ways: money, arms, counsel, friends, and fortune; but of these the first and most forcible is money: *Nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia possit.* Cic.

Next to money, arms are of most use, as well to defend as to offend; to keep, as to conquer; for oftentimes occasion is to be offered as well to take from others, as to hold what is our own: *Sua retinere privatæ est domus, de alienis certare regia laus est.* Tac.

Also of great and necessary use is counsel, to devise how arms ought to be employed or enforced: *Arma concilio temperanda.* Tac.

Likewise, friends and confederates do greatly increase the virtue of power, the same being such as have both wit and ability to aid: *In caducum parietem ne inclina.* Adr.

The last, yet not the least part of power, consisteth in fortune, whereof daily experience may be seen; for the success of all human actions seems rather to proceed from fortune than virtue: *Omni ratione potentior fortuna.* Curt.

To these particularities concerning power, we may add the qualities of the prince, which greatly grace his authority; these are partly internal and partly external: by the one I mean the virtues of the mind, by the other a certain seemly behaviour and comely gesture of the body; of the first kind I do suppose piety and providence to be the chief, for piety maketh a prince venerable, and like unto God: *Oportet principem res divinas videri curare serio et ante omnia.* Arist.

Providence is a forecast, and likely conjecture of things to come, supposed to be in those princes that in their actions proceed slowly and circumspectly; it seemeth also a course of princely discretion to be retired, and not ordinarily to converse with many: *Autoritatem absentia tueare.* Suet.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of conspiracy and treason; with the causes and ways of prevention or discovery.*

CONSPIRACY is commonly addressed to the prince's person; treasons are addressed against his government, authority, country, subjects, or places of strength. These mischiefs are easily feared, but hardly eschewed; for albeit open enemies are openly encountered, yet fraud and subtlety are secret foes, and consequently not to be avoided: *Occulta pericula neque prævidere neque vitare in promptu est.* Sallust.

The danger of conspiracy proceedeth of divers causes, as avarice, infidelity of subjects, ambition in servants, and corruption in soldiers, therefore with great difficulty to be avoided: *Vitæ tuæ dominus est, quisquis suam contempsit.* Sen.

Notwithstanding, it seemeth that either by inquisition, punishment, innocency, or destiny, the evil affection of men may be oftentimes discovered:

1. For whoso will curiously inquire and consider the actions and ordinary speeches of men, (I mean those that be persons of honour and reputation,) may oftentimes vent the

mine that lurketh in the minds: *Quoniam raro nisi male loquuti male faciunt.* Lips.

2. Punishment is likewise a thing so terrible, that the consideration thereof, with the hope of reward, doth often discover those dangerous intentions: *Cruciatu aut præmio cuncta pervia sunt.* Tac.

But as it is wisdom in princes to give ear to informers, so are they not always to be believed; for hope, envy, hate, or some other passion, oftentimes draw them to speak untruly: *Quis innocens esse potest si accusare sufficit?* Tac.

3. The third and likeliest defence against conspiracy is the prince's own innocency; for never having injured any man, it cannot be thought there liveth any subject so lewd as will endeavour to hurt him: *Fidelissima custodia principis ipsius innocentia.* Plin.

4. The last and best bulwark, to withstand the force of this mischief, we call destiny; which proceeding from the fountain of divine Providence, may be truly called the will of God; in whose power it resteth to protect and defend good princes: *Ille erit a latere tuo, et custodiet pedem tuum ne capiaris.* Psal.

Treasons are most commonly enterprised by covetous persons, who, preferring private profit before fame or fidelity, do not fear to enter into any impious action; to this humour ambitious men, dissentious, and all such as be desirous of innovation, are inclined: *Pulcra loquentes iidem in pectore prava struentes.* Hom.

To these offenders no punishment equal to their impious merit can be devised, being persons odious as well to friends as foes: *Preditores etiam in quos anteponunt, invisi sunt.* Tac.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of public hate and contempt, with the occasions and means to redress and avoid it.*

HAVING briefly touched the virtues and means whereby princes are maintained in authority and honour, let

something be said of the causes from whence their ruin doth proceed; the chief whereof seemeth to be hate and contempt: hate cometh of fear, which the more common it is, the more dangerous: *Nulla vis imperii tanta est, quæ premente metu possit esse diuturna.* Cic.

The causes of fear are punishments, impositions, and rigour; and therefore it behoveth a prince not only to shun them, but to eschew those actions whereby he may reasonably incur their suspicion: *Sentias enim homines ut metuant aut oderint, non minus opinione et fama, quam certa aliqua ratione moveri.* Cic.

Yet punishment, imposition, and censure are in all states necessary, although they shew, and seem terrible, and consequently breed a certain desperation in subjects, unless they be discreetly and modestly used; for extreme and frequent punishments taste of cruelty; great and many imposts savour of covetousness; censure of manners, when it exceedeth the quality of offences, doth seem rigour in these matters; therefore it behoveth the prince to be moderate and cautelous, chiefly in capital punishment, which must be confined within the bounds of justice: *Sit apud principem parsimonia etiam vilissimi sanguinis.* Sen.

But if for security sake the prince be forced to punish, let the same be done with show of great sorrow and loathness: *Tanquam invitus, et magno cum tormento ad castigandum veniat.* Sen.

Let all punishments also be slowly executed, for they that are hastily punished do seem to have been willingly condemned; neither ought any capital punishment to be inflicted, but only that which is profitable to the commonweal, and for example sake: *Non tam ut ipsi pereant, quam ut alios pereundo deterreant.* Sen.

In punishing also, a special respect must be had, that no show of content or pleasure be taken therein: *Forma rabiei est sanguine et vulneribus gaudere.* Sen.

Also in punishing, equality must be observed, and the nature of the punishment according to the custom: *Nec eisdem de causis alii plectantur, alii ne appellentur quidem.* Cic.

But in punishing public offences, wherein a multitude have part, the execution ought to be otherwise, and as it were at an instant, which may haply seem terrible, but in effect is not: *Frequens vindicta paucorum odium reprimit, omnium irritat.* Sen.

Another means to satisfy a people offended is, to punish the ministers of cruelty, and with their blood to wash away the common hatred: *Piaculares publici odii victimæ.* Plin. By this king David did appease the Gibeonites.

The next cause of discontent cometh of impositions, under which word is comprehended all levies of money, a matter nothing pleasing to people, as that which they esteem equal to their own lives: *Pecunia anima et sanguis est mortalibus.* Plaut.

First, to remove hate conceived of this cause there is nothing better than public expostulation of necessity; for what commonwealth or kingdom can be without tributes? *Nulla quies gentium sine armis, nec arma sine stipendiis, nec stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt.* Tac.

The second remedy against hate for impositions, is to make moderate levies, and rare; for, as Tiberius the emperor was wont to say, a sheep should be fleeced, not flayed: *Qui nimis emungit, elicit sanguinem.* Tac.

Thirdly, also to eschew the offence of people, it behoveth the prince to have a vigilant eye on informers, promoters, and such fiscal ministers, whose cruelty and covetous proceedings do oftentimes occasion great hate; but this mischief may be, though hardly, encountered, either by choosing honest officers, or (proving otherwise) not only to remove them, but to use them as sponges: *Exprimendi postquam biberint.* Suet.

In all impositions or taxations, no cruelty or force ought to be used, the second cause to kindle hate, and to meet with that mischief; nothing is better than to proceed moderately, and without extremity: *Ne boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora servitio aut pœnæ tradant.* Tac.

The fourth remedy is the prince's own parsimony, not giving so largely to private persons, as thereby to be forced

to take from the multitude: *Magnæ opes non tam multa capiendo, quam haud multa perdendo, quæruntur.* Mæcenas.

The last help against hate is, in taxation to proceed equally, indifferently, and without favour or respect; and that the assessors of taxes may be elected of the meaner sort of people: *Populus maximam fidem rerum suarum habet.* Tac.

Touching censure, which we numbered amongst the causes whereof hate is conceived, much needeth not to be spoken, because the same is discontinued, or rather utterly forgotten; yet doth it seem a thing necessary, being a certain observation and controlment of such evil manners and disorders as were not by law corrigible; these officers were by the Romans called *magistri pudoris et modestiæ.* Liv.

To the function of censures these two things were anciently subject, manners and excess; under manners I comprehend wantonness, drunkenness, diceing, brawling, perjury, and all such lewdness as modesty condemneth. These disorders were anciently punished by the discretion of censors in all ages and sexes, to the end that idleness might be generally avoided: *Universa plebs habeat negotia sua, quibus a malo publico detineatur.* Sallust.

Excess includeth riotousness, expense of money, prodigal housekeeping, banqueting, and superfluity in apparel, which things are the mothers of many mischiefs. It also seemeth in some sort perilous to the prince, that the subject should exceed either in coveting or consuming: *Nemo nimis excedat, sive amicorum copia, sive opum.* Arist.

The punishment inflicted upon these sorts of offenders were either ignominy or pecuniary punishments: *Censoris judicium damnato nihil affert nisi ruborum.* Tac.

The first and chiefest means to remove these inconveniencies is the prince's own example, whose life being well censured easily reduceth others to order: *Vita principis censura perpetua.* Plin.

Secondly, Those disorders may be taken away without danger, if the censures do proceed by degrees, and leisurely;

for the nature of man may not suddenly be altered: *Vitia quædam tollit facilius princeps, si eorum sit patiens.* Sen.

These are the chiefest rules whereby to eschew hate, but impossible it is for any prince or minister utterly to avoid it; for being himself good, he incurreth the offence of all bad folk; if he be evil, good men will hate him: this danger therefore wise and virtuous princes have little regarded, because hate may be gained as well by good as evil doing: *Odia qui nimium timet, regnare nescit.* Sen.

One other means to remove this error is, to reward the good and well-deserving subjects; for no man can think him cruel, that for love to virtue useth austerity; which will appear when he bestoweth bountifully to the good: *Præmio et pœna respublica continetur.* Solon.

The other vice which endangereth the state of princes, we call contempt; being a certain base and vile conceit, which entereth into the subjects, strangers, or servants, of the prince and his proceedings; for the authority of a king may be resembled to the powers of man's mind, whereunto the hands, the feet, the eyes, do by consent obey: *Vires imperii in consensu obedientium sunt.* Liv.

The causes of contempt do proceed chiefly from the form of government, fortune, or the prince's manners; the form of government becometh contemptible, when the prince desiring to be thought merciful, ruleth rather pitifully than justly; which manner of proceeding taketh away all reverence in the people, and in lieu thereof entereth liberty, or at least a certain boldness to offend: *Facultas faciendi quod cuilibet visum, non potest comprimere ingenitam singulis hominibus pravitatem.* Tac.

Also to be mutable, irresolute, light and inconsiderate in bestowing the honours and offices of state, maketh the prince contemptible: *Qui præsentibus fruitur, nec in longius consultat.* Arist.

But if contempt be caused by fortune, or, as may be said more reasonably, by destiny, and that those friends do fail who ought in duty to defend the prince and his authority,

then is there small hope to eschew contempt: *Fato obnoxia virtus.* Plaut.

The prince's manners do breed contempt when he yieldeth his affections to sensuality and sloth, or if he incur the suspicion of simplicity, cowardice, or any such vice, unworthy the dignity he beareth: common people do sometimes also disesteem the prince for external and light causes, as deformity of person, sickness, or such like: *Mos vulgi est, fortuita et externa ad culpam trahere.* Tac.

## CHAP. XX.

*Of diffidence and dissimulation in the management of state affairs.*

ALBEIT roundness and plaindealing be most worthy praise, chiefly in private persons; yet because all men in their actions do not so proceed, it behoveth wise men, and princes above others, at occasions to semble and dissemble; for as in all actions a prince ought to be slow and advised, so in consent and believing, haste and facility is most dangerous; and though credulity be rather an error than a fault, yet for princes it is both unfit and perilous. Wherefore it importeth them to be defended with this caution: *Nihil credendo, atque omnia cavendo.* Cic.

Notwithstanding, he must not show himself diffident or distrustful utterly; but as I wish he should not overslightly believe all men, so ought he not for small causes distrust every man: *Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli.* Sen.

Dissimulation is as it were begotten by diffidence, a quality in princes of so great necessity, as moved the emperor Tiberius to say, *Nescit regnare, qui nescit dissimulare.*

The necessity of dissimulation is chiefly to be used with strangers and enemies: it also sheweth a certain discretion in magistrates, sometimes to disguise with friends when no offence doth thereof follow: *Doli non doli sunt, nisi astu colas.* Plaut.

This kind of craft albeit in every man's conceit not praisable, is nevertheless tolerable; and for princes and magistrates (the same being used to good ends) very necessary.

But those cunnings which are contrary to virtue ought not of honest men to be used; neither dare I commend adulation and corruption, though they be often used in court, and are of some learned writers allowed: *Decipere pro moribus temporum, prudentia est.* Plin.

By great subtlety and frauds contrary to virtue and piety, I mean perjury and injustice, which though all men in words detest, yet in deeds are used of many, persuading themselves by cavillations and sophistications to excuse the impiety of their false oaths, as it is written of Lysander: *Pueros talis, viros juramentis circumvenire solebat.* Plut.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of war defensive and invasive; with instructions touching laws of arms, soldiers, and military discipline.*

THE art military is of all other qualities most necessary for princes, for without it they cannot be defended; force of men only sufficeth not, unless the same be governed by counsel and martial wisdom: *Duo sunt quibus resp. servatur; in hostes fortitudo, et domi concordia.* Tac.

Military knowledge concerneth war, and every war is either foreign or domestical; touching foreign, it must be considered when it must be begun, how to continue it, and when to be ended; to begin war, a prince is to take heed that the cause be just, and the enterprise advisedly entered into: *Sunt enim et belli sicut pacis jura, justeque ea non minus ac fortiter gerere debes.* Liv.

The laws of arms are in all commonweals to be duly observed; for to enter fight rashly, and without respect to reason, were beastly; also to kill or slay would work no better effect, than that all nations should without mercy murder one another: *Barbaro ritu cædem cæde, et sanguinem sanguine expiare.* Sal.

No war therefore is to be made, but such as is just. And in every just war these three things are to be looked into; viz. that the author be of authority, that the cause be good, and the end just; for in all states, the prince, or they in whom the sovereignty resteth, are the just authors of war;

others have no such authority: *Si quis privatim sine publico scito, pacem bellumve fecerit, capitale esto.* Plato.

Wars are of two sorts, defensive and offensive; the one to resist, the other to invade; against defence nothing can be said, because it is natural and necessary: *Est non modo justum sed etiam necessarium cum vi vis illata defenditur.* Cic.

Defensive war is of two sorts, either to defend thine own, or thy friends; for it is reason that every one should keep securely that which to him appertaineth: and therewith also by arms to defend the liberty of country, parents, and friends: *Nullum bellum a civitate suscipitur, nisi aut pro fide aut pro salute.* Cic.

The like reason leadeth us to assist and protect friends, for the common obligation of human society doth so require: *Qui enim non obsistit, si potest, injuriæ, tam est in vitio, quam si parentes aut patriam, aut socios deserat.* Cic.

Invasion is also just and allowable, but not ever; for whoso hath been robbed, or spoiled of his lands or goods, may lawfully seek repossession by force; yet so, as before any force be used, he first civilly seek restitution, wherein if justice be denied, then is the use of arms necessary: *Justum bellum quibus necessarium; et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes.* Liv.

Likewise invasion is lawful against barbarians, whose religion and impiety ought to be abhorred, chiefly if they be potent, and apt to offend; for the cause of such war is compulsion and suppression of evil: *Cui licentia iniquitatis eripitur, utiliter vincitur.* August.

Finally, To conclude this matter of invasion, I say, that no revenge, no desire of honour or empire, are any lawful causes of war; but the intent thereof ought to be directed only to defence and security: for wise men do take arms to win peace, and in hope of rest they endure travel: *Ita bellum suscipiatur ut nihil aliud quam pax quæsita videatur.* Cic.

Having said somewhat against unjust war, let us speak

of temerity and unadvised war, an enterprise worthy discommendation: *Omnes bellum sumunt facile, ægerrime desinunt; nec in ejusdem potestate initium et finis est.* Sal.

A wise prince therefore ought neither to undertake any unlawful invasion, nor without sober and mature deliberation enter into any war, as he that is unwilling to offend, yet of courage enough to defend: *Nec provoces bellum, nec timeas.* Plin.

To make war three things are required; money, men, and arms; and to maintain a war, provision and council are needful: therefore a wise prince, before he begins a war, doth carefully consider what forces and charge thereunto belongeth: *Diu apparandum est bellum, ut vincas melius.* Pub.

Above all other provisions, care must be had that bread be not wanting; for without it neither victory nor life can be looked for: *Qui frumentum necessariumque commeatum non præparat, vincitur sine ferro.* Vegetius.

Lastly, It behoveth a prince always to have arms in readiness, I mean harness, horses, weapons, artillery, engines, powder, and every other thing necessary either for service on horse or foot: we may add hereunto ships, and shipping of all sorts, with every furniture of offence or defence; for these preparations make a prince formidable, because no man dare do or attempt injury to that king or people, where preparation is ever ready to revenge: *Qui desiderat pacem, præparat bellum.* Cass.

By men we mean a multitude of subjects armed, trained to defend or offend: these are of two sorts, captains and soldiers; and soldiers are either footmen or horsemen; the one of great use in the champain, the other in mountainous places; also for defence or assault of towns, or grounds fortified most necessary, and consequently meet for service in all places, which moved Tacitus to say, *Omne in pedite robur.* Tac.

For sudden service, horses do seem most meet, and the execution of any enterprise is by them most speedily performed; nevertheless the actions of footmen do seem more

certainly executed, chiefly if they be well armed, and skilfully led; for so experience hath of late time proved; besides that they are of less expense and of greater number: *In universum æstimanti plus in pedite robur.* Tac.

Having thus proved that both horse and foot be necessary, let us remember, that unless they be serviceable great numbers are to small purpose: *Manibus opus est bello, non multis nominibus.* Liv.

To make soldiers serviceable consisteth in good choice and good discipline; the one at this day little regarded: *Emunt militem, non legunt.* Liv.

Soldiers ought to be elected out of the most honest and able number of bodies, and every company composed of men known one to the other, for thereby they are made the more confident: but hereof is small heed taken, for commonly they are *purgamenta urbium suarum.* Curt.

Touching discipline, it seemeth that thereof the external form, and not the certain substance is observed; for as in former ages, soldiers endeavoured to be virtuous and modest, so now they rather study to excel in riot than in martial knowledge: *Exercitus lingua quam manu promptior, prædator est sociis, et ipse præda hostium.* Sal.

Forasmuch as soldiers are made good by election and choice, it seemeth that the foundation and ground of service consisteth in the discretion and judgment of those that have authority to make election; yet will we add, that they must be chosen of natural subjects, for strangers are covetous, and consequently corruptible; they are also mutinous and cowardly: their custom likewise is to rob, burn, and spoil both friends and foes, and to consume the prince's treasure: *Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.* Juven.

But the native soldier is faithful and obedient, resolute in fight, loving to his country, and loyal to his prince: *Gentes quæ sub regibus sunt, pro Deo colunt.* Curt.

Native soldiers are of two sorts; viz. they that be in continual pay, and they that are trained ready to serve, but do notwithstanding attend their own private affairs until they

be called; the first are for all princes necessary: *In pace decus, in bello præsidium.* Tac.

Of this sort no great number ought to be, as well to eschew disorder, as also to save expenses. The second kind of foot soldiers are to be levied in villages, as people more patient of pains, and fit for the wars; yet so judiciously disposed as the citizens: *Odio præsentium et non cupidine mutationis.* Tac.

Touching the number of these extraordinary soldiers, that must be referred to discretion: *Bellum parare, simul et ærario parcere.*

To conclude, I say these numbers of ordinary and extraordinary foot ought to be according to the number of the people, not inserting any gentlemen; for service on horseback is to them only proper: *Alas rusticis non tribuo; in nobilitatem et in divites hæc a pauperibus onera inclines.* Liv.

The most certain notes whereby to conceive the disposition of men fit to become soldiers are these five: the country where they are born, their age, proportion of body, their quality of mind, and their faculty. Touching,

First, The country, it is a thing apparently proved, that mountainous regions, or barren places, and northern habitations do breed wits well disposed to the war: *Locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia durat.* Curt.

Secondly, The age most apt for the war was anciently observed to be about eighteen years, and so the Romans used: *Facilius est ad virtutem instruere novos milites, quam revocare præteritos.* Veget.

Thirdly, The stature of a soldier ought to be observed: Marius liked best the longest bodies; Pyrrhus preferred large and well-proportioned men; but Vegetius, in his choice, rather esteems strength than stature: *Utilius est fortes milites esse quam grandes.* Veget.

Fourthly, The mind or spirit of a soldier ought to be considered; for that mind which is quick, nimble, bold, and confident, seemeth apt for war; he is also of good hope,

that loveth honour more than ease or profit: in brief, *Is qui nihil metuit nisi turpem famam.* Sal.

Lastly, It is to be marked in what art or faculty a man hath been bred; for it may be presumed that fishers, fowlers, cooks, and others, trained up in effeminate arts, are unfit for martial endeavour. And as these men were in respect of their trade thought unmeet; so in old time, slaves and masterless men were repulsed from arms, as persons infamous: *Sed nunc tales sociantur armis quales Domini habere fastidiunt.* Veget.

How soldiers ought to be chosen, these few words we have spoken may suffice: let us therefore say somewhat of discipline. Choice findeth out soldiers, but discipline doth make and continue them fit for service: *Paucos viros fortes natura procreat, bona institutione plures reddat industria.* Veget.

Discipline is a certain severe confirmation of soldiers in their valour and virtue, and is performed by four means, exercise, order, compulsion, and example. The two first appertain to valour, the third to virtue, the last to both: but of exercise, first, I say, that a soldier being chosen, ought to be informed in arms, and used in exercise and action; the word *exercitium* importeth nothing else: *Exercitus dicitur, quod melius fit exercitando.* Varro.

Order consisteth in dividing, disposing, and placing of men aptly at all occasions to be commanded, as the leaders shall direct: this matter requireth a large discourse, and therefore I refer it to skilful captains and writers, as Polybius, Vegetius, De la Nonne, and others.

Compulsion and correction is that which bridleth and governeth the manners of soldiers: for no order can be observed amongst them, unless they be continent, modest, and abstinent; for continency is chiefly to be shewed in their diet, and moderate desires: *Degenerat a robore ac virtute miles assuetudine voluptatum.* Tac.

The modesty of a soldier is perceived by his words, apparel, and actions; for to be a vaunter, or vainglorious boaster, is far unfit in him that professeth honour or arms,

seeing true virtue is silent: *Viri militiæ nati, factis magni, ad verborum linguæque certamina, rudes.* Tac.

The apparel of a soldier sheweth modesty, if therein he doth not exceed; for albeit it fitteth well the profession of arms, to be well armed and decently apparelled, yet all superfluity savoureth of ignorance or vanity: *Horridum militem esse decet, non cælatum auro argentoque, sed ferro.* Liv.

Abstinence is also fit for all soldiers; for thereby guided they refrain from violence and insolency; by that rule also they are informed to govern themselves civilly in the country where they serve, and likewise in their lodgings; never taking any thing from the owner, nor committing any outrage: *Vivant cum provincialibus jure civili, nec insolescat animus qui se sensit armatum.*

The last mark of discipline we called example, under which word is comprehended reward and punishment: for men are rewarded whensoever they receive, for any excellent or singular service, honour or riches, and for evil they have their due when they taste the punishment thereunto belonging: *Necessarium est acrius ille dimicet, quem ad opes et dignitates ordo militiæ et imperatoris judicium consuevit evehere.* Veget.

Likewise as gold and glory belongeth to good and well-deserving soldiers, so punishment is due to those that be vicious and cowardly; for nothing holdeth soldiers in obedience so much as the severity of discipline: *Milites imperatorem potius quam hostem metuere debent.* Veg.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of generals and commanders, and their requisite abilities in martial enterprises and expeditions.*

OF soldiers let this little suffice; we will now speak of what quality chieftains and leaders ought to be, for upon them dependeth the welfare of whole armies: *Militaris turba sine duce, corpus sine spiritu.* Curt.

A chief or general in war is either of his own authority chief, or a general that commandeth in the name of another.

Of the first sort are emperors, kings, and princes; of the other, be their deputies, lieutenants, colonels, and indeed all general commanders in the war: now whether it be more expedient that the prince should command in person or by deputy, divers wise men have diversely thought; therefore it may be thus distinguished: if the war do then only concern some particular part or province, then may the same be performed by a lieutenant; but if the whole fortune of a prince do thereupon depend, then is he to command in his own person, and not otherwise: *Dubiis bellorum exemplis summæ rerum et imperii seipsum reservat.* Tac.

It therefore importeth the prince sometimes by his own presence, sometimes by his deputation, to perform that office; but however occasion shall require, it ever behoveth that one only commander ought to be; (for plurality of chieftains doth rarely or never work any good effect;) yet with this caution, that he be of experience and wise: *In bellica præfectura major aspectus habendus peritiæ quam virtutis aut morum.* Arist.

The qualities required in a chieftain are these: skill, virtue, providence, authority, and fortune. By skill, we mean he should be of great knowledge and long experience; for to make a sufficient captain the information of others or his own reading is not enough: *Qui norit quis ordo agminis, quæ cura explorandi, quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus.* Cic.

Military virtue is a certain vigour or force both of body and mind, to exercise soldiers as well in feigned war as to fight with the enemy; and summarily a captain ought to be *laboriosus in negotio, fortis in periculo, industrius in agendo, celeris in conficiendo.* Cic.

Next to virtue we placed providence as necessary in great captains; for being of such wisdom, they will not hazard nor commit more to fortune than necessity shall enforce; yet true it is, fools and vulgar folks, that commend or discommend actions according to success, were wont to say, *Cunctatio servilis; statim exequi, regium est.* But advised

and provident captains do think, *Temeritas præterquam quod stulta, est etiam infelix.* Liv.

Albeit Providence be the best means of good speed, yet some captains of that quality, and in skill excelling, have been in their actions unlucky, when others of less sufficiency have marvellously prevailed; we may therefore reasonably say with Cicero, *Quod olim Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse commissos.* Cic.

Lastly, We wished authority to be in chieftains; for it greatly importeth what opinion or conceit the enemy hath of such a governor, and likewise how much his friends and confederates do esteem him; but the chief and only means to maintain authority is austerity and terror: *Dux autoritatem maximam severitate sumat, omnes culpas militares legibus vindicet, nulli errantium credatur ignoscere.* Veget.

Also, experience hath proved that such chieftains as were affable and kind to their soldiers were much loved, yet did they incur a contempt; but on the other side those that commanded severely and terribly, although they gained no good-will, yet were they ever obeyed: *Dux facilis inutilis.* App.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of councils in war, and directions tactic and stratagematic, with advice how to make an honourable peace.*

AFTER men found and framed fit for the war, to small or no purpose shall they serve, unless they be employed by wisdom or good counsel: *Non minus est imperatoris consilio quam vi perficere.* Tac.

Council in war is of two sorts, direct council and indirect; the first sheweth a plain and orderly course for proceeding, as to lay hold on occasion; for as in all other human actions, occasion is of great force: *Occasio in bello solet amplius juvare quam virtus.* Veget.

As occasions presented are means of good success, so fame worketh great effects in the wars; therefore it behoveth a captain to be constant, and not apt to believe the vain rumours and reports of men: *Male imperatur, cum regit vulgus duces suos.* Sen.

Confidence is also to be eschewed, for no man is sooner surprised than he who feareth least; also, contempt of the enemy hath been occasion of great discomfitures; therefore, as a captain ought not to fear, so should he not contemn his enemy: *Nimia fiducia semper obnoxia.* Æmil.

As security, and over-much estimation of our own virtue or valour is hurtful; so doth it import every good captain to be well informed, not only of his own forces, but also of what strength the enemy is: likewise, it behoveth him to know the situation of the country and the quality of the people, with every other circumstance. Moreover, the general's honour and capacity ought to be known, with the condition and nature of the enemy: *Impetus acres cunctatione languescunt, aut in perfidiam mutantur.* Tac.

Temerity in war is also dangerous; for wise captains were wont not to enterprise any thing without deliberation and good opportunity, unless they were thereunto by necessity enforced: *In rebus asperis et tenui spe, fortissima quæque consilia tutissima sunt.* Liv.

Some wise men, not superstitiously but discreetly, do think prodigious signs from heaven or on earth are not to be neglected, neither are dreams in time of war to be contemned: *Nam amat benignitas numinis, seu quod merentur homines, seu quod tangitur eorum affectione, his quoque rationibus prodere quæ impendent.* Æmil.

A wise captain will also wait opportunities, and spy out fit time when the enemy is wearied; or, pretending fear, draw him into danger; which advantages, with many other, are gained chiefly by observing of time: *Quia si in occasionis momento, cujus prætervolat opportunitas cunctatus paulum fueris, nequicquam mox omissam querere.* Liv.

Next the observation of time, the place is to be well con-

sidered, whether it be for thine advantage or thine enemy's: *Amplius prodest locus sæpe quam virtus.* Veget.

Thirdly, It importeth much, that men be well ordered, trained, and prepared for the fight; for the want of art is cause of many disadventures, and many times a small supply of choice soldiers on horseback or foot doth seem to the enemy very terrible: likewise, a sudden shout or conceit hath amazed a whole army: *Milites vanis et inanibus, magis quam justis formidinis causis moventur.* Curt.

Fourthly, It were to good purpose, that in ordering of men for fight, soldiers of one country or nation should be ranged together, and above all to foresee that the least loss of blood be among the natural subjects, and so handle the matter, that the chief slaughter light upon strangers and mercenaries: *Ingens victoriæ decus, citra domesticum sanguinem bellanti.* Tac.

The general's own courage and lively disposition to fight will greatly animate the multitude of soldiers; as a contrary countenance or appearance of fear will exceedingly maze and daunt: *Necesse est ad fugam parati sint, qui ducem suum sentiunt desperare.* Veget.

It were also for thy great advantage, that the forces should be ordered for the fight before the enemy be prepared.

First, For that thou mayest the better perform what thou thinkest fit to be done.

Secondly, That thereby thine own forces will thereof receive great courage, being readiest to assail the enemy, and to begin the fight: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsanti.* Liv.

After victory, it is not the best policy to execute the enemies with extreme cruelty, but proceed moderately; for it shall suffice the victory is thine: *Clausis ex desperatione crescit audacia, et cum spei nihil est, sumit arma formido.* Veget.

Lastly, I would advise that the general should be wary in his actions, and in every enterprise to frustrate the

soldiers from spoils and pillage: *Sæpe obstitit vincentibus pravum inter ipsos certamen, omisso hoste spolia consectandi.* Tac.

Of direct councils, let that we have said suffice. We will now speak of councils indirect, commonly called by the Greek word *stratagems*, or subtle practices; which manner of proceeding hath been in times past of divers grave writers condemned: *Vir nemo mentis altæ clanculum velit occidere hostem.* Eurip.

Notwithstanding the opinion of this, and divers other writers worthy credit, it seemeth reasonable, and in piety allowable, that stratagems and subtleties may be used in the war, yet with such caution as the same may stand with fidelity and honour; for fraud being used contrary to contracts and agreements made with the enemy, is mere treachery; as, to poison him or her, a murderer to kill him, were plain impiety: *Fœderatum injuste fallere impium.* Liv.

Also, out of the war covertly to kill a particular enemy by secret assault or practice, is not warrantable, either by faith or honour; yet to use all craft, cunning, and subtlety in open war, is both allowable and praisable, and so is thought by Christian writers: *Cum justum bellum suscipitur, ut aperte pugnet quis aut ex insidiis, nihil ad justitiam interest.* Aug.

The same is also approved by divers authors of good credit: *Confisce sive dolo seu stricto comminus ense.* The same is also affirmed by Xenophon, *Reipsa nihil utilius in bello dolis.*

Thus having briefly touched what councils are required in war, let us consider how victory is to be used; for the end of every good war is peace; to the enjoying whereof three things are required, wariness, mercy, and modesty; because over-great confidence may haply impeach the end of good success: *Res secundæ negligentiam creant.* Liv.

I also wish the victory to be handled mercifully, because all conquests are in their own nature cruel enough; and the ire of insolent soldiers forces the conquered to become desperate: *Gravissimi morsus irritatæ necessitatis.* Curt.

To proceed modestly is also an honourable quality in him that conquereth: for in prosperous fortunes men do hardly refrain covetous and proud doings; yea, some good and great captains have in like cases forgotten what did best become them: *In rebus secundis etiam egregii duces insolescunt.* Tac.

After victory followeth peace: for if war did ever continue, no state or government could stand; therefore how great, or how long soever the war be, the end must be peace; the name whereof is not only sweet, but also comfortable: *Pax una triumphis innumeris potior.*

Peace is not only good and profitable to him that is victorious, but also to those that are victored: *Pacem reduci velle victori, expedit, victo necesse est.* Tac.

Nevertheless, until good and honourable peace be offered, arms may not be laid aside; wherein I wish Tully's advice to be followed: *Bellum gerendum est; si bellum omittemus, pace nunquam fruemur.* Liv.

In treaty of peace two things must be considered: first, that the conditions be honourable. To condescend to any base conditions is unto a princely mind not only great indignity, but also intolerable: *Cum dignitate potius cadendum, quam cum ignominia serviendum.* Plut.

It also importeth the peace should be simple, true, and unfeigned; for all feigned and dissembling amity is to be doubted: *Pace suspecta tutius est bellum.* Mith.

The fittest season to speak of peace is, either when the war beginneth, or during the time that the enemies be of equal force; for if the war continueth, it must behove the weaker to yield to necessity: not unlike the shipmaster, who to save himself doth cast the greatest part of his loading into the sea: *Necessitati pare, quam ne dii quidem superant.* Liv.

Finally, having generously defended thyself, and performed all things required in a magnanimous captain, and finding nevertheless thy force insufficient, it cannot be dishonourable to accept peace. Wherefore laying aside hatred and hope, which are but weak supporters, thou mayest re-

commend thee and thine to the approved discretion of an honourable enemy: *Victores secundæ res in miserationem ex ira vertunt.* Liv.

Now forasmuch as every peace promiseth rest and quiet, as well to the victorious as to the victored, we may add thereunto, that the prince victorious receiveth thereby honour, profit, and security. For although his happiness may occasion hope of greater success, yet in respect of fortune's mutability it shall be good and glorious to listen to peace: *Decorum principi est cum victoriam prope in manibus habeat, pacem non abnuere, ut sciant omnes te et suscipere juste bellum et finire.* Liv.

It seemeth also the more honourable; for whoso is victorious doth give peace, and not take it: he also sheweth himself discreet by using a moderation in victory, and no extremity in spoiling, which our wise and godly writers have commended: *Pacem contemnentes, et gloriam appetentes, pacem perdunt et gloriam.* Bern.

Peace is also profitable for the victorious, because continual war breedeth weariness, and of violent proceeding desperation and peril cometh: *Maximi et mortiferi morsus esse solunt morientium bestiarum.* Sen.

Likewise peace is more assured than any victory; hope of the one is in thine own power, the other in the hand of God; add thereunto the force of fortune, which hath great power in all human actions: *In rebus secundis nihil in quenquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat, incertus sis.* Sen.

Also, conditions of peace ought to be reasonable and freely bestowed; for no people can live contented under such a law as forceth them to loathe the state wherein they are: *Misera pax bello bene mutatur.* Sen.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Of civil war, with the causes and remedies thereof.*

THE greatest and most grievous calamity that can come to any state is civil war; for therein subjects take arms against their prince, or among themselves, whereof followeth

a misery more lamentable than can be described: *Non ætas, non dignitas quenquam protegit, quo minus stupra cædibus, et cædes stupris misceantur.* Tac.

The first cause of civil war proceedeth of destiny, for God, in his own divine providence, foreseeth many years before that great and mighty empires shall be ruined.

*In se magna ruunt: lætis hinc numina rebus*
*Crescendi posuere modum*——— Lucan.

The second cause is excess, riot, and dissolute life; for nothing breedeth civil fury so soon as overgreat happiness; also pompous apparel, banqueting, and prodigal spending, consumeth riches, and plenty is turned into poverty; for by these means are men brought into desperation: *Rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo, non agri aut fœnus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manebunt.* Tac.

Now to consider how destiny might be eschewed were in vain, for such a remedy no wit or wisdom can devise; being the decree of God, no doubt it is inevitable: *Ita fato placuit, nullius rei eodem semper loco stare fortunam.* Sen.

There is nothing exempt from the peril of mutation; the earth, heavens, and whole world is thereunto subject: *Certis eunt cuncta temporibus; nasci debent, crescere, extingui.* Sen.

Touching the second causes of civil war, some remedies may be used; because it proceedeth of faction, sedition, or tyranny. I call faction a certain association of divers persons, combined to the offence of others. It proceedeth often of private or public displeasure, and more often of ambition: *Nemo eorum qui in rep. versantur, quos vincat, sed a quibus vincatur, aspicit.* Sen.

1. Factions are of two sorts; for either they consist of many or of few persons: both be dangerous, but the former more apt to take arms; and that party which proveth weakest prayeth arms of foreign forces.

2. The other faction, wherein are fewer partakers, be commonly great personages, or men of more importance than ordinary people; and that proveth most perilous and

bloody: *Nobilium factiones trahunt ad se, et in partes, universum etiam populum.* Arist.

Albeit some wise men have held opinion that factions are necessary, yet cannot that conceit be reasonably maintained, unless it be upon confines, and in such places where conspiracy is feared, which Cato in his private family used: *Semper contentiunculas aliquas aut dissensum inter servos callide serebat, suspectam habens nimiam concordiam eorum, metuensque.* Plut.

Factions amongst the nobility are sometimes suppressed by forbidding colours, or unknown badges, to be worn; also to inhibit names or watchwords of mutinies is necessary, which was Mecænas' counsel to Augustus; and Aristotle thinketh it fit that laws should be made against the factions of noblemen: *Nobilium contentiones et partes etiam legibus oportet prohibere conari.* Arist.

Another cause of civil war we call sedition, which is a sudden commotion or assembly of common people against their prince or his magistrates; the original of which disorders may proceed of divers causes, but chiefly of oppression: *Imminentium periculorum remedium, ipsa pericula arbitrari.* Arist.

Again, Fear may be the occasion of sedition as well in him that hath done injury, as in him that looketh to be injured, and is desirous to prevent it before it cometh. It may proceed also of overgreat mildness in government: *Non miseriis sed licentia, tantum concitum turbarum, lascivire magis plebem quam sævire.* Liv.

Sedition many times ariseth of poverty, or of the artificers whose arts are grown out of use, and consequently no means whereof they can live: *Semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, vetera odere, nova expetunt, odio rerum suarum mutari omnia student.* Sab.

Lastly, Sedition cometh of tyranny, insolency, or mutinous disposition of certain captains, cavaliers, or ringleaders of the people; for albeit the multitude is apt to innovation, yet doth it stand firm, until some first mover

taketh the matter in hand: *Multitudo omnis, sicut mare, per se immobilis.* Liv.

Of these movers some are ambitious, who wanting other means to aspire, hope by practice of sedition to compass their designs; or else they are unthrifts, who, having consumed their own, seek by violence to possess themselves of other men's; or else they are vain and light persons, that without cause or reason attempt innovation, themselves know not for what: *Non tam præmiis periculorum, quam ipsis periculis læti, pro certis et olim partis, nova, ambigua, ancipitia malunt.*

Thus having told the causes of sedition, I wish the remedies were prepared: *Omne malum nascens facile opprimitur, inveteratum fit plerumque robustius.* Cic.

The first way to suppress sedition is eloquence and excellent persuasion, which oftentimes worketh great effects among the multitude; chiefly when it proceedeth from some reverend and grave person, for his wisdom and integrity of life honoured; for the prince himself is not to take this office in hand, unless necessity so enforce: *Integra autoritas principis majoribus remediis servetur.* Tac.

If persuasion cannot prevail, then force must compel; but before such violent proceedings use art and cunning, either to appease the people, or at least to disunite them; and rather if the prince do offer fair and promise plausibly: *Verba apud populum plurimum valent.* Tac.

It is lawful also in such cases for princes to use subtlety; and the same not prevailing, to wash away the stain thereof with clemency; for when arms are laid down, and every one yielded, general punishment were needless: *Omnium culpa fuit, paucorum sit pœna.* Tac.

The last cause of sedition we named tyranny, which is a certain violent government, exceeding the laws of God and nature. The difference between kings and tyrants is this; the one employeth arms in defence of peace, the other useth them to terrify those of whom his cruelty hath deserved hate: *Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus impe-*

*rium, atque ubi solitudinem fecerint, pacem appellant.* Tac.

The quality of tyrants is to esteem promoters more than good ministers, because those men are the scourge of infinite others. They are also protectors of impious persons, and stand in daily doubt of noble and virtuous men: *Nobilitas, opes, amissi gestique honores, pro crimine: et ob virtutes certissimum exitium.* Tac.

Tyrants do also endeavour to suppress the knowledge of letters and civil life, to the end all good arts shall be exiled, and barbarism introduced: *Pellunt sapientiæ professores, et omnes bonas artes in exilium agunt.* Tac.

These and such like be the conditions of tyrants, who for the most part are deposed and slain; for as kings live long, and deliver their dominions to their children and posterity, so tyrants, being feared and hated of all men, cannot continue in their estate.

*Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et vulnere pauci*
*Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.* Juven.

The remedies of these mischiefs, which proceed from the violence of such a prince, are persecution or patience. Many generous spirits have used the first, persuading themselves rather to die than endure the sight of a tyrant. Also the Grecians did think it a service acceptable, to murder the person of such an impious prince: *Græci homines deorum honores tribuebant iis qui tyrannos necaverunt.* Cic.

Nevertheless, in Christian consideration the other course is to be taken: let patience therefore encounter this mischief; for seeing all kings, as well the bad as the good, be sent by God, they must be endured: *Res est gravis occidere regalem stirpem.* Homer.

Persecution is not only perilous, but for the most part unfortunate; for thereof present revenge is taken by that prince that succeedeth: *Facinoris ejus ultor est, quisquis successerit.* Tac.

The murder of tyrants is also followed with many inconveniencies, worse than civil war itself: *Principes boni votis expetendi, qualescunque tolerandi.* Tac.

For as fire, floods, and other inevitable plagues are necessarily to be suffered; so evil princes, in their covetousness and cruelty, ought to be patiently endured, because their office is to command, and subjects must obey: *Indigna, digna habenda sunt, rex quæ facit.* Sen.

And as it is the use of vulgar people to find faults in the long reign of princes; so the ambition of great subjects is desirous of novelty: *Præsens imperium subditis semper grave.* Thucyd.

To conclude, we say that the best remedy against tyranny is patience; for so long as men are, so long will vices be: *Regum ingenia toleranda, neque usui crebræ mutationes.* Tac.

## CHAP. XXV.

*A collection of political observations, (confirmed by reason and experience,) advertising princes, statesmen, and private persons how to demean themselves in all fortunes and events.*

TO the perfections of men three things are necessarily required; nature, nurture, and use: the first giveth capacity, aptness, and understanding, which are graces from above. Nurture is learning, knowledge, art, or order. Use is practice, experience, and orderly observation; whereof may be conceived that nature alone sufficeth not, nor can nurture work any good effect where natural aptness wanteth; and they can frame no perfection, unless experience be also conjoined: *Nemo nascitur sapiens, sed fit.* Sen.

Ambassadors, negotiants, and generally all other ministers of mean fortune, in conversation with princes and superiors, must use great respect, shewing themselves rather ceremonious than presumptuous, and acknowledge their obligation great, for the favour and grace they find in those which might command them.

It is no wisdom ever to commend or discommend the actions of men by their success; for oftentimes some enterprises attempted by good counsel end unfortunately, and others unadvisedly taken in hand have happy success. Whoso then commendeth inconsiderate counsels for their

fortunate event, thereby encourageth men to jar, and discomfort the wiser sort to speak what they know, and by experience have proved.

In actions public, and every other matter of great moment, the beginning is well to be considered; for afterwards it lieth not in our power, without dishonour, to abandon what was begun.

The time doth not always serve, nor is apt occasion always offered to enterprise what we would; yet whoso doth expect every opportunity shall either attempt nothing at all, or, if he do, the same, for the most part, turneth to his own disadvantage.

When any resolution is taken either with overgreat haste or too much affection, seldom it receiveth good success: for he that doth the one hath no leisure to consider; the other transporteth the mind, so as it cannot conceive more than that which presently presseth.

To these we add others, I mean some of them that have leisure, and are void of affection, yet for want of natural capacity, or for continual negligence in their doings, never bring any thing well to pass.

Whoso desireth to be beloved in a commonwealth must rest content with that which men do give, and the laws allow him to take; so shall he neither incur danger nor envy; for indeed that which is taken or extorted from others, and not that which is given, doth make men hated.

Arms, laws, and religion may not in any well-governed state be disjoined; for every one of them in particular maintaineth them all united.

In actions of war, courage and conduct are of great necessity; yet all good government consisteth in using the virtues moral; and in handling the matter of martial policy it is fit to imitate the proceedings of ancient and approved captains.

Among mortal men there is nothing more common than to believe the estate of one man to be better than another; for hereof it cometh that every one endeavoureth rather to take from others with travel, than to enjoy his own with rest.

The state of princes is good, being well used; so is the fortune of private men, if therewith they be contented. The rich man liveth happily, so long as he useth his riches temperately; and the poor man that patiently endureth his wants is rich enough.

Whensoever a man is so dangerously distressed, as either proceeding or standing he liveth in like peril, then doth it behove him in any wise to resolve upon action. The reason is, that so long as nothing is done, the same accidents that caused his dangers do still remain in their former force; but if he endeavour to enterprise somewhat, either he may meet with means to make him secure, or at the hardest shew himself of so great courage and wit, as he dare and can attempt a way to do it.

It seemeth a thing of great difficulty, or rather impossible, for any prince or magistrate to eschew the evil speech and bad report of men; for if they be good and virtuous, then they incur the backbiting of lewd persons; if evil, then will all good men exclaim against them.

All commonwealths ought to desire peace, yet it is necessary ever to be prepared for war; because peace disarmed is weak, and without reputation: therefore the poets feign, that Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, did always appear armed.

Every prince (well advised) ought to govern his subjects and servants in such sort, that by his affability and virtue they may be induced rather to serve voluntarily, than for pay or hope of preferment. For otherwise doing, whensoever the prince shall want means to pay, the subjects likewise will fail of good-will to serve. But he that faithfully loveth doth neither in prosperity become arrogant, nor in contrary fortune retire, or complain of the small favour he findeth; for (till death) love and life remain at the prince's commandment.

Where poor men find justice, evil men are punished, measures and weights be just, youth well nurtured, and old folk free from avarice, there is the commonwealth good and perfect.

In war between neighbours neutrality is commendable;

for by that means we eschew many troubles and great expenses, so long as the forces of either side be so equal in strength, as we need not fear the victory of any; for so long their discord is our security, and oftentimes offereth us means to increase our state and reputation.

The chief reasons to move war are, the justice of the cause, the facility of success, and the profit of the victory.

In all human actions it behoveth to accommodate the counsel of men unto present necessity, and never to expose security to manifest peril; nor hope of that which without great difficulty or impossibility cannot be obtained.

It is the nature of men, having escaped one extreme, which by force they were constrained long to endure, to run headlong into the other extreme, forgetting that virtue doth always consist in the mean.

The multitude is inclined to innovation, and easily induced by false persuasion, and consequently easily transported by seditious leaders.

Men are naturally disposed to fear those things which threaten danger and terror; yet unless these perils by some new accident be daily revived, that fear by little and little vanisheth, and security recovereth the place.

Whoso findeth himself contemned, or not respected, becometh discontent; which humour in generous minds breedeth oftentimes adventurous imaginations, whereof audacious attempts have followed, chiefly in persons of authority and reputation; for he that hopeth no good, feareth no evil: yet true it is, that dangerous enterprises the more they be thought upon the less hope they give of good success; for which reason conspiracies not suddenly executed are for the most part revealed or abandoned.

All people do naturally imitate the manners of their prince, and observing his proceedings resolve to hate or love him; but if they happen once to hate the prince, then his doings, good or evil, are afterwards not good; but if at the beginning he gained the love of the people, then every bad action is reputed a virtue; as though he could not be induced to do amiss without good cause or reason.

Greatly are princes deceived, if in the election of ministers they more respect their own particular affection, than the sufficiency of the person elected.

A prince having conquered any new dominion is thereby rather encumbered than strengthened, unless the same be after well governed; and seldom is it seen that a principality by ill means gotten hath been long enjoyed.

As to the perfection of the whole body, soundness of head only sufficeth not, unless the other members also do their office; even so it is not enough that a prince be faultless, but it behoveth also that the magistrates and ministers should perform their duty.

Great princes rarely resist their appetites, as for the most part private men can; for they being always honoured and obeyed, do seldom with patience endure the want of any thing reasonable, as being persuaded that what they desire is just, and that their commandment hath power to remove all difficulties.

All men are naturally good, when no respect of profit or pleasure draws them to become evil: but this world's corruption and our frailty is such, as easily and often for our particular interest we incline to the worst, which was the cause that wise lawmakers found out reward and punishment; the one to incite men to good, the other to fear them from being evil.

A tyrant endeavoureth to maintain his estate by three means: first, he practiseth to hold all subjects in extreme awe, and to be basely minded, to the end they should want courage to take arms against him; secondly, he kindleth diffidence and discord among the great men, thereby to remove occasion of conspiracy and combination; lastly, he holdeth them disarmed and idle, so as they neither know nor can attempt any thing against him.

To govern is nothing else but to hold subjects in love and obedience; for in respect of the one they ought not, and in regard of the other they cannot attempt any thing contrary to the governor's will and their duty.

The laws and ordinances of a commonweal, made at the

beginning thereof, when men were good, do often prove unprofitable when they are become evil; and therefore new laws are made according to the accidents which happen.

The discontent or disorder of people is ever occasioned by the inequality of their goods, because the poorer sort would be made equal with the rich; but the offence that grows among great men is the desire of honour, for they being equal do endeavour to aspire to equal authority.

A prince that desireth by means of his ambassador to deceive another prince, must first abuse his own ambassador, to the end he should do and speak with more earnestness, being indeed persuaded that the intent and meaning of his master is simple, which haply he would not, were he privy that his prince's meaning were to dissemble. This course is also commonly holden by those that by employment of a third person would persuade any thing feigned or false.

For the performance of conditions in treaty of peace, or league of amity, the promises, vows, and oaths of princes are of great effect; yet because fidelity in a man is not ever certain, and time doth daily offer occasions of variation, there is no assurance so secure and good, as to stand so prepared, as the enemy may want able means how to offend.

To resolve in matters doubtful, or answer requests which we are not willing to grant, the least offensive way is, not to use direct denial, but by delays prolong the time, and so in place of effect afford good expectation.

The old proverb saith, *Magistratus virum ostendit;* which is no less true than ancient; for men in such fortune are occasioned not only to make proof of their sufficiency, but also to discover their affections; and the more their greatness is, the less respect they have to contain those passions which are natural.

Albeit great troubles and continual adversity seem insupportable, yet is there nothing more dangerous than overmuch prosperity; and being pressed by new appetites, they disturb their own security.

In speaking of occurrents doubtful, it is always wisdom

to feign ignorance, or at least allege that we believe them not; for most commonly they are utterly untrue, or far other than vulgarly is believed.

The actions of men are commonly liked or disallowed according to the bad or good success; attributing that to counsel which sometimes is due to fortune.

The multitude of men are wont to be more pleased with sudden than slow resolutions, and many times account those enterprises generous, which are rashly and inconsiderately attempted.

Great difference there is between subjects desperate, and others which are only discontented; for the one desire nothing but present alteration, which they endeavour with all hazard; the other wish for innovation, inciting any motion or practice, because their intent is to attend time, and that occasion may present itself.

A benefit bestowed on him who thinketh himself greatly injured, doth not suffice to rase the same out of his memory; chiefly if the benefit be given at such time, as no mere motion but necessity may seem the occasion thereof.

That peace ought to be desired which removeth suspicion, which assureth us from peril, which bringeth quiet certain, and acquitteth us of expenses; but when it worketh contrary effects it may be called a dangerous war, covered with the name of deceitful trust, not unlike a perilous poison ministered in lieu of a wholesome medicine.

The effect of things, and not external show or seeming, ought to be regarded; yet it is incredible what great grace is gained by courteous speech and affability; the reason whereof is, as I suppose, that every man believeth he doth merit more than indeed he is worthy, and consequently holdeth himself injured whensoever he findeth men not to afford him like estimation.

Men ought in any wise to refrain to do or say any thing which may offend; for which respect it were great folly, either in presence or absence, to utter displeasing speech, unless necessity enforceth.

The matters whereof counsellors are chiefly to consider

be five; the prince's revenue, peace and war, defence, traffick, and what laws are to be made.

In giving counsel divers things are to be observed, but amongst them are two of more importance: first, it behoveth that he who is counselled should be wise; for seeing counsel is nothing else but a certain considerate discourse of things to be done or not done, if he who is to take counsel be not of discretion, then will he refuse all good advice offered, and rather incline to that which his own fancy affecteth, because the want of judgment draweth him to take pleasure in vain things. And, as one incapable of what is good and true will follow that which is evil and false; so, on the other side, if he that giveth counsel be not faithful, then will he a thousand ways disguise and dissemble the truth, and consequently miscarry the mind of him that is counselled; yea, in the end utterly abuse him.

The affairs and proceedings of the world are so variable, and accompanied with so many chances and changes, as impossible it seemeth to judge what is best; therefore experience informeth, that the conjectures of the most wise prove vain and uncertain. I therefore mislike the judgment of those men that will let slip opportunity of present good (though it be small) for fear of a future evil, notwithstanding it be greater, unless the evil be very near at hand, or certain: for if that do not follow which is feared, then wilt thou repent to have omitted that which was desired.

Whensoever a general opinion is conceived of the singular virtue and knowledge of any man, although he be indeed ignorant, and far unworthy that account, yet it is hard to remove such a settled conceit; the reason is, that men having at the first given credit to common report, do make thereof so deep an impression, as afterwards without great difficulty cannot be removed.

The bodies of men, munition, and money, may justly be called the sinews of war; yet of them the two first are more necessary; for men and arms have means to find money and meat, but money and meat cannot so easily find soldiers and swords.

One wise general having but a thousand men, is more to be feared and esteemed than twenty commanders of equal authority; for they being commonly of diverse humours, or judging diversely, do never, or very rarely, what is to be done, and consequently lose much time before any resolution can be taken.

A prince of mean force ought not in any wise to adventure his estate upon one day's fight; for if he be victorious he gaineth nothing but glory, but if he lose he is utterly ruined.

The most part of men are delighted with histories, for the variety of accidents therein contained; yet are there few that will imitate what they read, and find done by others; being persuaded that imitation is not only hard, but impossible; as though the heavens and men were changed in their motion or order, and power, which they anciently had.

The nature of men is such, as will not endeavour any thing good, unless they be forced thereunto; for where liberty aboundeth, there confusion and disorder follow. It is therefore supposed, that hunger and poverty make men industrious, but good laws enforce them to be honest; for if men were of themselves good, then laws were needless.

There are two kinds of adulation; the first proceedeth from a subtle malice, the second cometh by an ordinary use of conversation; the one tendeth to profit and deceiving, the other hath no further design than a respect, or fear to offend; whereunto the most honest are in some sort bound. Whoso bindeth himself to flattery doth thereby bewray his intent, either to gain, or not to lose that he hath; for the person flattered is always superior to him that doth flatter; or at least one as may in some sort stand him in stead. It may therefore be inferred, that only men of base and miserable condition, and such as cannot help or hurt, be free from flatterers. And contrariwise, magnanimous and fortunate folk, proud men, and such as content themselves with their present estate, are seldom found to be flatterers.

Every wise prince doth presuppose that times of trouble may come, and that on all such occasions he shall be forced to use the service of men diversely qualified. His study therefore is in the mean time so to entertain them, as when those storms arise he may rest assured to command them; for whosoever persuades himself by present benefits to gain the good-will of men when perils are at hand, shall be deceived.

In ancient times princes and governors were wont, when peace and security were most like to continue, to find or feign occasions to draw their subjects to fear, to the end that doubt might move them to be more careful of their own well-doing; for well they knew it a general defect in men to be reachless, and never willing to use industry, unless by necessity they were constrained.

All histories do shew, and wise politicians do hold it necessary, that for the well-governing of every commonweal it behoveth to presuppose that all men are evil, and will declare themselves so to be when occasion is offered; for albeit some inconvenience doth lie hid for a time, it proceedeth from a covert occasion, which for want of experience was not found until time, the mother of truth, discover it.

Neutrality is always a thing dangerous and disallowable, because it offendeth all parties: he that is strong looketh to be assisted in his greatness, and he that is weak not being defended holdeth himself offended; the one is not assured from foes, and the other holdeth no friends.

Albeit neutrality procure present quiet and security during the troubles of others; yet after, the same falleth out a disadvantage, because it entertaineth a certain falseness, and so in short space will be perceived; not unlike those men that borrow upon usury; for albeit they enjoy a certain time, without trouble or charge, yet the same being spent, and the day of payment come, they then feel the great danger which their short pleasure hath purchased.

Whoso examineth all human actions shall find, that in eschewing one inconvenience we presently incur another. As for example, if we endeavour to make our dominions

mighty, it behoveth to have the same fully replenished with people, and well armed; and so being they are not easily governed. On the other side, if our country be not well peopled, or disarmed, then it is easily holden in obedience; yet therewith so weak, that it can neither increase the bounds thereof, nor defend itself. It is therefore necessary in all our deliberations, to consider what inconvenience is least, and choose that as the best; for to find all perfect, void, and secure of suspect or imperfection, is impossible.

A prince being instantly required to take part with other princes, the one being in arms against the other, if he deny both, incurreth the suspicion of both, and may be thought to have secret intelligences with one or both of them; so as either of them shall account him an enemy, and consequently he that proves victorious will be revenged; and the other holding him suspected will not acknowledge his friendship.

It is the use of men to presume much upon their own merit, and seeing the success of some others to be such as without cause or desert are aspired to dignity, thereby encouraged, they promised to themselves the like: nevertheless, being entered into the course of their design, and finding many crosses and impeachments, they do not a little repent their overweening and presumption, but also many times utterly abandon their rash and unadvised enterprise; neither can I think that the virtue or sufficiency of any man, without the favour of the heavens, can advance him; for, as the poet saith, *Nec velle juvat, potiusve nocet, si fata repugnant.*

Whoso serveth a prince far from his presence shall with great difficulty content him; for if he commit any error it shall be aggravated: besides that the instructions sent unto him cannot be particularly conceived, because the state of worldly things doth daily alter. Also, to serve aloof is a thing full of danger, and far from reward; which inconvenience may, for the most part, be avoided by him that attendeth near to his prince's person.

Let no man that cometh to serve in court assure himself

by his wisdom to be advanced, or eschew all encounters. Neither is he to bear himself so careless as to commit all to fortune, but be persuaded that this worldly life is like to a voyage at sea; wherein albeit art, with the favour of the wind, may do much; yet can we not assure ourselves to arrive safe in the haven appointed; for daily experience doth shew, that some strong ships in the calmest weather are drowned or impeached by the way, when others, much weaker and disarmed, pass securely.

Among men worthy of commendation, those have merited best that first planted true religion; next, they that framed kingdoms and commonwealths; the third place is due to such as have augmented or enlarged their dominions; lastly, learned men deserve fame and memory: and as every of these are worthy of fame and honour, so ought they to be accounted infamous that introduce atheism, or the subversion of kingdoms, or are become enemies to learning and virtue.

Whosoever taketh in hand to govern a multitude, either by way of liberty or principality, and cannot assure himself of those persons that are enemies to that enterprise, doth frame a state of short perseverance; yet it is true, that such princes be unfortunate, as for their own security are enforced to hold a course extraordinary, and have the multitude their enemy; for he that hath few foes may with small dishonour be assured; but he that is generally hated can by no means live assured; and the more cruelty he useth, the weaker his principality proveth.

In commending another man, great moderation is to be used; for as contumely offendeth him against whom it is used; so great praise, besides that it is uttered with danger to his judgment that speaketh it, the same doth oftentimes offend him that heareth it. For self-love, which commonly possesseth men, causes the good or evil we hear to be measured with our own: and consequently every man that is touched with like deserts and defects, doth grow offended that his commendation is not set forth, and feareth lest his imperfection should be discovered.

It is often, or rather ever seen, that the force of leagues not used in their first heat becomes cold; because suspicion soon entereth, which in short space will destroy whatsoever was concluded, and may not without long time be rejoined.

The power of ambition which possesseth the minds of men is such as rarely or never suffereth them to rest: the reason thereof is, that nature hath framed in them a certain disposition to desire all things, but not power to obtain them; so as our desires being greater than our power, thereof followeth discontent and evil satisfaction. Hereof also proceedeth the variation of fortune; for some men desiring to get, and others fearing to lose that they have gotten, do occasion one man to injure another, and consequently public wars do follow; by means whereof, one country is ruined and another enlarged.

Princes of great power, and chiefly those that are inhabitants of the north, having many children, were wont to be much inclined to the wars, as well to win unto themselves honour, as also to get possessions for their sons; which manner of proceedings did oftentimes remove such disturbance as the plurality of brethren bringeth. These and other reasons induced princes to attempt war against those kingdoms, which, in their opinion, seemed easily conquered, or whereunto they can pretend title; for by colour thereof they may the rather justify their proceedings.

When a prince deferreth to answer an ambassador, it proceedeth from some of these respects: either because he will take time to resolve himself of somewhat whereof he doubteth; or that he intendeth covertly to deny that which is demanded; or that he esteemeth not the prince that doth demand; or that he disdaineth the person by whom the demand is made; or else that he intendeth to hear from his own ministers, to be better resolved. Wherefore a discreet negotiator ought in such cases to consider which of these reasons move the prince where he is employed to entertain him with delays, and make his despatch accordingly.

The sufficiency of good counsellors consisteth in four things:

First, they ought to be wise and skilful how to handle their affairs, directing all doings to public commodity.

Secondly, to be just in their proceedings, giving to every one that which to him appertaineth.

Thirdly, to be stout, and void both of partial respects and fear.

And lastly, to be temperate and moderate in their desires.

Whoso desireth to govern well and securely, it behoveth him to have a vigilant eye to the proceedings of great princes, and to consider seriously of their designs; for it is a matter of small difficulty to live in peace with him who desireth our amity, and provideth for others that endeavour to offend us.

The intelligences that princes study to attain are procured by divers means: some are brought by report, some vented by conversation and sounding, some by means of espials; but the most sure and credible occurrents are those which come from ambassadors, chiefly those that either for the greatness of their prince or their own virtue be of most reputation. For those men conversing daily with great personages, and pondering diligently their manners, words, wisdom, and the order of each man's proceedings, yea of the prince himself, may with commodity attain unto matters of importance sooner than they that are writers of rumours, or that take upon them to conjecture of things to come.

Whensoever a people is induced to commit so great an error, as to give reputation to one only man, to the end he should oppress all those great men whom they hate, they thereby give him opportunity to become their prince; and so being assisted with their favour and aid, he may likewise extinguish all the rest of the nobility; and they being extirpated, he will also endeavour to tyrannize over the people, by whose help he aspired.

So many as are not consenting to the tyranny rest enemies to the person of the tyrant, who can by no means gain the love of all. For impossible it is that the riches of any tyrant should be so great, and the honours he can give so many, as may satisfy all. Hereof it cometh, that those ty-

rants that are favoured of the people, and disfavoured of the nobles, are most secure; because their tyranny is supported with a greater strength (having the multitude their friends) than is the tyrant whom the humour of the nobles only hath advanced.

A dangerous thing it is in all commonwealths, by continual punishing to hold the minds of subjects in suspicion; for men, ever fearing their ruin, will (without respect) determine to save themselves, and, as men desperate, attempt innovation. All capital executions ought therefore to be executed suddenly, and as it were at one instant, so to assure the minds of men from further molestations.

The intent of every wise prince that maketh war, either by election or ambition, is to gain and hold what is gotten: also, to use the matter so as thereby he may enrich himself, and not impoverish his own people or country.

He that enlargeth his dominions doth not always increase his power; but he that increaseth in force, as well as in dominion, shall thereby grow great; otherwise he gaineth no more than is shortly to be lost, and consequently he ruineth himself: for he who spends more in the war than he gains by victory, loseth both labour and cost.

Every prince and commonwealth must above all things take heed that no necessity, how great soever, do persuade him to bring into his dominion any auxiliary soldiers; because the hardest conditions the enemy can offer are more easy than is such a resolution.

A prince sheweth his ruin at hand whensoever he beginneth to break the laws and customs, which are ancient, and have been long time obeyed by the people of his dominion.

That prince which careth to keep himself secure from conspiracy ought rather to fear those to whom he hath done over-great favours, than them whom he hath much injured: for these want opportunities, the other do not; and both their desires are as one; because the appetite of commanding is always as much or more than the desire of revenge.

Whensoever a prince discovers a conspiracy, he must well

consider the quality thereof, measuring the force of the conspirators with his own; and finding them many and mighty, the knowledge thereof is to be dissembled, until the prince's power be prepared to oppose them, otherwise he hazardeth his own security.

It hath been by long experience found better to send one general to an army, though he be of mean sufficiency, than to give the same authority to two or more excellent personages with equal commission.

He that coveteth to be overmuch loved oftentimes becomes contemptible; and he that endeavoureth to be overmuch feared is ever hated: and to hold the mean between them cannot be exactly done, because nature will not so permit.

Whoso aspireth to any dignity must resolve himself to endure the envy of men, and never to be moved for any offence conceived against him, though they that be offended be his dear friends: neither shall he for the first affront or encounter relinquish his hope; for he that constantly maketh head against the assault of fortune shall after with facility arrive where he designed.

In giving counsel to a prince or commonwealth, and therewith desiring to eschew danger and offence, no other mean is to be taken than that the counsellor shall, without passion or persuasion, pronounce his opinion, and never to affirm any thing as a resolution, but with modesty to defend that he speaketh; so as the prince which follows his advice may seem to do it voluntarily, and not forced by the importunity of him that gave the counsel.

A discreet captain being in the field against the enemy, of whose virtue he hath had no proof, ought first by light skirmishes to feel of what virtue he is, and not to enterprise any general adventure, to the end that terror or fame should not daunt nor discourage his own soldiers.

Albeit fraud be in all actions detested, yet is the same in martial enterprises commendable and glorious: for that captain who compasseth his designs by wit or stratagem, is

no less commended than he that vanquisheth the enemy by violence and force.

In times of extremity, when resolution must be taken for the saving or utter loss of the state, then no regard is to be had of justice or injustice, mercy or cruelty, honour or ignominy; but rather, setting aside all respects, that course is to be followed which defends the lives and liberties of men.

Whoso desireth to know what will be hereafter, let him think of what is past; for the world hath ever been in a circular revolution; whatsoever is now was heretofore; and things past or present are no other than such as shall be again: *Redit orbis in orbem.*

A prince that desireth to obtain any thing at the hand of another, must, if it be possible, urge a sudden answer, and lay before him that is moved a necessity to resolve presently, giving him to understand, that denial or delays may breed a perilous and sudden indignation.

There is nothing more difficult, doubtful, and dangerous, than to attempt innovation; for he that taketh in hand an enterprise of such quality maketh all those his enemies which lived well under the old order, and findeth them cold defenders that affect his novelties; which coldness proceedeth chiefly of incredulity; for men are not easily induced to believe a new thing, till experience hath proved it to be good.

There is no art or other knowledge so seemly and necessary for a prince as the art military, with the ordinances and discipline thereof; for that is the only skill required in him that commandeth, and such a virtue as doth not only maintain them that are born princes, but often advanceth private men to that dignity.

The deep impressions which old injuries make in the minds of great men cannot with new benefits be rased out; it is also to be remembered that injuries be done all together, for they offend the less, and will be forgotten the sooner; but benefits should by little and little be bestowed, so shall the memory of them long continue.

A small pleasure or displeasure presently done doth move more than a great good turn bestowed in times past; for the taste of things present doth make a deeper impression in the minds of men than doth the memory of things past, or expectation of things to come.

It is a matter of small difficulty to sound the discontentment of other men; for every one doth willingly tell the well and ill-deserving of friends, and likewise how much or how little foes can do, if we have patience to hear; which patience is the beginning of all good speed: but he that delighteth to speak much, and hear little, shall ever inform others more than he himself can learn.

Among other dangers which a prince incurreth by being disarmed, the greatest is, that thereby he becometh contemptible; for no comparison there is between men armed and them that are disarmed; and no reason there is that he that is armed should yield obedience to him that is disarmed; neither is it likely that a prince disarmed can be secure from his own subjects armed.

A prince ignorant of martial knowledge, among other misfortunes, cannot be esteemed or trusted of his own soldiers; it behoveth him therefore, as well in time of peace as war, to exercise arms; which may be done by two means, the one by action of body, the other by contemplation of mind. The body may be exercised in hunting, hawking, and such like pastimes, thereby to be made apt to endure travel: his mind likewise may be informed by reading of histories, and the consideration of actions performed by excellent captains, observing the occasion of their victories or losses, to the end he may imitate the one and eschew the other.

He that doth not as other men do, but endeavoureth that which ought to be done, shall thereby rather incur peril than preservation; for whoso laboureth to be sincerely perfect and good shall necessarily perish, living among men that are generally evil.

A prince that useth liberality to his prejudice ought not to regard the infamy of miserable, because his parsimony

will in time enable him to be liberal, and so may declare himself to be, having by parsimony increased his power, and therefore, without imposing upon the people, may defend himself from all such as will make war; so shall he use liberality to all them from whom he taketh nothing, who are infinite, and use miserliness to those only to whom he giveth, who are but few.

There is nothing that consumeth itself like to liberality; for if it be long used, it taketh away the means to continue it, and consequently doth make men poor and basely minded; or else, to eschew poverty, they shall be forced to extortion, and become odious.

It is better to incur the name of covetous, (which is a scandal without hate,) than, with desire to be accounted liberal, deserve the infamy of oppression, (an ignominy accompanied with hatred.)

A prince ought to be slow in believing, and advised in proceeding; he should also beware not to make himself overmuch feared, but in all his actions shew great wisdom, tempered with courtesy; so shall not overmuch confidence induce him to be careless, nor overmuch diffidence render him intolerable.

Whoso observeth, shall see that men offended less respect him whom they love, than him whom they fear. For love is maintained by a certain reciproke obligation, which, because men are evil, useth to be by every occasion of profit broken. But fear is continued by a certain dread of punishment, which never faileth.

A prince that holdeth in the field an army wherein are great numbers of soldiers, ought not to care though he be accounted cruel; for without such an opinion conceived he cannot keep his forces united, nor apt to attempt any enterprise.

Men for the most do use rather to judge by their eyes than by their hands; for every one may see, but few can certainly know. Every one seeth what thou seemest to be, but few can understand what thou art indeed; and these few dare not oppose themselves to the opinion of many,

which have the majesty of estate to defend them. Also in the actions of all men, and chiefly princes, from whom is no appellation, the end is ever observed. Machiavel.

A prince being forced to use the condition of beasts, must among them make choice of the fox and the lion; for the lion cannot take heed of snares, and the fox is easily overcome by the wolves: it behoveth him therefore to be a fox, to discover the snares, and a lion, to terrify the wolves.

A prince newly advanced cannot observe those rules which are the cause that men be accounted good, he being many times constrained for defence of his state to proceed contrary to promise, contrary to charity, and all virtue; and consequently it behoveth him to have a mind apt to alteration, as the wind and variation of fortune shall direct; yet ought he not to abandon the good, if so he can, but be ready to use what is evil, if so he shall be enforced.

Every prince ought to have two ears, the one intrinsic in respect of subjects, the other extrinsic in respect of foreign potentates, from whom he may be defended with good arms and good friends: also matters intrinsic will ever stand well, so long as all things abroad rest firm.

A prince that is favoured of the multitude need not to doubt conspiracy; but contrarywise, where the people is generally discontented, and hateth the prince, then may he reasonably doubt every thing and every person; for no man is so poor that wanteth a weapon wherewith to offend.

When any occasion is presented to have that thou desirest, fail not to lay hold thereof: for these worldly things do vary, and that so suddenly, as hard it is to assure ourselves of any thing, unless the same be already in hand: on the other side, if any trouble threaten thee, defer it so long as thou mayest; for time may occasion some accident to remove all dangers.

The prince that doubteth the fidelity of his subjects must of force build fortresses; but he that feareth foreign force more than his own people were better to leave them unbuilt. Howsoever it be, that prince that desireth generally to be respected and esteemed must perform some notable

enterprise, and give testimony of great virtue and valour.

A prince shall do well at all times to be counselled, so as no man do presume to give counsel but when the prince doth ask it. It is also to be noted, that he who is not of himself wise cannot be well counselled of others, unless happily he yield to some wise men the government of his whole affairs. For good counsels, from whomsoever they proceed, shall be thought to come from the prince, and not the wisdom of the prince to proceed from the counsel of others.

He that taketh delight to be employed in public affairs must by all means endeavour to continue in such services; for oft one business dependeth on another; whereunto the Florentine proverb may be applied, *Di cosa nasce cosa, et il tempo la governa.*

Some men have not only desired, but also compassed honour and profit; yet being in possession of both, were not therewith so satisfied as they hoped to be; which being believed would happily extinguish the immeasurable ambition wherewith many men are possessed.

By experience I have learned that great folly it is to account that ours that we have not, or spend presently in hope of future gain. Therefore merchants during the adventure of their goods do not increase domestic expenses, but, fearing the worst, assure what is in hand.

For such men as have gained unto themselves reputation, and are accounted virtuous, to maintain that conceit, and eschew envy, there is nothing better than a life retired from daily conversation, and chiefly of the multitude: *Fugiat sapiens commercia vulgi.*

The end that moveth a prince to make war is, to enrich himself, and impoverish the enemy; neither is victory desired for other purpose than thereby to become the more mighty, and make the enemy weak; consequently, wheresoever thy victory doth impoverish thee, or thy gain therein doth weaken thee, it followeth, that thou either pass or undergo that mark whereunto the intention of war was directed;

and that prince is by victory enriched that can oppress the enemy's power, and become master of his goods and possessions; and that prince is by victory impoverished, when the enemy, notwithstanding he be victored, can still maintain himself, and the spoils and possessions are not taken to the use of the prince victorious, but imparted unto his soldiers: for then may he be thought in his own losing unfortunate, and in victory unhappy; for if he be vanquished, then must he endure the offence by foes; and being victorious, shall be forced to abide the wrong offered by friends; which as they be less reasonable, so are they also less supportable; because he is still by impositions forced to burden the subjects: whereof may be inferred, that the prince having in him any generosity, cannot justly rejoice at that victory which causeth the subjects to lament.

Whoso desireth to obtain any thing, hopeth to compass his desire, either by entreaty, presents, or threatening; for so shall he to whom the request is made be moved either with compassion, profit, or fear: nevertheless, with covetous and cruel men, and such as are in their opinion mighty, none of these can prevail; and consequently in vain do they labour that go about by suit to stir them to pity, by gifts to gain them, or by threats to fear them.

Whoso is persuaded that any commonweal can continue disunited doth greatly deceive himself: true it is, that some divisions do maintain the estate, but others do endamage the same. They which do harm are such as with sects and partakings be accompanied; they which help, without sects and partakings be maintained. A wise governor therefore, albeit he cannot so exactly foresee but some enemies will arise in the state, yet may he take order that no factions may thereby grow. It is therefore to be noted, that the citizens of every estate may aspire to reputation, either by private or public means. Reputation by public means is gained chiefly in the war, either by obtaining victory in some battle, or surprising of some city, or else by performing some embassage diligently, prosperously: but private reputation is gotten by doing favour to this or that man,

and protecting them from magistrates, giving them money, advancing them unworthily to honour and office, and by great feasts entertaining the multitude; of which manner of proceeding, sects, factions, and partakings do grow: and as reputation thus gained is dangerous, so the other without faction is profitable; because the same is founded on common welfare, and no private profit: and albeit among citizens of this sort will oft arise great hate, yet wanting followers for their particular profit, the state shall not be endangered, but rather strengthened; for every man endeavouring to deserve well will hold himself within the bounds of civil life, and by virtuous merits labour to be advanced.

To persuade or dissuade particular persons is a matter of no difficulty; for if words suffice not, yet authority will prevail: but hard and perilous it is to remove a false opinion conceived by a whole multitude, for therein fair speech and no compulsion must be used.

The best means which wise captains can use to make their soldiers resolute is, to take from them all hope; which resolution may also be increased with the love of our country, and confidence in the captain; for confidence groweth by the valour of men, and discipline in former victories, and trust reposed in the leader. The love of our country is natural, but the affection we bear to the captain proceedeth rather from his virtue than the benefits he hath bestowed. Necessity also may do much, and chiefly that where no choice is left, but either overcome by arms, or die in desperation.

There is nothing of so great force to hold an army united as the reputation of the captain, which proceedeth only from his virtue; for neither dignity nor authority without valour can work that effect.

The first care that a captain must have, is, to hold his soldiers well punished and paid; for where payment faileth punishment ought not to be inflicted; and consequently no reason it is to punish him for robbery whom want of pay enforceth to shift; but where the soldier is paid, and not punished, (offending,) then will he without respect become in-

solent towards his captain, whereof ensue mutinies, discord, and utter ruin.

It is a custom very honourable, not to promise more than thou wilt assuredly perform; yet true it is, that whosoever is denied (though justly) doth rest ill contented, for men indeed are not governed by reason, otherwise it is for him that promiseth; and so good promises shall stand in stead of performance. Besides that, he may find excuse enough, because the most part of men are so simple, that fair words alone have power to abuse them, chiefly when they proceed from a person of reputation and authority. The best way therefore is not to promise precisely, but entertain the suitors with answers general, and full of good hope, yet not such as shall directly and absolutely bind.

The greatest and most material displeasures that use to arise between the nobility and people are caused by the diversity of humours, the one labouring to command, the other endeavouring not to obey; so as all troubles and disorders in every commonweal do thereof receive nutriment.

The city which is maintained rather by factions than laws, so soon as one faction is become strong, and without opposition, the same of necessity must be divided in itself; for those particular causes which were at the first taken are not of force enough to maintain it.

It is the nature of men not to endure any discommodity, unless necessity do thereunto enforce them; which may apparently be perceived by their habitations; for as the fear of war draweth them to places of strength, (for their defence,) so that peril being past, they do for the most part remove themselves to inhabit countries of more commodity and profit.

It may seem strange, and no even measure, (yet approved by experience,) that where many offend, few are punished. Also petty errors are severely corrected, but great and grievous crimes be rewarded. In like manner, where many receive wrong, few seek revenge: for injuries universal are with more patience than particular offences endured.

All, or the greatest part of men, that have aspired to

riches or power, have attained thereunto either by force or fraud, and what they have by craft or cruelty gained, to cover the foulness of their fact, they call purchase, as a name more honest. Howsoever, he that for want of will or wit useth not those means, must rest in servitude and poverty. The reason thereof is, that as nature hath laid before men the chief of all fortunes, so she disposes them rather to rapine than honest industry, and more subject to bad than good endeavours: hereof it cometh, that one man eateth another, and he that is weakest must always go to the worst.

Where necessity forceth, boldness is reputed wisdom, and in great enterprises peril is not to be made account of; for those attempts that begin with danger always end with honour or reward; also from one peril there is no way to escape but by entering into another.

A wise man ought not to desire to inhabit that country where men have more authority than laws. For indeed that country deserves to be desired where every one may securely enjoy his own, not that where with facility it may be taken away; and that friends, for fear to lose their own, are enforced to forsake them.

Some magistrates, either by over-great zeal or ignorance, take a course of rigour, which being for the present favoured, they are ever the more employed, as men meet to extirpate inconveniences.

But thereby the subjects are often drawn into desperation, and consequently have recourse unto arms as their uttermost refuge. In this case a wise prince, for appeasing the people, is forced to disallow his ministers, and sometimes also to inflict public punishment.

A prince naturally suspicious, and having about him persons inclined to envy, is easily induced to mistrust those men that have served him with most sufficiency, which danger they cannot eschew, because they who are worthiest commendation are oftentimes envied by such persons as have access unto the prince.

Whoso cannot endure both envy and hate must refrain

to enterprise great matters: for great honours being desired of many, it behoveth him that aspireth unto them to be for his dignity envied, and for his authority hated; which authority albeit the same be well used, yet they who hate or envy (persuading themselves it might be better handled) endeavour to oppress that power, as fearing it will be worse.

Among other things which worketh the inconveniences of commonweals, ambition and desperation are chief; of both, desperation is worst: for ambition may attend occasion, desperation will not, as that cannot endure delays. Historians desiring to write the actions of men ought to set down the simple truth, and not say any thing for love or hatred; also to choose such an opportunity for writing, as it may be lawful to think what they will, and write what they think, which is a rare happiness of the time.

In commending or disallowing the actions of men, it is a course very requisite to consider the beginning, the proceeding, and the end: so shall we see the reasons and causes of things, and not their bare events only, which for the most part are governed by fortune.

It is a matter of much necessity, that every man, and chiefly a prince, should in his first actions give some testimony of virtue; for falling at first into obloquy, do he well or ill, all is ill taken.

The custom of the common people is to judge rather by their eyes than by their ears, which is the cause they allow more of external show than inward virtue: and true it is, where excellency of mind and beauty of body concur, the commendation due to such a person is far the greater: *Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus.*

A prince or great personage that constantly endureth adversity deserveth great praise; yet greater commendation is due to him that beareth himself modestly in his happiness; for miseries are oft borne with patience, but felicity corrupteth.

To be descended of princes or great personages is a matter of mere fortune, and so to be esteemed; but adop-

tion proceedeth from the judgment of men; therefore seemeth incorrupt, and seldom abused.

It hath been long observed, and is a rule which rarely faileth, that he shall be ever suspected of the prince in possession, whom men account worthy to be a prince in reversion.

It hath been a use very ancient, to give credit to astrologers and other such persons, who by their star-learning, or blind divination, take upon them to tell of things to come. The reason thereof is, that the most part of men believe that soonest which they least understand; and if they see the event of a prediction, though it happeneth by mere chance to fall out according to that was premised, thereupon they settle so firm an impression, as albeit many other fail, yet the good conceit of their cunning cannot be removed.

Liberality is a virtue which gaineth love; but much are they deceived whom riot in lieu thereof abuseth. To cast away and consume is soon learned; but to give in good order few have the skill.

In time of sudden mutiny, conspiracy, and offence of people, the wisest resolution is, not to oppose force to prevent fury, but rather give space for the bad to amend and the good to consent; for reasons prevail on the sudden, but good counsel gathers forces by leisure.

Mature deliberation ought ever to be used; but when arms are to determine, speedy execution is the best; because no delay in that enterprise is fit, which cannot be commended before it be ended.

Whoso is pleased to observe the proceedings of men in authority shall observe that some of them hold a plain course without respect; others, projecting for time to come, do forecast how to hold their present good fortune, or at least to escape danger; for they mistrusting present prosperity, and fearing a change, prepare beforehand some private friends to oppose against public hatred: whereof may be inferred, that no care is taken of innocency, but every one studieth how to pass without punishment.

In captains, and all military commanders, three things are required, virtue, discipline, and authority; but in private soldiers obedience and courage only sufficeth: for by due obeying, and no curious scanning, the leader's directions are maintained, and the army in danger is always most valiant, which before the danger is most quiet. Let the soldier therefore be well armed, and valiantly minded. To advise and direct must be the captain's care.

It is a matter of no great moment, yet always worthy the noting, that any exterior behaviour, or garment presenting pride or greatness, chiefly in persons lately advanced, though no man be thereby interested or injured, doth move in others a certain offence: for the nature of man is such, as beholdeth the new prosperity of others with an envious eye, and wisheth a moderation of fortune nowhere so much as in those we have known in equal degree with ourselves.

In all enterprises of war (if present necessity doth not otherwise require) leisure and deliberation ought to be used; for often it sufficeth in lieu of wisdom, to take the advantage of other men's folly.

All men that are to consider of great actions ought to be informed whether that which is undertaken be profitable for the commonweal, honourable to themselves, and easy to be effected; or at least not greatly difficult. Also, he that persuadeth is to be examined, whether, besides bare words and counsel, he will join his own peril; and if fortune favour the attempt, to whom the principal glory shall redound.

The perils which accompany private enterprises are far unlike to those which he doth enter that aspireth to principality; for in private attempts a man may pause or proceed as he will; but to him that aspires to empire there remains no middle course, but either by victory to triumph as a prince, or, being vanquished, to endure death as a traitor.

Let no man in his prosperity give much credit to common applause, or service assured by any, of whom in meaner fortune he hath had no experience; for the base people are learned in no lesson, only, without difference of truth or

falsehood, to flatter men in authority, and with shouts and words of great rejoicing to make show of great affection.

As overmuch haste is dangerous, so too great delay oftentimes proveth disadvantageous; for albeit consultation ought to forego action, yet to dispute long, and in the end reject the advice of either side, or take a middle course, (which in cases of doubt and danger is worst,) was ever accounted great discretion.

There is no course more comely, nor any resolution so well beseeming a wise man, having made proof of his own virtue, (and finding in age no fortune due to such effect,) as to retire himself from the court and company; for so shall he shun the inconveniences of contempt, and the discommodity of travel, (*jucunda senectuti otia;*) yet true it is, that whoso hath lived a prince, or governed as a public person, cannot expect security in a private estate.

Whensoever danger draweth near, and terror is at hand, all men look about, but none willingly adventure; for in such cases every man will give counsel, but few will take part of the peril.

In commonwealths where sects or partialities be, the leader of any side is able to kindle civil war, yet is he unable to moderate the victory; for, to stir up dissensions and troubles the worst man most commonly bears the stroke; but peace and quietness are not established but by men of rare gifts and excellent virtue.

It may seem strange, and contrary both to courtesy and Christian profession, that men are far more mindful of injuries done unto them, than of benefits received by them. The reason thereof is, that thankfulness is accounted a burden, but revenge is sweet, and reckoned a great gain.

Of reconciled foes, and such as know that our harms were caused by their means, we ofttimes expect favour, as persuaded that new friendship will repair the loss of old displeasure: but the matter doth seldom so fall out; for the quality of man's nature is ever to hate those whom he hath hurt, and love them whom he hath made beholding: *Quos læserunt oderunt.* Tac.

To common persons, and such as are ignorant in matters of state, every taxation and imposition seemeth heavy, or superfluous; yet the wiser sort know, that the end of all public endeavour is to confirm people in peace, and peace cannot be maintained without arms, nor arms without pay, nor pay without impositions.

As fortunate folk are envied, so are the poor contemned; which rule reacheth also to princes: the one lives in plenty with war, the other in poverty with peace. For seldom is it seen that those people are assaulted where nothing is to be gained, and whose base beings afford no other spoils than blood and beggary.

Wise men have observed, that in matter of state, and the managing thereof, three things are especially to be looked unto; the first is occasion, the second the intentions of other men, the third our own affection. For there is nothing that slippeth away so soon as occasion; nothing so difficult as to judge what another man intendeth; nor any thing more nocent than our own immoderate desires.

It hath been ever a course observed by wise princes, but much more by aristocracies and popular states, against force and fury of the multitude, to defend themselves with silver and gold.

How much more it importeth all princes to lead a virtuous life, and give daily example of piety and justice, appears apparently in the proceedings of the Roman bishops, who, by the well-doing of some few of them at the first, became greatly honoured, but afterwards they became contemptible; for the reverence which men did bear to the sanctity of their lives failing, it was impossible of so contrary manners and examples to look for like effects.

The success of war chiefly dependeth on the reputation of the prince, which declining, the virtue also of the soldiers faileth; likewise the fidelity of the people decayeth, and their money to maintain the war ceaseth: contrariwise, the courage of the enemy is increased, they that stood doubtful become resolved, and every difficulty augmenteth.

The authority which princes give, is chiefly in respect of

wisdom and valour; yet true it is, that for the most part they account them the wisest men, that can best accommodate themselves to their humour.

The greatest distress and difficulty which can come to any army doth proceed of these causes: want of money, scarcity of victuals, hatred of people, discord of captains, disobedience of soldiers, and their flying to the enemy, either of necessity or free-will.

A prince, or great magistrate, having long maintained the reputation of wisdom and virtue, must take heed that no rash or dangerous resolution do taint the honourable fame of his former life; for to be transported with anger against his own profit is lightness, and to esteem small dangers more than great is want of judgment.

A prince, or person of great estate, must be wary not to incur the conceit of double-dealing; for little sincerity and trust is looked for in his actions, of whom there is an opinion of craft and falsehood conceived.

Experience hath always proved, that whatsoever the most part of men desire rarely cometh to pass: the reason hereof is, that the effects of human actions commonly depend on the will of a few, and their intentions ever differing from the greater number, the end and success cannot be other than as pleaseth the few that are to direct them.

There is nothing more dangerous than to enterprise a war, or other actions of importance, upon popular persuasion, for such expectations are vain, and such designs fallible; also the fury of the multitude is great, when danger is little, or far off; but perils growing great and near, their courage quaileth, as they whose passions have no rule or measure.

It is strange to see how apt men are to doubt displeasure threatened by enemies, chiefly when they draw near; for the people do naturally overmuch fear dangers at hand, and esteem less than is fit of things present; also to make small account of those that are far from them, because divers remedies may be hoped, as well by time as other accidents.

The offensive words or answers of indignation proceeding from great princes, ought never to admit displeasure into the minds of them against whom they are spoken: for having by speech uttered a great part of choler, the edge of their deeds becomes the calmer, and more easily appeased: such is the condition of noble and generous spirits.

To judge right of other men's merit seems of great difficulty, for time and trial is thereto required; also it is not easy to answer the expectation of men, but ofttimes inconsiderate, and not measured in due proportion.

It is a part of great discretion to divide the seasons of affairs and vacations; for as it fitteth well a prince or person of dignity, in times of audience and judgment, to be grave, heedful, and austere; so those offices performed, all show of authority and sad looks ought to be set apart, for by that means neither courteous behaviour shall detract from the reverence due to his place, nor severity diminish the love which to his behaviour appertaineth.

Magistrates must look into all things, but not exact all things to rigour. Light faults may be pardoned, but great offences severely corrected; yet not always proceeding to punishment, but oft contented with repentance. To be bitter in rebuking is also fit for a magistrate, shewing himself sour to the bad, and sweet to the good; framing both countenance and condition according to the merit of men; and be persuaded that it is more honest to offend than to hate.

Soldiers must be encouraged in all fortunes to stand resolved, and not to be daunted with any passing misadventure, ever attending a time and opportunity of revenge, which commonly cometh to pass where men's minds are united; for common danger must be repelled with union and concord.

Among other reasons wherewith soldiers are encouraged, necessity and distress doth oft enforce them; for as men of virtue perform the actions of arms for honour, so the coward must do them for his security.

All enterprises attempted by arms are honourable, but those that are done in countries remote are more praiseable;

for the less they be in knowledge, the greater is the glory to achieve them.

To be truly and faithfully loved is a thing greatly to be desired; for terror and fear are weak works of affection; for they being taken away, he that ceaseth to fear will soon begin to hate: and as they that by force are kept under, obey with ill-will, so they that govern without line justly, rule against right.

Some men either deserving to be accounted of excellent wisdom, or singular in that skill whereof they make profession, do ordinarily love the proceedings of others, taking that advantage of their ill success; yet sure it is, that disaster and unhappy event of some actions proceed not of disorder, nor human imperfection, but from a certain fatal fury, which neither counsel nor constancy of men can withstand.

It is a matter of much difficulty, or rather impossible for any prince to maintain the law, civil or military, without severity; for where men hope to be easily pardoned, there are they apt to offend. Contrarily, where men's actions are precisely fitted, there do they live in over-great awe, and hatred doth always accompany such severity. The best course therefore is to punish offences severely, and reward virtuous merits liberally; so shall fear be converted to reverend respect, and none have cause to complain; for as it lies in each man's power to shun offending, so is it in their power also to deserve well, and merit reward.

Whosoever after mature deliberation hath resolved what course to hold in the action he hath in hand, must not after repent, or fear any difficulty; for such thoughts would break the vigour of the mind, and impeach the proceedings of that which was resolved; and albeit some differences do haply arise, yet must he believe that every other course would have been accompanied with the same or greater impediments.

Young men, for the warmness of their blood, and for not having beforetime been deceived by fortune, more willingly enterprise actions rather honourable than severe. But old

men, as well for that their heat is cooled, as also for having attempted many things in vain, make choice of enterprises severe, rather than those that are followed with fame and glory.

The greatness of one prince is nothing else but the ruin and distress of another; likewise his strength is the weakness and oppression of others.

Some conquests are of such quality, as albeit a victorious captain merit triumphal honour; yet a modest refusal becomes his greater glory.

The dignity of magistrates is not assured without arms; for when obedience faileth, no other means is left to continue a people united.

As willing obedience in subjects is the prince's strength, so is the same their own security; for as by the prince's authority the people are governed, so by their consent he is maintained.

Three things men covet with immoderate desire, lands, riches, and honours; but as seldom they compass their full content, so are they for the most part to endure a destiny far other than they wished.

Strange it is, yet by experience proved true, that in time of danger, fortune, or rather destiny, so much amazeth the judgment of wise men, as seldom they conceive what resolution is best to be taken.

No great free city can long continue quiet, unless the same be used to foreign assaults; for wanting foes without, some inward enmity will arise, not unlike to strange bodies of men, which being secure from external injury, are nevertheless by their own poise oppressed.

As every pilot of ordinary skill knoweth in calm and quiet seas to direct the course of his ship, so every governor of capacity doth understand how the affairs of state are in peaceable times to be handled; but when tempests are, and subjects bent to sedition, the one requires an excellent sailor, the other the aid of some excellent wisdom.

It oft happens that public duty is opposite to private friendship, so as we are either forced to omit the offices due

to our country, or draw our dearest friends into danger; in which case we are to prefer public respect before particular obligation.

The nature of base people is such, as either they obey slavishly, or command insolently; for liberty being the mark whereat they aim, is by them of that quality neither moderately desired, nor discreetly continued; and always there are some seditious leaders to be found, who out of disorder are inclined to kindle the ire and offence of ignorant people: *Dux rebus motis facile invenitur.* Sallust.

Experience hath oft proved, that men in best fortune, and such as esteem themselves most secure, even then fall soonest into disadventure, because those dangers unfeared be as it were contemned, and not regarded.

To enter needless dangers was ever accounted madness, yet in times of extreme peril, and apparent distress, bold and hazardous attempts are greatest security.

The divers adventures which happen to men may well inform, that much better it is, chiefly in arms, to be governed by reason than by fortune.

A certain peace is ever accounted better security than victory hoped or expected: *Melior tutiorque certa pax quam sperata victoria.* Liv.

If to our prosperity God were pleased to add the grace of wisdom, we should thereby judge, not only of what is past, but also of all that can succeed hereafter.

Rarely or never can we consider truly of worldly proceedings, unless first we have felt the deceits of fortune. Discord or dissension in any state or city offers opportunity to such men as are ambitious to work their will; for the humour of sects and partialities is such, as the weaker faction doth ever choose rather to call for aid of strangers, than yield to the dominion of an adverse party.

Ancient customs may not violently and suddenly be taken away: fortune, which altereth all things, will by little and little wear them out of use.

To be oft in sight, and converse much with men, breedeth a kind of satiety; therefore it behoveth persons of great

estate and authority to be retired, lest overmuch familiarity should detract from the reverence due to honourable estate.

The natures of men not content to live according to their fortune and birth are of all others most prone to envy; because they hate the virtue and welfare of all such as are in estimation above them.

Great heed is to be taken that no citizen or subject be suffered to aspire to such greatness as cannot be forced to obey the laws; and no order there is of more necessity, than that every man, of what quality soever, may be without respect accused and judged.

For conversation of particular greatness and dignity, there is nothing more noble and glorious than to have felt the force of every fortune.

It is the quality of wise men only to know how to use prosperity, and never to trust too much to the favours of present happiness. A man well advised in his prosperity beareth not himself towards others either proud or violent; nor must he believe in his own present felicity, for the day knows not what the night bringeth: he only is to be reputed a man, whose mind cannot be puffed up by prosperity, nor dejected by any adverse fortune.

Men of choleric humour are easily moved with insolent speeches, but wise men laugh them to scorn.

The way whereby a prince eschews the hate of subjects is, not to take from them their lands or goods; yet albeit the blood of some few be tainted, unless the same be accompanied with confiscation, (which a prince is rarely forced to use,) it seldom causeth him to become odious.

A rule most certain it is, that he who commands any thing unpleasing, must by severe means cause it to be observed; and who desireth to be obeyed, must know how to command; and he only knows how to command, that doth compare his own force with those that are to obey; wherein finding a proportion, then he may boldly proceed, otherwise forbear.

In actions of difficulty great courage is to be used, and whoso compasseth any thing by violence cannot maintain it

by mildness, nor command by affability: he therefore that is of nature soft, should do best to refrain all extraordinary commands, and in matters ordinary employ the virtue of his mild spirit, because ordinary punishments are not imputed to the prince or his magistrates, but to the laws and ordinances of state.

When necessity presseth, desperation is deemed wisdom, and generous minds do not account of danger; because those attempts which begin with peril do for the most part end with glory.

He that endeavours to be good among many that are evil, or will uphold that which those labour to pull down, of force worketh his own undoing. All commonwealths alter from order to disorder, from disorder to order again; for nature having made all worldly things variable, so soon as they have attained their utmost perfection and height, they must descend; so from good they fall back to evil, and from evil they return to good. War begets quiet, quiet idleness, idleness disorder, disorder ruin; likewise ruin order, order virtue, virtue glory and good fortune.

Wise men have observed, that arms were before learning, and captains before philosophers; for good and well-regulated armies having gained victory, established rest and security, whereof the study of letters and liberal sciences ensued.

That country deserveth to be loved of all men which loves all men indifferently, and not that country which, respecting the best part, advanced a few: no man therefore is to be blamed, if for such cause he desire rather to abandon than embrace his country.

Commonwealths are bodies mixed, yet have they of bodies simple some resemblance; and as in these many infirmities grow, which without violent medicines cannot be cured; so in the other many mischiefs arise, which a good and godly patient should offend to leave uncured, though therein he use both force and fire.

Those wars be most just which are most necessary; and those arms are most merciful, where no hope of help remains but in them only.

In actions which promise either public glory or private honour, men may be reasonably persuaded to adventure life and living, because great hope there is to die with reputation, or live to recover that peace which war hath consumed: but where men are no less oppressed by insolency of commanders than by insolency of foes, there is the calamity doubled, and of two evils the danger of war seemeth least; for that hath end, the other is infinite.

Whoso persuades himself to be no less esteemed in evil than good fortune is deceived; for promises made during distress are rarely performed, unless the same necessity continue.

The intent of every prince or other state that makes war is, to enrich himself, and impoverish the enemy: neither is victory for other occasions sought, nor the possessions of the enemy to other end desired, than to make themselves mighty, and their enemy weak. It follows then, that so oft as the victory impoverishes them, or the gains weaken them, either they pass or come short of that mark whereat the war was aimed.

Ancient and well-governed commonwealths were wont by their conquests to fill the treasuries with gold and silver, to give reward to soldiers, to spare the people from tributes, to make triumphs and public feasts; but in later times the wars have used, first, to consume the treasure, and after impoverish the people, without assuring them from their enemies.

A prince or state that leaves promises unperformed, by reason of unexpected impediments, and for no ill intent, ought not to be blamed; neither are such accidents any just cause or colour why friends should abandon their confederates.

Where magistrates govern justly, subjects obey dutifully; where private persons grow rich, and princes enlarge their empire, there is the commonwealth blessed, and the people fortunate.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Maxims of state, or prudential grounds and polemical precepts, concerning all estates and forms of policy in times of peace or war, &c. confirmed by select narrations and historical parallels.*

ALL cities and towns of state are builded either by people dwelling in or about the place where they are builded, or else they are made by strangers: of the first are Athens and Venice; of the other, Alexandria and Florence.

The fortune of every city builded, and virtue of the builder, appeareth by choice of the place and quality of laws; for as fertile places occasion men to be slothful, unless by good laws they be forced to labour, so barrenness compels them to industry; which reason induceth wise men to plant habitations in either: examples of the first are Ferrara and Rome; of the second, Ragusa and Genoa.

All laws whereby commonwealths are governed were either made by some one excellent man, and at an instant, or else they were ordained at sundry times, according to such accidents as befell. Example; The laws of Sparta made at the beginning by Lycurgus, the laws of Rome at sundry times.

The government of every city in time becomes corrupt; principality changeth into tyranny; the optimacy is made the government of the people; and the popular estate turns to licentious disorder; which instability or alteration moved some lawmakers to take order, that in the government of their city there should be a mixture of all three, and was the cause that the policy of Sparta continued eight hundred years, when the popular state of Athens endured not one hundred. Example; The laws of Sparta made by Lycurgus, and the laws of Athens by Solon.

Whoso taketh in hand to frame any state or government, ought to presuppose that all men are evil, and at occasions will shew themselves so to be. Example; The envy of the people of Rome to the nobles, and their insolency towards them, appeared not so long as the kings governed; but the

Tarquins being banished, opportunity was thereby offered, and the malice of the one and the other became discovered.

The diverse honours of the nobility and people, the one desiring to command, the other not to obey, are the cause of continual troubles, unless some third mean there be of more authority than either, to bridle the force of both. Example; The kings in Rome expulsed, forthwith arose much mutiny, and could not be suppressed till the *tribuni plebis* were created, whose authority wrought the same effect which the kings had done.

Some states endeavour to enlarge their dominions, and some others labour only to maintain that estate they anciently possessed. Example; Of the first was the city of Rome; of the second, Sparta.

All states desiring to live at liberty think fit that every man should be permitted to accuse any citizen that offendeth; which manner of proceeding works two excellent effects: first, that the people should not dare, for fear of accusing, to attempt ought against the state; or if they do, they shall be presently and without respect punished: secondly, by liberty of accusing, every man hath means to utter the offence wherewith he can charge others, which he could not, unless it were lawful to take such an ordinary course, and consequently be driven to ways extraordinary, particular revenge, or calling foreign forces. Example; Coriolanus and Appius Claudius at Rome, Lucannone at Chinsi, Francisco Valeri in Florence.

As accusations are in every state necessary, so slanders are dangerous, and worthy of punishment: the difference betwixt accusations and slanders is, that the one is publicly performed before magistrates, with good proofs and witnesses to maintain the truth of the accusation; but slanders are as well publicly performed, as dispersed in secret and places of repair without witness and justification; so as every man may be slandered, but few are orderly accused. Example; Appius Claudius accused by L. Virginius, Furius Camillus slandered by Manlius Capitolinus.

The only means to suppress slander is to give authority

to some persons of repute, to compel every slanderer to become an accuser; and if the accusation prove true, then to reward the accuser, or at least not to punish him. Example; Manlius the slanderer of Camillus, for his untrue information punished.

A rule most certain and assured it is, that every kingdom and state at the first well framed, or after well informed, doth take the perfection thereof from the wisdom of some excellent man, who ought not to be blind, though in a matter of great moment he haply useth some extraordinary violence or proceedings; for he that employeth force to mend, and not to mar, deserves commendation. Example; Romulus, Lycurgus, Cleomenes.

There lives no man so simple or wise, so wicked or well-disposed, but prefers those persons that are praiseable, before those that are blameable; notwithstanding for that, well-near all men are beguiled in discerning what indeed is good, deeming that honourable which in truth is otherwise: they suffer themselves either willingly or ignorantly to be carried into a course which merits rather infamy than commendation. Example; Every man wisheth himself Timoleon or Agesilaus, rather than Dionysius or Phalaris; rather a Titus or Trajan, than Caligula or Vitellius.

Who reads histories treating of great actions shall perceive that good princes indeed are more secure, and better defended by the love of the people and fidelity of counsellors, than were they that entertained many legions and men of war. Example; Of all those emperors which reigned after Cæsar until Maximinus, the greatest number were for their vices taken and slain; only Galba and Pertinax excepted, who were good emperors.

A prince of great knowledge both in arms and wisdom so firmly settles the foundation of government, as albeit his successor be of the less virtue, yet may he be maintained even by the memory of his predecessor; but if it happen that the third prince prove not more like the first than the second, then all that is past goeth to ruin. Example; The martial valour of Romulus was the cause that Numa might

govern safely in peace, which Tullus could not have done, had he been unlike to Romulus; nor should Bajazet, emperor of Turkey, have enjoyed the state of his father Mahomet, and left the same to his posterity, if Selim his son had not been more like to his grandfather than to Bajazet his father.

The succession of two excellent princes, chiefly if they be of long life, works wondrous effects: the like is seen in optimacies, or popular states, where the governors successively elected be men of great virtue and understanding. Example; The first appeared in Philip of Macedon, and Alexander his son; the second in the consuls of Rome.

In every state where soldiers are not, the fault thereof proceeds from the governors. Wise princes were therefore wont (even in times of peace) to cause warlike exercises to be used; for without them the most warlike nations become not only ignorant in martial knowledge, but also effeminate. Example; Pelopidas and Epaminondas in Thebes, and king Tullus in Rome, as well in peaceable as troublesome times, used exercise of arms.

No prince or state well advised hazards his whole estate upon the valour of some few persons, nor ought to the strength of strait places where the enemy is to pass. Example; Tullus king of Rome, and Metius king of Alba, condescended that three of their nobility for either side chosen should enter combat, and that nation which were victorious should command the other. Francis the French king going to recover Lombardy, was by the Switzers attended into two or three places in the mountains, hoping there to repulse him; but the king taking another way, passed securely, and prevailed.

Every state well governed doth reward men of good merit, and punish all offenders; and if any person of good desert shall wilfully be a delinquent, the same man ought, notwithstanding his former service, be punished. Example; The same Horatio that in combat gained the victory against the Albani, having insolently slain his own sister, was, notwithstanding his egregious act, and the fresh me-

mory thereof, called into trial of his life, and with great difficulty obtained pardon; and Manlius, who had with great glory saved the Capitol, for moving sedition in Rome, was after from the same cast down headlong.

Every wise man having performed any great service to his prince or country, ought to be content with such recompense as it shall please the prince or country to bestow; measuring the same according to the power of the giver, and not the merit of him that receiveth. Example; Horatius Cocles, for having lost his hand in defence of the bridge of Rome, and Mutius Scævola, suffering his hand to be burnt for his attempt to kill king Porsenna, were rewarded with a small portion of land; and Manlius, that defended the Capitol from the galleys, had no greater reward than a little measure of meal.

Ingratitude is a vice so natural and common, as not only private persons, but princes and states also, either through covetousness or suspicion, are therewith infected. Example; Vespasian proclaimed emperor, was chiefly aided by Antonius Primus, and by his help prevailed against Vitellius; in reward of which service Vespasian removed him from the command of his army, and gave that honour to Mutianus. Gonsalvo Ferranoe having taken the kingdom of Naples from the French, was first removed from his command of the castles and soldiers, and in the end brought into Spain, where in disgrace he ended his life. Collatinus Tarquinius, who with the aid of Brutus suppressed the Tarquins of Rome, and with him Publius Valerius, were banished for no other cause, but one for being of the name of Tarquin, the other because he built a house upon mount Cœlio.

All errors that great captains commit are either wilful or ignorant, towards the one and the other of which offenders to use greater lenity than the quality of their offences deserves seemeth necessary; for men of honour suffer nought by the infamy which evil service doth bring. It is also to be considered, that a great captain being cumbered with many cares cannot proceed in his actions courageously,

if he stand in daily doubt to be punished for every error that happeneth. Example; Sergius and Virginius were before Veio, the one part of the army on the one side of the city, the other not far from the place. Sergius being assaulted by the Falisci was not aided by Virginius, neither would he require his help, such was the envy the one bore to the other, and consequently their offence was wilful, and worthy of capital punishment. Likewise when Varro by his ignorance received an overthrow by Hannibal at Cannæ, he was nevertheless pardoned, and honourably welcomed home by the whole senate.

Whensoever an inconvenience ariseth within or without the state, it seems a resolution more sure to dissemble the knowing thereof, than to seek by sudden violence to suppress it. Example; Cosmo de Medicis having gained extraordinary reputation in Florence, the citizens imagined that to suffer the same to increase was dangerous, and therefore they banished him; which extreme proceeding so offended the friends of Cosmo, being the stronger, as they forced the citizens to revoke him, and make him prince of that city. The like happened in Rome, where Cæsar, for his virtue much admired and followed, became afterwards to be feared; and they that feared, not considering their force to be inferior to the power of Cæsar, endeavouring to oppress him, were the occasion of his greater glory.

In every republic an excessive authority given to one or two persons for long time proveth dangerous, chiefly when the same is not restrained. Example; The dictatorship given to Cæsar for life was an occasion to oppress the liberties of the Romans. The same effect was before that time like to follow the decemvirate, by suffering Appius Claudius to prolong the time of his dignity.

The ambition of men is such, as rarely they will obey, when formerly they have commanded; neither do they willingly accept of mean office, having before sat in higher place: yet the citizens of well-governed states did not refuse as well to obey as command. Example; In the victory the Romans obtained against the Veienti, Q. Fabius was

slain, having the year before been consul; nevertheless, he then served in meaner place under C. Manilius, and M. Fabius, his own brother, then consul.

There is nothing more strange, yet by experience proved true, that men in adverse fortune be much grieved, and in prosperity also discontented; which is the reason, that not being forced to fight for necessity, they will nevertheless contend for ambition; and that humour doth as well possess those that live aloft, as others whom fortune holdeth down. Example; The people of Rome having by the authority of the tribunes obtained to make themselves secure from oppression of the nobility, forthwith required that the honour and office of state might be also imparted unto them. The like ambition moved them to have their part of lands by force of *lex agraria*, which was at last the overthrow of the Roman liberty.

It seemeth that people displeased with some innovations happened in the state, do sometime without just reasons complain of those that govern. Not unlike to a sick man, who deemeth that the physician, not the fever, is the cause of his grief. Example; The people of Rome were persuaded that the ambition of consuls was the cause of continual war, therefore required that no more consuls should be; yet were they content that certain tribunes should command with like authority; so was nothing altered in the government but the governor's title, which alone did content them.

Nothing can corrupt and alter the nature of man so much, or so soon, as the immoderate desire of honour; insomuch as men of honest minds and virtuous inclinations are sometimes by ambition drawn to abuse that goodness whereunto they are inclined. Example; Appius Claudius having lived long an enemy to the multitude, hoping by their aid to continue his authority of the decemviri in Rome, became their friend, and disfavoured the factions of great men. Likewise Q. Fabius, a man of singular virtue, being also called to that dignity by Appius himself, adulterated his nature, and became like unto him.

Seldom or never is any people discontented without just cause; yet if haply they be asked whereof their offence proceedeth, many times, for want of some fit man to pronounce their grief, they stand silent. Example; The Romans at the death of Virginia were gathered together armed upon mount Sacro, and being asked by the senate for what cause they did so, no answer was made, until Virginius, father of the virgin, had procured that twenty of the tribunes might be made to be as head of the people, and confer with the senate.

A great folly, or rather mere madness, it seemeth, to desire any thing, and tell beforehand that the end and purpose of the desire is evil; for thereby he sheweth reason why it ought not to be granted. Example; The Romans required of the senate, that Appius and the rest of the decemviri should be delivered into their hands, being determined to burn them all alive.

The first part of their request seemed reasonable, but the end thereof unreasonable.

A course very dangerous it is in all states, by continual accusing and punishing, to hold the subject in doubt and daily fear; for he that stands alway slooking for some trouble, becometh careless, and apt to attempt innovation. Example; The decemviri being oppressed, the tribunes, authorized in their place, endeavoured daily to call in question the most part of the decemviri, and many other citizens also; whereof great inconveniences arose, and much danger would have ensued, had not a decree propounded by M. Duillius been made, that for one year no Roman citizen should be accused.

Strange it is to see how men in seeking their own security lay the injuries which they fear upon other men, as though it were necessary either to offend or be offended. Example; The Romans among themselves united and strong, always endeavoured to offend the nobles, and the nobles likewise, being persuaded they were strong, laboured to oppress the people; which humours were the cause of continual troubles.

To make estimation and choice of men fit to govern, the best course is to consider in particular; otherwise it might be imagined that among the multitude, or meaner people, they being the greatest number, might be found some persons of more perfection. Example; The people of Rome desiring that the consulship might be given among them as men of most merit, did by all means endeavour to obtain that honour; but being come to election, and every man's virtue particularly considered, there could not be among the multitude only one found fit for so great a place; and therefore the people themselves consented that the dignity should still remain as it was.

To persuade a multitude to any enterprise is easy, if that which is persuaded doth promise either profit or honour; yet oft under that external appearance lies hid loss or disadvantage. Example; The Romans persuading themselves that the slow proceeding of Fabius Maximus in the war were both chargeable and cowardly, required that the general of the horse might direct the war; which course had ruined Rome, if the wisdom of Fabius had not been. Likewise, when Hannibal had divers years reigned in Italy, one M. Centenius Penula, a man of a base birth, yet a soldier of some repute, undertook, that if he, with such volunteers as would follow him, might have authority to fight, he would within a few days deliver Hannibal either alive or dead: which offer was by the senate accounted rash, yet for fear to offend the people granted; and Penula, with his soldiers, was cut in pieces.

To appease a mutiny or tumult in any camp or city, there is no means more speedy or successful, than if some person of great quality and respect present himself to the people, and by his wisdom lay before them the damage of their discords, persuading them to peace and patience. Example; The faction of the Frateschi and Arratiati in Florence, the one ready to assault the other. Francisco Soderini, bishop of Voterra, in his episcopal habit, went between the parties, and appeased them: also count Egremont, by the authority of

his wisdom and presence, suppressed a great mutiny in Antwerp, between the Martinists and papists.

A people corrupted do rarely or never observe any order or ordinance, unless by force of some prince's power they be thereto enforced; but where the multitude is incorrupt and religious, all things are done justly, and without compulsion. Example; Camillus at the victory against the Urienti vowed that the tenth part of the pillage should be offered to Apollo; but the senate, supposing that the people would not consent to so great a contribution, studied to dispense with that vow, and to please Apollo and the people also by some other means; whereat the people shewed themselves openly offended, and willingly gave no less than the sum formerly decreed. When the free cities of Germany are occasioned to make money for any public service, the magistrates impose one or two in the hundred on every city, which done, every one is sworn to lay down so much as in his own conscience he is able; and he with his own hand, no other witness being present, casting the money into a coffer prepared for the purpose; which he would not, if his own conscience did not enforce him.

When any extraordinary occasion happens to a city or province, some prodigious voice is heard, or some marvellous sights are seen. Before T. Gracchus, general of the Roman army, was betrayed by Flavius Lucanus, the aruspices discovered two serpents eating the entrails of the beasts sacrificed, which done, they vanished; which vision, as they divined, prognosticated the general's death. Likewise F. Savanarola foretold the coming of king Charles VIII. into Italy; and M. Sedigitus, when the Gauls first came towards Rome, informed the senate he heard a voice much louder than any man's, crying aloud, *Galli veniunt.*

The multitude of base people is naturally audacious, and apt to innovation; yet unless they be directed by some persons of reputation and wisdom, rarely do they join in any action of great import. Example; The Romans, when their city was taken and sacked by the Gauls, went to Veio with determination to dwell there: the senate, informed thereof,

commanded that upon great pain every citizen should return to Rome, whereat the people at first mocked; but when every man particularly within himself considered his own peril, all in general determined to obey the magistrates.

In the employment of men for service, neither age nor fortune ought so much to be regarded as virtue; for young men having made trial of their valour soon become aged, and thereby either unapt or unable to serve; therefore well-governed commonwealths preferred military virtue beyond any other respect. Example; Valerius Corvinus, with others, made consul the three and twentieth year of his age, and Pompey triumphed in his youth.

No wise or well-advised prince, or other state, will undertake, without excessive forces, to invade the dominions of any other prince, unless he assure himself of some friends there, to be a mean, and, as it were, a gate to prepare his passage. Example; The Romans by aid of the Saguntines entered Spain, the Ætoli called them into Greece, the Hediai into France: likewise the Palæologi incited the Turk to come into Thrace, and Ludovicus Sforza occasioned Charles the French king to come into Italy.

A republic desirous to extend the bounds thereof must endeavour to be fully furnished with inhabitants; which may be done both by love and force: love is gained by suffering strangers to inhabit the city securely, and force compels people to come thither when other cities and towns near at hand be demolished or defaced: and impossible it is without this order of proceeding to enlarge any city, or make the same of greater power. Example; The Romans, to enlarge their city, demolished Alba, and many other towns, and therewith also entertained all strangers courteously, so as Rome grew to such greatness, that the city could arm six hundred and forty thousand men; but Sparta or Athens could never exceed twenty thousand, for that Lycurgus had inhibited the access of strangers.

A commonwealth that consumes more treasure in the war than it profits in victory, seems to have rather hindered

than honoured or enriched the state. A wise captain, therefore, in his actions ought as well to profit the republic, as to gain himself glory. Example; The consuls of Rome did seldom desire triumph, unless they returned from the war loaden with gold, silver, and other rich spoils, fit to be delivered into the common treasury.

All foreign wars with princes, or other states, taken in hand, be either for ambition or desire of glory, or else for necessity. Examples; The Romans for their ambition conquered many nations, with intent only to have the obedience of the people; yet did they suffer them to hold possession of their houses, and sometimes they were permitted to live only with their old laws. Likewise Alexander the Great endeavoured to suppress many princes for his glory, but did not dispossess the people, nor kill them.

Otherwise it is where a whole nation, enforced by famine or fury of war, abandon their own dwellings, and are forced to inhabit elsewhere. Example; The Goths and other people of the north invaded the Roman empire, and many other provinces, whereof their alteration of names did ensue; as Illyria, now called Slavonia; England, formerly named Britain.

A common conceit and saying it is, that money makes the war strong, and is the force and sinews thereof; as though he who hath most treasure be also most mighty: but experience hath apparently shewed the contrary. Example; After the death of Alexander king of Macedon, a multitude of Gauls went into Greece, and being there arrived sent certain ambassadors to the king, who, supposing to make them afraid of his power, shewed them his treasure, which wrought a contrary effect; for the Gauls being desirous of peace resolved then to continue the war, in hope to win that mighty mass of money. Likewise Darius should have vanquished Alexander, and the Greeks might have conquered the Romans, if the richer prince might ever by his money have prevailed.

Every league made with a prince or republic remote is weak, and rather aideth us with fame than effect, and con-

sequently deceiveth all those that in such amity repose confidence. Example; The Florentines, being assaulted by the king of Naples and the pope, prayed the aid of the French king, who, being far distant, could not in time succour them; and the Cedicini, desiring aid of the Capuani against the Samnites, a people of no force, were deceived.

A prince whose people is well armed and trained, shall do better to attend his enemy at home, than by invasion to assault his country; but such princes whose subjects are disarmed, had need to hold the enemy aloof. Example; The Romans, and in this age the Swisses, being well armed, may attend the war at home; but the Carthaginians and Italians, being not so well furnished, did ever use to seek the enemy.

The plurality of commanders in equal authority is for the most part occasion of slow proceeding in the war. Example; There was at one time in Rome created four *tribuni militares*, with authority of consuls; viz. T. Quintus, after his consulship, Caius Furius, M. Posthumus, and A. Cornelius Cossus; among whom arose so much diversity and contrariety of opinion, as nothing could be done till their authority ceased, and M. Æmilius was made dictator.

A victory obtained by any great captain with the authority of his prince's commission, counsel, and directions, ought ever to be imputed rather to the wisdom of the prince, than the valour of the captain; which made the emperors of Rome to permit no captains (how great soever his victories were) to triumph, as before that time the consuls had done; and even in those days a modest refusal of triumph was commended. Example; M. Fulvius having gained a great victory against the Tuscans, was both by the consent of the senate and people of Rome admitted to triumph; but the refusal of that honour proved his greater glory.

All they that from private estate have aspired to principality, either by force or fraud be come thereunto, unless the same be given, or by inheritance descended; yet it is rarely seen that force alone prevaileth, but fraud without force ofttimes sufficeth. Example; Agathocles by such

means became prince of Syracusa; John Galleazzo, by abusing his uncle Barnabas, gained the dominion of Lombardy; and Cyrus circumvented Cyaxares, his mother's brother, and by that craft aspired to greatness.

Sudden resolutions are always dangerous, and no less peril ensueth of slow and doubtful delays. Example; When Hiero prince of Syracusa died, the war even then being in great heat between the Romans and Carthaginians, they of Syracusa consulted whether it were better to follow the fortune of Rome or Carthage; in which doubt they continued, until Apollonides, a chief captain of Syracusa, laid before them that so long delay would make them hated both of Romans and Carthaginians. Likewise the Florentines being by Lewis the Twelfth required to give his army passage towards Naples, mused so long upon answer, that he became their enemy, and they forced to recover his favour full dearly.

To govern a state is nothing else but to take such order as the subjects may not or ought not offend; which may be done either by removing from them all means to disobey, or by affording them so great favours, as reasonably they ought not to change their fortune; for the mean course proveth dangerous. Example; The Latins, being by the valour of Camillus overcome, yielded themselves to endure what punishment it pleased the Romans to inflict.

An ingenious and magnanimous answer being made unto wise magistrates doth oft obtain both pardon and grace. Example; When the Privernates had rebelled, and were by force constrained to return to the obedience of the Romans, they sent certain of the city unto Rome to desire pardon; who being brought before the senate, one of the senators asked the Privernates, what punishment themselves did think they had deserved: "The same," quoth they, "which "men living in freedom think they are worthy of." Whereto the consul thus replied; *Quid si pœnam remittimus? Qualem nos pacem vobiscum habituros speremus?* The Privernates answered, *Si bonam dederitis, et fidelem et perpetuam: si malam, haud diuturnam.* Which answer was thought to

proceed from generous men, and therefore they were not only pardoned, but also honoured, and received into the number of the Roman citizens.

All castles, fortresses, and places of strength, be made for the defence either against the enemy or subject; in the first case they are not necessary, in the second dangerous: for thereby the prince may at his pleasure take occasion to insult upon the subject, when much more seemly he might settle his estate upon the love and good affection of men. Example; The castle of Milan, made by duke Francisco Sforza, incited his heirs to become insolent, and consequently they became odious; which was also the cause that so soon as that city was assaulted, the enemy with facility did possess it.

That prince or potentate which builds his security rather upon the trust he hath in fortresses than the love of men, shall be deceived; for no place is so strong as can long defend itself, unless by the love and aid of men it be in time of necessity succoured. Example; Pope Julio having drawn the Bentivoli out of Bologna, built there a strong castle; the governor thereof robbed the people, and they therewith grieved, in a short time took the castle from him. So after the revolt of Genoa, Lewis the Twelfth came to the recovery thereof, and builded there the strongest fortification of Italy, as well for site as the circumstances inexpugnable. Nevertheless, the citizens rebelled, and within sixteen months the French were forced to yield the castle and government to Octavio Fragosa.

To build forts upon places of strength, either for defence of our own, or to hold that which is taken from others, hath ever proved to small purpose. Example; The Romans having suppressed the rebellion of the Latins and Privernates, albeit they were people warlike, and lovers of liberty; yet to keep them subject built there no castles, nor other places fortified: and the Lacedæmonians did not only forbear to fortify the towns they conquered, but also left their chief city of Sparta unwalled.

The necessity or use of fortification is only upon fron-

tiers, or such principal places where princes make their habitation; to the end the fury of sudden assaults may be stayed, and time for succour entertained otherwise. Example; The castle of Milan being made to hold the state in obedience, could not so do either for the house of Sforza or France. Guido Ubaldo, duke of Velin, driven from his dominion by Cæsar Borgia, so soon as he recovered his country, caused all the forts to be demolished; for by experience he found the love of men was the surest defence, and that fortifications prevailed no less against him than for him.

The causes of division and faction in every commonweal proceed most commonly of idleness and peace, and that which uniteth is fear and war. Example; The Veienti and Elinsci, having intelligence of great contention between the nobility and people of Rome, thought that a fit opportunity to oppress the one and the other; but the Romans, informed of such an intention, appeased all domestic anger, and by the valour of their arms, conducted by Gn. Manlius and M. Fabius, defeated the enemy's forces.

The means to usurp an estate disjointed is, first, before arms be taken, to become, as it were, an arbitrator, or a friend indifferent; and after arms be taken, then to send moderate aid to the weak side, as well to entertain the war between the factions, as also to consume the strength both of the one and the other; yet in no wise to employ any great forces, for thereby either party may discover the intents to suppress them. Example; The city of Pistoia fallen into division, the Florentines took occasion sometimes to favour the one and sometimes the other, that in the end both sides, weary of the war, voluntarily yielded to their devotion. Philippo Viscount, hoping sundry times by occasion of faction to oppress the Florentines, did often assault them with great forces, which was the cause that they became reunited, and consequently the duke deceived of his expectation.

A great wisdom it is to refrain opprobrious and injurious speech; for as neither the one nor the other can any whit

decrease the enemy's force, so doth it move him to greater hate, and more desire to offend. Example; Gabides, a general of the Persians, having long besieged Amida, became weary, and preparing to abandon the enterprise raised his camp, which they of the city beholding began to revile the Persians, and from the walls reproved them of cowardice; which indiscreet words so highly offended Gabides, as thereupon he resolved to continue the siege, and within few days won the city. Tiberius Gracchus, appointed captain of certain bands of men, whom for want of other soldiers the Romans entertained, proclaimed in his camp, that no man upon pain of death should contumeliously call any soldier slave, either in earnest or jest: *Nam facetiæ asperæ quando nimium ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquant.* Likewise Alexander the Great, having conquered well-near all the east, brought his forces before Tyre: they fearing Alexander's fury, offered upon honourable conditions to yield him obedience, only requiring that neither he nor any of his forces should enter the city; which motion after four months Alexander accepted, and so signified by his ambassador, who, arriving in Tyre, was by the proud citizens slain; whereat Alexander grew into choler, and being ready to forsake the siege stayed his forces, and in the end sacked the city, and put the people to the sword.

A prince, or any other state, being assaulted by an enemy of far more puissance than himself, ought not to refuse any honourable compositions, chiefly when they are offered; for no conditions can be so base, but shall in some sort turn to the advantage and honour of him that accepts them. Example; Anno 1512. certain Florentines procured great forces of Spaniards to come thither, as well to repossess the Medici then banished, as also to sack the city; promising that so soon as the army of Spain did come into the Florentine dominions, the faction of Medici would be ready armed to receive them; but the Spaniards being come found no forces at all to join with them, and therefore, wanting victuals, offered composition. The Florentines, finding the enemy

distressed, grew insolent, and refused peace; whereof followed the loss of Prato, and many other inconveniences. The like happened to them of Tyre, as before.

The denial or delay of justice desired in revenge of injuries, either public or privately offered, is a thing very dangerous to every prince, or other state; for that the party injured doth oft by indirect means, though with hazard of his country and himself, seek satisfaction. Example; The complaint which the Galli made against the Fabii, who sent ambassadors in favour of the Tossani, not being heard, nor any punishment inflicted upon them for fighting against the law of nations, was the cause that the Galli were offended with the states, whereof followed the sack of Rome; and the delay of justice in Philip of Macedon, for not revenging the incestuous oppression of Attalus to Pausanias, was the motive to murder that king.

Whoso endeavours the alteration of any state must of necessity proceed with all severity, and leave some memorable example to those that shall impugn the ordinance of government newly settled. Example; When Junius Brutus had by his great valour banished the Tarquins, and sworn the people that no king should ever reign in Rome; within short time after, many young nobles, among whom was Brutus's son, impatient of the equality of the new government, conspired to recall the Tarquins; but Brutus thereof informed, caused his own son not only to be condemned to death, but was himself present at the execution.

As health and soundness of the hands, legs, and other outward members cannot continue life, unless the heart and vital spirits within be strong and firm; so fortifications and frontier defences do not prevail, unless the whole corps of the kingdom and people be well armed. Example; When the emperor came into Italy, and had with some difficulty passed the confines of the Venetians well-near without resistance; his army marched to Venice, and might doubtless have possessed the city, had it not been defended with water. Likewise the English, in their assault of France, excepting a few encounters on the frontiers, found no puis-

sant resistance within the realm. And anno 1513. they forced all that state and the king himself to tremble, as oft before they had done; but contrariwise the Romans, knowing that life lay in the heart, ever held the body of their state strongest; for the nearer the enemy approached Rome, the better they found the country armed and defended.

The desire to command sovereignly is of so great force, as doth not only work in those that are in expectation of principality, but also in them that have no title at all. Example; This appetite moved the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, contrary to all natural duty, to incite her husband to murder her own father Servius, and possess his kingdom, as being persuaded it were much more honourable to be a queen, than to be the daughter of a king.

The violation of ancient laws, orders, and customs, under which people have long time lived, is the chief and only cause whereby princes hazard their estate and royal dignity. Example; Albeit the deflouring of Lucrece was the occasion, yet was it not the cause that moved the Romans to take arms against Tarquin; for he having before that fact of Sextus's son governed tyrannically, and taken from the senate all authority, was become odious both to the senate, nobility, and people, who, finding themselves well governed, never seek or wish any other liberty or alteration.

A prince that desires to live secure from conspiracy, hath cause rather to fear those on whom he hath bestowed overgreat riches and honours, than those whom he hath greatly injured; because they want means to offend; the others have many opportunities to do it. Example; Perennius, the prime favourite of Commodus the emperor, conspired his death: Plautianus did the like to Severus, and Sejanus to Tiberius; for being advanced to so great honours, riches, and offices, as nothing remained desirable but the imperial title, they conspired against the persons of their sovereigns in hope of the dignity; but in the end they endured that punishment which to such disloyalty and ingratitude appertaineth.

An army which wants experience, albeit the captain be

expert, is not greatly to be feared; neither ought an army of well-trained soldiers to be much esteemed whose captain is ignorant. Example; Cæsar going into Africa against Afranius and Petræus, whose army was full of old soldiers, said he feared them little, *quia ibat ad exercitum sine duce.* Contrariwise, when he went to Pharsalia to encounter Pompey, he said, *Ibo ad ducem sine exercitu.*

A captain-general commanding an army ought rather to govern with courtesy and mildness, than with overmuch austerity and severity. Example; Q. and Appius Claudius, being consuls, were appointed to govern the war: to Q. was allotted one army, which served very dutifully; but Appius, commanding the other with great cruelty, was by his soldiers unwillingly obeyed. Nevertheless Tacitus seems of a contrary opinion, saying, *Plus pœna quam obsequium valet.*

Therefore to reconcile these different conceits, I say, that a general having power to command men, either they are confederates or subjects: if confederates or voluntaries, he may not proceed to extreme punishment; if subjects, and his power absolute, they may be governed otherwise; yet with such respect, as the insolence of the general enforce not the soldiers to hate him.

Honour may sometime be got as well by the loss as gaining of victory. Every man knoweth glory is due to the victor, and we deny not the same privilege to the vanquished, being able to make proof that the loss proceeded not from his default. Neither is it dishonourable to violate those promises whereto the necessity or disadvantage of war enforceth; and forced promises which concern a whole state are not binding, and rarely or never kept, nor is the breaker thereby to receive disgrace. Example; Posthumus the consul, having made a dishonourable peace with the Samnites, was by them, with his whole army, sent home disarmed. Being arrived at Rome, the consul informed the people they were not bound to perform the base conditions he was compelled to yield unto; albeit he and those few that promised were bound to perform them. The senate thereupon

concluded to send him prisoner to Samno, where he constantly protested the fault to be only his own; wherefore the people by that peace incurred no dishonour at all: and fortune so much favoured Posthumus, as the Samnites were content presently to return him to Rome; where he became more glorious for losing the victory, than was Pontius at Samno for having won the victory.

Wise men have long observed, that whoso will know what shall be, must consider what is past; for all worldly things hold the same course they had at first. The reason is, that as long as men are possessed with the same passions with former ages, consequently of these doings the same effects ensue. Example; the Almains and French have ever been noted for their avarice, pride, fury, and infidelity, and so in divers ages experience hath proved, even to this present; for perfidious dealing the French have given sufficient proof, not only in ancient times, but also in the time of Charles the Eighth, who promised to render to the Florentines the forts of Pisa, but having divers times received money, held them notwithstanding in possession. The Florentines found the like in the Almains; for in the wars of the Visconti, dukes of Milan, they prayed aid of the emperor, who promised them great forces; in consideration whereof, he was to receive of the Florentines one hundred thousand crowns in hand, and as much more when his army was arrived in Italy, both which payments were performed; but as soon as the emperor came to Verona, he devised cavillations of unkindness, whereupon he returned home.

A prince desirous to obtain any thing of another, must, if occasion so permit, urge his demand so earnestly, and press for so sudden and present answer, as he who is pressed may not have leisure to consider how to excuse himself in denial. Example; Pope Julio endeavoured to drive out of Bologna all the Bentivoli, in which action he thought the aid of the French necessary, and that the Venetians should stand neutral; and by divers messengers did solicit them to that effect; but not receiving any resolute answer, he thought fit with those few forces he had, to take his jour-

ney to Bologna, whereupon the Venetians advertised him they would remain neutral, and the French king forthwith sent him forces, as fearing the pope's indignation: likewise the Tuscans, having formerly desired aid of the Samnites against the Romans, took arms suddenly, and obtained their request, which the Samnites had before denied.

When a multitude offendeth, all may not be punished, because they are too many; to punish part, and leave the rest unpunished, were injury to the sufferers, and to those that escape, an encouragement to offend again: therefore, to eschew all extremity, mean courses have been anciently used. Example; When all the wives of the Romans conspired to poison their husbands, a convenient number of them were punished, and the rest suffered to pass: likewise at the conspiracy of the Bacchanals, in the time of the Macedonian war, wherein many thousands, men and women, had part, every tenth person only was put to death by lot, although the offence were general; by which manner of punishing, he that suffered complained of his fortune, and he that escaped was put in fear that, offending again, the same punishment might light upon himself, and therefore would no more offend.

A battle, or great action in arms, ought not to be enterprised without special commission or command from the prince, otherwise the general incurs great danger. Example; Papyrius the dictator punished the general of the horse in the Roman army for having fought without his consent, although he had in battle slain twenty thousand enemies, without loss of two hundred of his own: and Cæsar commended his captain Silanus for having refrained to fight, though with great advantage he might. Also count Egmont hazarded the favour of the king his master, for giving battle to marshal de Thermes, albeit he were victorious; for upon the success of that action the loss or safety of all the Low Countries depended.

To govern without council is not only dangerous in aristocracies and popular states, but unto independent princes an occasion of utter ruin. Example; Hiero, the

first king of Sicily, in all his proceedings used the advice of counsels, and lived fifty years prosperously in peace; but his grandchild succeeding, refusing all counsel, lost his kingdom, and was with all his kinsfolk and friends cruelly slain.

In all monarchies, the senate or privy-council is or ought to be composed of persons of great dignity, or men of approved wisdom or understanding. Example; In Polonia no man is counsellor unless he be a palatine, a bishop, a castellan, a captain, or such a one as hath been ambassador: and in Turkey, the title of counsellor is not given but only to the four bassas, the two cadelesquires, the twelve beglerbegs, and king's son, who in his father's absence is, as it were, a president of the divan, or senate.

Many princes, ancient and modern, have used to select out of their council two or three, or four at most, to whom only they did impart their affairs. Example; The emperor Augustus had Mecænas and Agrippa; Julius Cæsar, Q. Pædius and Cor. Balbus, whom he only trusted with his cipher and secrets, being counsellors of the cabinet (as we now call them).

The alteration of old laws, or introduction of new, are in all states very dangerous, notwithstanding any appearance of profit or public utility; which moved wise governors to decree, that ancient laws once established might never be called in question. Example; The Athenians decreed that no law should be propounded to the people without the consent of the senate: the like use is observed in Venice, where no petition is preferred to the senate but by advice of the sages: and among the Locrians, the custom was, that whosoever presented any new law to be confirmed, should come with a halter about his neck, and be therewith hanged, if his request were rejected: also Lycurgus, to prevent the alteration of his laws, did swear the people of Sparta to observe them until his return, and thereupon retired himself into voluntary exile with intent never to return.

When necessity or good reason moves innovation or abolition of laws, a course more secure it is to do it rather

by degrees than suddenly. Example; The Romans finding the laws of the twelve tables unprofitable, suffered them to be observed or neglected at discretion, but would not publicly suppress them, for fear of calling other laws into contempt; so did they continue seven hundred years, and were then cassed by Ebutius the tribune. But Agis, king of Lacedemon, desirous to revive the laws of Lycurgus long discontinued, enforced all men to bring in their evidence and writings to be cancelled, to the end a new partition of lands and goods might be made; which sudden and violent proceeding proved so fatal, that it moved a dangerous sedition, wherein he was deposed, and with his mother and friends put to death; which example haply moved the Venetians not to attempt any thing against the authority of Augustino Barberino their duke; but after his death, and before the election of Lovedono, the seigniory published new ordinances detractive from the ducal authority.

Whoso hath won to himself so great love and affection, as thereby to become master of the forces, and at his pleasure commands the subjects apt for arms, may also without right or title assure himself of the whole estate. Example; Hugh Capet, a subject to the crown of France, being greatly honoured by the soldiers, found means thereby to prevent Charles duke of Lorraine of the crown, being right heir by descent from Charlemaine. And albeit the families of the Paleologi, Ebrami, and Turcani be of the blood royal, and right heirs to the Turkish empire, when the Ottoman line shall fail; yet it is like that the chief bassa, having the love of the janizaries, will usurp the state, because the Paleologi and other competitors be far from the Turk's person, poor, and without means to purchase the soldiers' favour.

A commander general in arms ought, upon pain of great punishment, be enjoined, not to employ or retain any forces longer than the time of his commission. Example; The dictators of Rome were in this point so precise, as never any of them dared to transgress the time prefixed, till Cæsar obtained that dignity should continue in him for life,

which was the cause of his usurpation of the state. Also the Thebans commanded, that if the general of their army did hold his forces one day longer than the time prefixed, he should thereby incur danger of death; which justice was executed upon Epaminondas and Pelopidas.

Banishment of great lords, or citizens of great reputation, hath been in diverse places diversely used; for in the one, they were enforced only to absent themselves without further infliction; in the other, banishment was accompanied with confiscation, a course of great danger. Example; In Argos, Athens, Ephesus, and other cities of Greece, the citizens puissant in friends, virtue, or riches, were many times banished for envy or fear, but never or very rarely forced to absent themselves longer than ten years; and that without loss of goods, which was the cause that never any of them warred against the country. But Dion being banished Syracusa by Dionysius junior, and Coriolanus from Rome, did make mighty wars against their own country. The like was done by the Medici in France.

Honourable and magnanimous men were wont not only to enterprise great acts, but also to suffer patiently all injuries which foes or fortune could expose them to; as resolved, that no calamity was so great as to make their minds abject, or to forget the dignity appertaining to persons virtuous. Example; After the defeat of the Roman army upon the river Allia, the Galli pursued the victory even to Rome's walls; whither being come, and finding the gates open, without any figure of resistance, they entered the streets, where all honourable palaces were also unshut, which caused the Galli greatly to doubt. Nevertheless, looking into the houses, they found in every of them a senator set in a chair of state, and in his hand a rod of ivory; his person was also vested with robes of dignity: which majestic spectacle did marvellously amaze the Galli, not having before that time seen any such reverend sight; and therefore did not only refrain to offer violence, but highly admired the Roman courage, chiefly in that fortune. Nevertheless, at length a rude Gaul happened with his hand to touch the

white beard of M. Papyrius, whereat he taking great disdain, struck him with his rod; in requital whereof the barbarian slew Papyrius; and by that example all the other senators and persons of dignity were also slain.

Albeit the knowledge and study of letters be both commendable and necessary in all well regulated states; yet if under so honest pretence, idleness enter, such abuses must seasonably be foreseen and removed. Example; When Diogenes and Carneades, two excellent philosophers, were sent ambassadors from Athens to the Romans, many of the nobility that before disposed themselves to arms, allured with their eloquence and marvellous wisdom, began with great admiration to follow them; and in lieu of arms, turned their endeavours to the study of letters; which the wise Cato discerning, procured the senate to decree, that (to eschew all inconveniences which so honest idleness might breed) no philosophers should from thenceforth be received into Rome.

The honour due to magistrates was anciently much regarded, and contrariwise all irreverent and undutiful behaviour with great severity punished. Example; The censors of Rome degraded a citizen only for having yawned loud in their presence; and another called Victius was slain in the field for not doing due reverence to a tribune when he passed by him. It is also observed, that the son of Fabius Maximus, when he was censor, meeting his father on horseback, and seeing the sergeants afraid to speak to him to dismount, did himself command him so to do; which command the father cheerfully and willingly obeyed, saying, Domestic power must give place to public authority.

Tyrannous princes having incurred the universal hate of people, found no means so meet to preserve them from popular fury, as to execute or deliver into their hands their own chief minions and intimate counsellors. Example; Tiberius delivered to the people his favourite Sejanus; Nero, Tigellinus; Henry king of Sweden committed to their fury his best beloved servant George Preston; Caracalla caused all his flatterers to be slain that had persuaded

him to kill his brother. The like was done by Caligula, whereby he escaped himself.

A prince that rewards or pardons a person that kills another prince, albeit by that means he is aspired to sovereignty, shall thereby both incur great danger and hate, and encourage men therein to attempt the like against himself. Therefore wise princes have not only left such services quite unrecompensed, but also most severely punished them. Example; The emperor Severus put all those to death that consented to the murder of Pertinax; and Alexander the Great executed him that slew Darius, as abhorring that subject that would lay violent hands on his prince, notwithstanding he were an enemy. Likewise Vitellius put to death all the murderers and conspirators against Galba; and Domitian executed his secretary Epaphroditus for the murder of Nero, although he instantly desired his aid.

The virtuous and vicious examples of princes incite subjects to imitate the same qualities; which rule never or very rarely fails. Example; Francis the First, king of France, and other princes in divers ages and places, had great esteem of learned men; and forthwith all the princes, nobles, nobility, and clergy, disposed themselves so earnestly to study, as before that time had not been seen so many and so great a number of learned men, as well in tongues as sciences. Contrariwise, Alexander the Great, otherwise a prince of great virtue, by his immoderate use of drinking, did draw the greatest number of his court and people also to delight in drunkenness. The like effect followed the excessive intemperance of Mithridates, king of Amasia.

The last, and not the least considerable, is, to observe how great effects devotion and contempt of human glory worketh in the minds, not only of private persons, but of kings and princes also, who have oft abandoned worldly profit, honour, and pleasure, to embrace the contemplative retired life. Example; Ramirus king of Arragon, Verecundus king of Spain, Charlemaine son of Carolus Martellus, Matilda queen of France, Amurath king of Turbay, with many others: *Imperio maximus, exemplo major.*

# THE

# PREROGATIVE OF PARLIAMENTS

IN

# ENGLAND.

PROVED IN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A COUNSELLOR OF STATE AND A JUSTICE OF PEACE.

DEDICATED TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

TO

# THE KING.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

THOSE that are suppressed and helpless are commonly silent, wishing that the common ill in all sort might be with their particular misfortunes, which disposition, as it is uncharitable in all men, so it would be in me more dog-like than man-like, to bite the stone that struck me; to wit, the borrowed authority of my sovereign misinformed, seeing their arms and hands that flung it are most of them already rotten. For I must confess it ever that they are debts, and not discontentments, that your majesty hath laid upon me; the debts and obligations of a friendless adversity, far more payable in all kinds than those of the prosperous: all which, nor the least of them, though I cannot discharge, I may yet endeavour it. And notwithstanding my restraint hath retrenched all ways, as well the ways of labour and will, as of all other employments, yet hath it left with me my cogitations, than which I have nothing else to offer on the altar of my love.

Of these (most gracious sovereign) I have used some part in the following dispute between a counsellor of state and a justice of peace, the one dissuading, the other persuading, the calling of parliament. In all which, since the Norman Conquest, (at the least so many as histories have gathered,)

I have in some things in the following dialogue presented your majesty with the contents and successes.

Some things there are, and those of the greatest, which because they ought to be resolved on, I thought fit to range them in the front of the rest, to the end your majesty may be pleased to examine your own great and princely heart of their acceptance or refusal.

The first is, that supposition that your majesty's subjects give nothing but with adjunction of their own interest, interlacing in one and the same act your majesty's relief, their own liberties; not that your majesty's piety was ever suspected, but because the best princes are ever the least jealous, your majesty judging others by yourself who have abused your majesty's trust. The feared continuance of the like abuse may persuade the provision. But this caution, however it seemeth at first sight, your majesty shall perceive, by many examples following, but frivolous. The bonds of subjects to their kings should always be wrought out of iron, the bonds of kings unto subjects but with cobwebs.

Thus it is (most renowned sovereign) that this traffick of assurances hath been often urged, of which, if the conditions have been easy, our kings have as easily kept them; if hard and prejudicial, either to their honours or estates, the creditors have been paid their debts with their own presumption.

For all binding of a king by law upon the advantage of his necessity makes the breach itself lawful in a king, his charters and all other instruments being no other than the surviving witnesses of unconstrained will; *Princeps non subjicitur nisi sua voluntate libera, mero motu et certa scientia;* necessary words in all the grants of a king, witnessing that the same grants were given freely and knowingly.

The second resolution will rest in your majesty, leaving the new impositions, all monopolies, and other grievances of the people, to the consideration of the house, provided that your majesty's revenue be not abated; which if your majesty shall refuse, it is thought that the disputes will last long, and the issues will be doubtful: and on the contrary, if your majesty vouchsafe it, it may perchance be styled a yielding, which seemeth by the sound to brave the regality.

But (most excellent prince) what other is it to the ears of the wise but as the sound of a trumpet, having blasted forth a false alarm, becomes the common air? Shall the head yield to the feet? Certainly it ought, when they are grieved; for wisdom will rather regard the commodity, than object the disgrace; seeing if the feet lie in fetters, the head cannot be freed, and where the feet feel but their own pains, the head doth not only suffer by participation, but withal by consideration of the evil.

Certainly the point of honour well weighed hath nothing in it to even the balance; for by your majesty's favour, your majesty doth not yield either to any person or to any power, but to dispute only, in which the proposition and minor prove nothing without a conclusion, which no other person or power can make but a majesty: yea, this in Henry the Third's time was called a wisdom incomparable. For the king raised again, recovered his authority: for, being in that extremity that he was driven with the queen and his children, *cum abbatibus et prioribus satis humilibus hospitia quærere et prandia.* For the rest, may it please your majesty to consider, that there can nothing befall your majesty in matters of affairs more unfortunately, than meeting the commons of parliament with ill success: a dishonour so persuasive and adventurous, as it will not only find arguments, but it will take the leading of all ene-

mies that shall offer themselves against your majesty's estate.

*Le tabourin de la pauvreté ne fait point de bruit:* of which dangerous disease in princes the remedy doth chiefly consist in the love of the people, which how it may he had and held, no man knows better than your majesty; how to lose it all men know, and know that it is lost by nothing more than by the defence of others in wrong doing: the only motives of mischances that ever came to kings of this land since the conquest.

It is only love (most renowned sovereign) must prepare the way for your majesty's following desires. It is love which obeys, which suffers, which gives, which sticks at nothing; which love, as well of your majesty's people, as the love of God to your majesty, that it may always hold, shall be the continual prayers of

Your majesty's most humble vassal,

WALTER RALEGH.

THE

# PREROGATIVE OF PARLIAMENTS.

## PROVED IN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A COUNSELLOR OF STATE AND A JUSTICE OF PEACE.

*Counsellor.*

NOW, sir, what think you of Mr. St. John's trial in the Star-chamber? I know that the bruit ran that he was hardly dealt withal, because he was imprisoned in the Tower, seeing his dissuasion from granting a benevolence to the king was warranted by the law.

*Justice.* Surely, sir, it was made manifest at the hearing, that Mr. St. John was rather in love with his own letter; he confessed he had seen your lordship's letter before he wrote his to the mayor of Marlborough, and in your lordship's letter there was not a word whereto the statutes by Mr. St. John alleged had reference; for those statutes did condemn the gathering of money from the subject under title of a free gift; whereas a fifth, a sixth, a tenth, &c. was required. But, my good lord, though divers shires have given to his majesty some more some less, what is this to the king's debt?

*Couns.* We know it well enough, but we have many other projects.

*Just.* It is true, my good lord; but your lordship will find, that when by these you have drawn many petty sums from the subjects, and those sometimes spent as fast as they are gathered, his majesty being nothing enabled thereby, when you shall be forced to demand your great aid, the

country will excuse itself in regard of their former payments.

*Couns.* What mean you by the great aid?

*Just.* I mean the aid of parliament.

*Couns.* By parliament; I would fain know the man that durst persuade the king unto it; for if it should succeed ill, in what case were he?

*Just.* You say well for yourself, my lord, and perchance you that are lovers of yourselves (under pardon) do follow the advice of the late duke of Alva, who was ever opposite to all resolutions in business of importance; for if the things enterprised succeeded well, the advice never came in question; if ill, (whereto great undertakings are commonly subject,) he then made his advantage by remembering his contrary counsel: but, my good lord, these reserved politicians are not the best servants; for he that is bound to adventure his life for his master, is also bound to adventure his advice, *Keep not back counsel*, saith Ecclesiasticus, *when it may do good.*

*Couns.* But, sir, I speak it not in other respect than I think it dangerous for the king to assemble the three estates, for thereby have our former kings always lost somewhat of their prerogatives. And because that you shall not think that I speak it at random, I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began betwixt the kings of this land and their subjects in parliament.

*Just.* Your lordship shall do me a singular favour.

*Couns.* You know the kings of England had no formal parliament till about the eighteenth year of Henry the First; for in his seventeenth year, for the marriage of his daughter, the king raised a tax upon every hide of land, by the advice of his privy-council alone. But you may remember how the subjects soon began to stand upon terms with the king, and drew from him by strong hand and the sword the great charter.

*Just.* Your lordship says well; they drew from the king the great charter by the sword, and thereof the parliament cannot be accused, but the lords.

*Couns.* You say well; but it was after the establishment of the parliament, and by colour of it, that they had so great daring; for before that time they could not endure to hear of St. Edward's laws, but resisted the confirmation in all they could, although by those laws the subjects of this island were no less free than any of all Europe.

*Just.* My good lord, the reason is manifest; for while the Normans, and others of the French that followed the conqueror, made spoil of the English, they would not endure that any thing but the will of the conqueror should stand for law: but after a descent or two, when themselves were become English, and found themselves beaten with their own rods, they then began to favour the difference between subjection and slavery, and insist upon the law of *meum et tuum*, and to be able to say unto themselves, *Hoc fac et vives:* yea, that the conquering English in Ireland did the like, your lordship knows it better than I.

*Couns.* I think you guess aright: and to the end the subject may know that being a faithful servant to his prince he might enjoy his own life, and paying to his prince what belongs to a sovereign, the remainder was his own to dispose, Henry the First, to content his vassals, gave them the great charter and the charter of forests.

*Just.* What reason then had king John to deny the confirmation?

*Couns.* He did not; but he on the contrary confirmed both the charters with additions, and required the pope, whom he had then made his superior, to strengthen him with a golden bull.

*Just.* But your honour knows that it was not long that he repented himself.

*Couns.* It is true, and he had reason so to do; for the barons refused to follow him into France, as they ought to have done; and to say true, this great charter, upon which you insist so much, was not originally granted regally and freely; for Henry the First did usurp the kingdom, and therefore the better to assure himself against Robert his eldest brother, he flattered the nobility and people with

those charters. Yea, king John, that confirmed them, had the like respect: for Arthur duke of Britain was the undoubted heir of the crown, upon whom John usurped. And so to conclude, these charters had their original from kings *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

*Just.* But king John confirmed the charter after the death of his nephew Arthur, when he was then *rex de jure* also.

*Couns.* It is true, for he durst do no other, standing accursed, whereby few or none obeyed him; for his nobility refused to follow him into Scotland, and he had also grieved the people by pulling down all the park-pales before harvest, to the end his deer might spoil the corn: and by seizing the temporalities of many bishoprics into his hands, and chiefly for practising the death of the duke of Britain his nephew, as also having lost Normandy to the French, the hearts of all men were turned from him.

*Just.* Nay, by your favour, my lord, king John restored king Edward's laws after his absolution, and wrote his letters in the fifteenth of his reign to all sheriffs, countermanding all former oppressions; yea, this he did, notwithstanding the lords refused to follow him into France.

*Couns.* Pardon me, he did not restore king Edward's laws then, nor yet confirmed the charters, but he promised upon his absolution to do both: but after his return out of France, in his sixteenth year, he denied it, because without such a promise he had not obtained restitution, his promise being constrained, and not voluntary.

*Just.* But what think you, was he not bound in honour to perform it?

*Couns.* Certainly no; for it was determined, in the case of king Francis the First of France, that all promises by him made whilst he was in the hands of Charles the Fifth his enemy, were void by reason, the judge of honour, which tells us he durst do no other.

*Just.* But king John was not in prison.

*Couns.* Yet for all that, restraint is imprisonment; yea, fear itself is imprisonment; and the king was subject to

both. I know there is nothing more kingly in a king than the performance of his word; but yet of a word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the charter of Henry the First so published, that all men might plead it for their advantage, but a charter was left (*in deposito*) in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury for the time, and so to his successors. Stephen Langthon, who was ever a traitor to the king, produced this charter, and shewed it to the barons, thereby encouraging them to make war against the king. Neither was it the old charter simply the barons sought to have confirmed, but they presented unto the king other articles and orders, tending to the alteration of the whole commonwealth, which when the king refused to sign, the barons presently put themselves into the field, and in rebellious and outrageous fashion sent the king word, except he confirmed them, they would not desist from making war against him till he had satisfied them therein. And in conclusion, the king being betrayed of all his nobility, in effect was forced to grant the charter of *magna charta*, and *charta de forestis*, at such times as he was environed with an army in the meadows of Staynes, which charters being procured by force, pope Innocent afterward disavowed, and threatened to curse the barons if they submitted not themselves as they ought to their sovereign lord; which when the lords refused to obey, the king entertained an army of strangers for his own defence, wherewith having mastered and beaten the barons, they called in Lewis of France (a most unnatural resolution) to be their king; neither was *magna charta* a law in the nineteenth of Henry the Second, but simply a charter which he confirmed in the twenty-first of his reign, and made it a law in the twenty-fifth, according to Littleton's opinion. Thus much for the beginning of the great charter, which had first an obscure birth from usurpation, and was secondly fostered and shewed to the world by rebellion.

*Just.* I cannot deny, but that all your lordship hath said is true; but seeing the charters were afterwards so many times confirmed by parliament, and made laws, and that

there is nothing in them unequal or prejudicial to the king, doth not your honour think it reason they should be observed?

*Couns.* Yes, and observed they are in all that the state of a king can permit; for no man is destroyed but by the laws of the land, no man disseized of his inheritance but by the laws of the land; imprisoned they are by the prerogative where the king hath cause to suspect their loyalty; for were it otherwise, the king should never come to the knowledge of any conspiracy or treason against his person or state; and being imprisoned, yet doth not any man suffer death but by the law of the land.

*Just.* But may it please your lordship, were not Cornwallis, Sharpe, and Hoskins imprisoned, being no suspicion of treason there?

*Couns.* They were; but it cost them nothing.

*Just.* And what got the king by it? for in the conclusion, (besides the murmur of the people,) Cornwallis, Sharpe, and Hoskins, having greatly overshot themselves, and repented them, a fine of five or six hundred pounds was laid on his majesty for their offences; for so much their diet cost his majesty.

*Couns.* I know who gave the advice, sure I am that it was none of mine: but thus I say, if you consult your memory, you shall find that those kings which did in their own times confirm the *magna charta*, did not only imprison, but they caused many of their nobility and others to be slain without hearing or trial.

*Just.* My good lord, if you will give me leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well advised that persuade the king not to admit the *magna charta* with the former reservations: for as the king can never lose a farthing by it, as I shall prove anon; so, except England were as Naples is, and kept by garrisons of another nation, it is impossible for a king of England to greaten and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his people: for by one rebellion the king hath more loss than by an hundred years' observance of *magna charta*. For therein have our kings

been forced to compound with rogues and rebels, and to pardon them; yea, the state of the king, the monarchy, the nobility, have been endangered by them.

*Couns.* Well, sir, let that pass. Why should not our kings raise money as the kings of France do, by their letters and edicts only? For since the time of Lewis the Eleventh, of whom it is said, that he freed the French kings of their wardship, the French kings have seldom assembled the states for any contribution.

*Just.* I will tell you why; the strength of England doth consist of the people and yeomanry, the peasants of France have no courage nor arms: in France every village and borough hath a castle, which the French call *chasteau villain:* every good city hath a good citadel; the king hath the regiments of his guards, and his men at arms, always in pay; yea, the nobility of France, in whom the strength of France consists, do always assist the king in those levies; because themselves being free, they make the same levies upon their tenants. But, my lord, if you mark it, France was never free in effect from civil wars, and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the Spaniard, or to be cantonized by the rebellious French themselves, since that freedom of wardship. But, my good lord, to leave this digression, that wherein I would willingly satisfy your lordship is, that the kings of England have never received loss by parliament, or prejudice.

*Couns.* No, sir! you shall find that the subjects in parliament have decreed great things to the disadvantage and dishonour of our kings in former times.

*Just.* My good lord, to avoid confusion, I will make a short repetition of them all, and then your lordship may object where you see cause; and I doubt not but to give your lordship satisfaction. In the sixth year of Henry the Third there was no dispute; the house gave the king two shillings of every ploughed land within England, and in the end of the same year he had escuage paid him; to wit, for every knight's fee two marks in silver. In the fifth year of that king, the lords demanded the confirmation of the

great charter, which the king's counsel for that time present excused, alleging, that those privileges were extorted by force during the king's minority; and yet the king was pleased to send forth his writ to the sheriffs of every county, requiring them to certify what those liberties were, and how used; and in exchange of the lords' demand, because they pressed him so violently, the king required all the castles and places which the lords held of his, and had held in time of his father, with those manors and lordships which they had heretofore wrested from the crown, which at that time (the king being provided of forces) they durst not deny. In the fourteenth year he had the fifteenth penny of all goods given him, upon condition to confirm the great charter; for by reason of the wars in France, and the loss of Rochel, he was then enforced to consent to the lords in all they demanded. In the tenth of his reign he fined the city of London at 50,000 marks, because they had received Lewis of France: in the eleventh year, in the parliament at Oxford, he revoked the great charter, being granted when he was under age, and governed by the earl of Pembroke and the bishop of Winchester. In this eleventh year the earls of Cornwall and Chester, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, Gilbert earl of Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrars, Warwick, and others, rebelled against the king, and constrained him to yield unto them in what they demanded for their particular interest; which rebellion being appeased, he sailed into France, and in his fifteenth year he had a fifteenth of the temporality, and a disms and a half of the spirituality, and withal escuage of every knight's fee.

*Couns.* But what say you to the parliament of Westminster, in the sixteenth of the king, where, notwithstanding the wars of France, and his great charge in repulsing the Welsh rebels, he was flatly denied the subsidy demanded?

*Just.* I confess, my lord, that the house excused themselves by reason of their poverty, and the lords taking of arms; in the next year it was manifest that the house was practised against the king: and was it not so, my good

lord, think you, in our two last parliaments? For in the first, even those whom his majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the union; and in the second, there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your lordship spake of dangers of parliaments; in this, my lord, there was a denial, but there was no danger at all: but to return where I left, what got the lords by practising the house at that time? I say, that those that brake this staff upon the king were overturned with the counterbuff, for he resumed all those lands which he had given in his minority, he called all his exacting officers to account, he found them all faulty, he examined the corruption of other magistrates, and from all these he drew sufficient money to satisfy his present necessity; whereby he not only spared his people, but highly contented them with an act of so great justice: yea, Hubert, earl of Kent, the chief justice whom he had most trusted and most advanced, was found as false to the king as any one of the rest. And for conclusion, in the end of that year, at the assembly of the states at Lambeth, the king had the fortieth part of every man's goods given him freely toward his debts; for the people, who the same year had refused to give the king any thing, when they saw he had squeezed those sponges of the commonwealth, they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction.

*Couns.* But, I pray you, what became of this Hubert, whom the king had favoured above all men, betraying his majesty as he did?

*Just.* There were many that persuaded the king to put him to death, but he could not be drawn to consent; but the king seized upon his estate, which was great; yet in the end he left him a sufficient portion, and gave him his life, because he had done great service in former times: for his majesty, though he took advantage of his vice, yet he forgot not to have consideration of his virtue. And upon this occasion it was that the king, betrayed by those whom he most trusted, entertained strangers, and gave them their offices, and the charge of his castles and strong places in England.

*Couns.* But the drawing in of those strangers was the cause that Marshal earl of Pembroke moved war against the king.

*Just.* It is true, my good lord; but he was soon after slain in Ireland, and his whole masculine race ten years extinguished, though there were five sons of them; and Marshal being dead, who was the mover and ringleader of that war, the king pardoned the rest of the lords that had assisted Marshal.

*Couns.* What reason had the king so to do?

*Just.* Because he was persuaded that they loved his person, and only hated those corrupt counsellors that then bare the greatest sway under him; as also because they were the best men of war he had, whom if he had destroyed, having war with the French, he had wanted commanders to have served him.

*Couns.* But what reason had the lords to take arms?

*Just.* Because the king entertained the Poictovins, were not they the king's vassals also? Should the Spaniards rebel because the Spanish king trusts to the Neapolitans, Portuguese, Milanois, and other nations his vassals? Seeing those that are governed by the viceroys and deputies are in policy to be well entertained, and to be employed, who would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and employed by their prince, they entertain themselves with the hopes that other of the king's vassals do: if the king had called in the Spaniards, or other nations not his subjects, the nobility of England had reason of grief.

*Couns.* But what people did ever serve the king of England more faithfully than the Gascoigns did, even to the last of the conquest of that duchy?

*Just.* Your lordship says well, and I am of that opinion, that if it had pleased the queen of England to have drawn some of the chief of the nobility into England, and by exchange have made them good freeholders in England, she had saved about two millions of pounds, which were consumed in times of those rebellions. For what held the great Gascoign firm to the crown of England, (of whom the duke

of Espernon married the inheritrix,) but his earldom of Kendal in England, whereof the duke of Espernon (in right of his wife) bears the title to this day? And to the same end, I take it, hath James our sovereign lord given lands to divers of the nobility of Scotland. And if I were worthy to advise your lordship, I should think, that your lordship should do the king great service, to put him in mind to prohibit all the Scottish nation to alienate and sell away their inheritance here; for they selling, they not only give cause to the English to complain that the treasure of England is transported into Scotland, but his majesty is thereby also frustrated of making both nations one, and of assuring the service and obedience of the Scots in future.

*Couns.* You say well; for though those of Scotland that are advanced and enriched by the king's majesty will no doubt serve him faithfully, yet how their heirs and successors, having no inheritance to lose in England, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our parliament. And what say you to the denial, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, even when the king was invited to come into France by the earl of March, who had married his mother, and who promised to assist the king in the conquest of many places lost?

*Just.* It is true, my good lord, that a subsidy was then denied, and the reasons are delivered in English histories; and indeed the king, not long before, had spent much treasure in aiding the duke of Britain to no purpose; for he drew over the king but to draw on good conditions for himself, as the earl of March his father-in-law now did: as the English barons did invite Lewis of France not long before, as in elder times all the kings and states had done, and in late years the leaguers of France entertained the Spaniards, and the French protestants and Netherlands queen Elizabeth, not with any purpose to greaten those that aid them, but to purchase to themselves an advantageous peace. But what say the histories to this denial? They say, with a world of payments there mentioned, that the king had drawn the nobility dry. And besides, that whereas, not long before,

great sums of money were given, and the same appointed to be kept in four castles, and not to be expended but by the advice of the peers, it was believed that the same treasure was yet unspent.

*Couns.* Good sir, you have said enough; judge you whether it were not a dishonour to the king to be so tied, as not to expend his treasure but by other men's advice, as it were by their license.

*Just.* Surely, my lord, the king was well-advised to take the money upon any occasion, and they were fools that propounded the restraint; for it doth not appear that the king took any great heed to those overseers: kings are bound by their piety, and by no other obligation. In queen Mary's time, when it was thought that she was with child, it was propounded in parliament that the rule of the realm should be given to king Philip during the minority of the hoped prince or princess; and the king offered his assurance in great sums of money, to relinquish the government at such time as the prince or princess should be of age. At which motion, when all else were silent in the house, lord Dacres (who was none of the wisest) asked, Who shall sue the king's bonds? which ended the dispute, (for what other bond is between a king and his vassals, than the bond of the king's faith?) But, my good lord, the king, notwithstanding the denial at that time, was with gifts from particular persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding of his journey for that time into France; he took with him thirty casks filled with silver and coin, which was a great treasure in those days. And, lastly, notwithstanding the first denial, in the king's absence he had escuage granted him, to wit, 20*s.* of every knight's fee.

*Couns.* What say you then to the twenty-eighth year of that king, in which when the king demanded relief, the states would not consent, except the same former order had been taken for the appointing of four overseers for the treasure; as also that the lord chief justice and the lord chancellor should be chosen by the states, with some barons of the exchequer, and other officers?

*Just.* My good lord, admit the king had yielded to their demands, then whatsoever had been ordained by those magistrates to the dislike of the commonwealth, the people had been without remedy; whereas while the king made them, they had their appeal and other remedies. But those demands vanished, and in the end the king had escuage given him, without any of their conditions. It is an excellent virtue in a king to have patience, and to give way to the fury of men's passions. The whale, when he is strucken by the fisherman, grows into that fury that he cannot be resisted, but will overthrow all the ships and barks that come in his way; but when he hath rumbled a while, he is drawn to the shore with a twined thread.

*Couns.* What say you then to the parliament in the twenty-ninth of that king?

*Just.* I say, that the commons being unable to pay, the king relieves himself upon the richer sort; and so it likewise happened in the thirty-third of that king, in which he was relieved chiefly by the city of London. But, my good lord, in the parliament in London, in the thirty-eighth year, he had given him the tenth of all the revenues of the church for three years, and three marks of every knight's fee throughout the kingdom, upon his promise and oath upon the observing of *magna charta;* but in the end of the same year, the king being then in France, he was denied the aids which he required. What is this to the danger of a parliament? especially at this time they had reason to refuse, as they had given so great a sum in the beginning of the same year. And again, because it was known that the king had but pretended war with the king of Castile, with whom he had secretly contracted an alliance, and concluded a marriage betwixt his son Edward and the lady Eleanor. These false fires do but fright children, and it commonly falls out, that when the cause given is known to be false, the necessity pretended is thought to be feigned. Royal dealing has evermore royal success; and as the king was denied in the eight and thirtieth year, so was he denied in the nine and thirtieth year, because the nobility and the

people saw it plainly that the king was abused by the pope, who, as well in despite to Manfred, bastard son to the emperor Frederick the Second, as to cozen the king, and to waste him, would needs bestow on the king the kingdom of Sicily; to recover which, the king sent all the treasure he could borrow or scrape to the pope; and withal gave him letters of credence, for to take up what he could in Italy, the king binding himself for the payment. Now, my good lord, the wisdom of princes is seen in nothing more than in their enterprises. So how unpleasing it was to the state of England to consume the treasure of the land, and in the conquest of Sicily so far off, and otherwise, for that the English had lost Normandy under their noses, and so many goodly parts of France, of their own proper inheritances. The reason of the denial is as well to be considered as the denial.

*Couns.* Was not the king also denied a subsidy in the forty-first of his reign?

*Just.* No, my lord: for although the king required money as before, for the impossible conquest of Sicily, yet the house offered to give fifty-two thousand marks, which whether he refused or accepted is uncertain; and whilst the king dreamed of Sicily, the Welsh invaded and spoiled the borders of England; for in the parliament of London, when the king urged the house for the prosecuting the conquest of Sicily, the lords utterly disliking the attempt, urged the prosecuting of the Welshmen: which parliament being again prorogued, did assemble at Oxford, and was called the mad parliament, which was no other than an assembly of rebels; for the royal assent of the king, which gives life to all laws formed by the three estates, was not a royal assent, when both the king and the prince were constrained to yield to the lords. A constrained consent is the consent of a captive and not of a king, and therefore there was nothing done there either legally or royally. For if it be not properly a parliament where the subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the king is bound; for all kingly rule was taken from the king, and twelve peers ap-

pointed, and, as some writers have it, twenty-four peers, to govern the realm; and therefore the assembly made by Jack Straw, and other rebels, may as well be called a parliament as that of Oxford: *Principis nomen habere, non est esse princeps*; for thereby was the king driven, not only to compound all quarrels with the French, but, to have means to be revenged on the rebellious lords, he quitted his right to Normandy, Anjou, and Mayne.

*Couns.* But, sir, what needed this extremity, seeing the lords required but the confirmation of the former charter, which was not prejudicial to the king to grant?

*Just.* Yes, my good lord, but they insulted upon the king, and would not suffer him to enter into his own castles; they put down the purveyor of the meat for the maintenance of his house, as if the king had been a bankrupt, and gave order that without ready money he should not take up a chicken. And though there is nothing against the royalty of a king in these charters, (the kings of England being kings of freemen, and not of slaves,) yet it is so contrary to the nature of a king to be forced even to those things which may be to his advantage, as the king had some reason to seek the dispensation of his oath from the pope, and to draw in strangers for his own defence; yea, *jure salvo coronæ nostræ* is intended inclusively in all oaths and promises exacted from a sovereign.

*Couns.* But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to call in other nations, both for the spoil they make, as also because they have often held the possession of the best places with which they have been trusted.

*Just.* It is true, my good lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a king as to be constrained and held as a prisoner to his vassals; for by that, Edward II. and Richard II. lost their kingdoms and their lives. And for calling in of strangers, was not king Edward the Sixth driven to call in strangers against the rebels in Norfolk, Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? Have not the kings of Scotland been oftentimes constrained to entertain strangers against the kings of England? And the king of England at this

time, had he not been divers times assisted by the kings of Scotland, had been endangered to have been expelled for ever.

*Couns.* But yet you know those kings were deposed by parliament?

*Just.* Yea, my good lord, being prisoners, being out of possession, and being in their hands that were princes of the blood, and pretenders. It is an old country proverb that might overcomes right; a weak title that wears a strong sword, commonly prevails against a strong title that wears but a weak one; otherwise Philip the Second had never been duke of Portugal, nor duke of Milan, nor king of Naples and Sicily. But, my lord, *errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum:* I speak of regal, peaceable, and lawful parliaments. The king at this time was but a king in name; for Gloucester, Leicester, and Chichester made choice of other nine, to whom the rule of the realm was committed, and the prince was forced to purchase his liberty from the earl of Leicester, by giving for his ransom the county palatine of Chester. But, my lord, let us judge of those occasions by their events; what became of this proud earl? Was he not soon after slain in Evesham? Was he not left naked in the field, and left a shameful spectacle, his head being cut off from his shoulders, his privy parts from his body, and laid on each side of his nose? And did not God extinguish his race? After which, in a lawful parliament at Westminster, (confirmed in a following parliament of Westminster,) were not all the lords that followed Leicester disinherited? And when that fool Gloucester, after the death of Leicester, (whom he had formerly forsaken,) made himself the head of a second rebellion, and called in strangers, for which not long before he had cried out against the king, was not he in the end, after that he had seen the slaughter of so many of the barons, the spoil of their castles and lordships, constrained to submit himself, as all the survivers did, of which they that sped best paid their fines and ransoms, the king reserving his younger son the earldoms of Leicester and Derby?

*Couns.* Well, sir, we have disputed this king to the grave, though it be true that he outlived all his enemies, and brought them to confusion; yet those examples did not terrify their successors, but the earl marshal and Hereford threatened king Edward the First with a new war.

*Just.* They did so, but after the death of Hereford the earl marshal repented himself, and to gain the king's favour he made him heir of all his lands. But what is this to the parliament? for there was never king of this land had more given him for the time of his reign, than Edward the son of Henry the Third had.

*Couns.* How doth that appear?

*Just.* In this sort, my good lord; in this king's third year he had given him the fifteenth part of all goods; in his sixth year a twentieth; in his twelfth year a twentieth; in his fourteenth year he had escuage, to wit, forty shillings of every knight's fee; in his eighteenth year he had the eleventh part of all moveable goods within the kingdom; in his nineteenth year the tenth part of all church livings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for six years, by agreement from the pope; in his three and twentieth year he raised a tax upon wool and fells, and on a day caused all the religious houses to be searched, and all the treasure in them to be seized and brought to his coffers, excusing himself by laying the fault upon his treasurer: he had also, in the end of the same year, of the goods of all burgesses and of the commons the tenth part; in the twenty-fifth year of the parliament of St. Edmundsbury he had an eighteenth part of the goods of the burgesses, and of the people in general the tenth part. He had also the same year, by putting the clergy out of his protection, a fifth part of their goods, and in the same year he set a great tax upon wools, to wit, from half a mark to forty shillings upon every sack, whereupon the earl marshal and the earl of Hereford, refusing to attend the king to Flanders, pretended the grievances of the people. But in the end, the king having pardoned them, and confirmed the great charter, he had the ninth penny of all goods from the lords and commons; of

the clergy in the south he had the tenth penny, and in the north the fifth penny. In the two and thirtieth year he had a subsidy freely granted; in the three and thirtieth year he confirmed the great charter of his own royal disposition; and the states, to shew their thankfulness, gave the king for one year the fifth part of all the revenues of the land, and of the citizens the sixth part of their goods. And in the same year the king used the inquisition called *Traile Baston;* by which all justices and other magistrates were grievously fined, that had used extortion or bribery, or had otherwise misdemeaned themselves, to the great contentation of the people. This commission likewise did inquire of intruders, barators, and all other the like vermin, whereby the king gathered a great mass of treasure, with a great deal of love. Now for the whole reign of this king, who governed England thirty-five years, there was not any parliament to his prejudice.

*Couns.* But there was taking of arms by Marshal and Hereford.

*Just.* That is true, but why was that? Because the king, notwithstanding all that was given him by parliament, did lay the greatest taxes that ever king did without their consent. But what lost the king by those lords? One of them gave the king all his lands, and the other died in disgrace.

*Couns.* But what say you to the parliament in Edward the Second's time, his successor? Did not the house of parliament banish Pierce Gaveston, whom the king favoured?

*Just.* But what was this Gaveston but an esquire of Gascoigne, formerly banished the realm by king Edward the First, for corrupting the prince Edward now reigning. And the whole kingdom fearing and detesting his venomous disposition, they besought his majesty to cast him off, which the king performed by an act of his own, and not by act of parliament; yea, Gaveston's own father-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, was one of the chiefest of the lords that procured it; and yet finding the king's affection to follow him so strongly, they all consented to have him recalled. After which, when his credit so increased that he despised and set

at nought all the ancient nobility, and not only persuaded the king to all manner of outrages and riots, but withal transported what he listed of the king's treasure and jewels, the lords urged his banishment the second time; but neither was the first nor second banishment forced by act of parliament, but by the forcible lords his enemies. Lastly, he being recalled by the king, the earl of Lancaster caused his head to be stricken off, when those of his party had taken him prisoner: by which presumptuous act the earl and the rest of his company committed treason and murder; treason, by raising an army without warrant; murder, by taking away the life of the king's subjects. After which, Gaveston being dead, the Spencers got possession of the king's favour, though the younger of them was placed about the king by the lords themselves.

*Couns.* What say you then to the parliament held at London about the sixth year of that king?

*Just.* I say, that the king was not bound to perform the acts of this parliament, because the lords being too strong for the king enforced his consent; for these be the words of our own history, "They wrested too much beyond the "bounds of reason."

*Couns.* What say you then to the parliaments of the white wands, in the thirteenth of the king?

*Just.* I say, the lords that were so moved came with an army, and by strong hand surprised the king; then constrained, saith the story, the rest of the lords, and compelled many of the bishops to consent unto them. Yea, it saith further, that the king durst not but grant to all that they required, to wit, for the banishment of the Spencers: yea, they were so insolent, that they refused to lodge the queen coming through Kent in the castle of Leeds, and sent her to provide her lodging where she could get it so late in the night, for which, notwithstanding, some that kept her out, were soon after taken and hanged; and therefore your lordship cannot call this a parliament, for the reasons before alleged. But, my lord, what became of those lawgivers to the king, even when they were greatest? A

knight of the north, called Andrew Herkley, assembled the forces of the country, overthrew them and their army, slew the earl of Hereford, and other barons, took their general, Thomas earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin-german, at that time possessed of five earldoms, the lords Clifford, Talbot, Moubray, Maudint, Willington, Warren, lord Darcy, Withers, Knevill, Leybourne, Bekes, Lovell, Fitzwilliams, Watervild, and divers other barons, knights, and esquires; and soon after, the lord Percy and the lord Warren took the lords Baldsmere and the lord Audley, the lords Téis, Gifford, Tuchet, and many others that fled from the battle, the most of which passed under the hands of the hangman, for constraining the king under colour and name of a parliament. By this your good lordship may judge to whom those tumultuous assemblies (which our histories falsely call parliaments) have been dangerous; the king in the end ever prevailed, and the lords lost their lives and estates. After which the Spencers, in their banishment at York, in the fifteenth of the king, were restored to their honours and estates; and therein the king had a subsidy given him, the sixth penny of goods throughout England, Ireland, and Wales.

*Couns.* Yet you see the Spencers were soon after dissolved.

*Just.* It is true, my lord, but that is nothing to our subject of parliament; they may thank their own insolency, for they branded and despised the queen, whom they ought to have honoured as the king's wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other men's ruins; they were ambitious, and exceeding malicious, whereupon that came, that when chamberlain Spencer was hanged in Hereford, a part of the twenty-fourth Psalm was written over his head; *Quid gloriaris in malitia potens?*

*Couns.* Well, sir, you have all this while excused yourself upon the strength and rebellions of the lords; but what say you now to king Edward the Third, in whose time (and during the time of this victorious king no man durst take arms or rebel) the three estates did him the greatest

affront that ever king received or endured; therefore I conclude where I began, that these parliaments are dangerous for a king.

*Just.* To answer your lordship in order, may it please you first to call to mind what was given to this great king by his subjects before the dispute betwixt him and the house happened, which was in his latter days; from his first year to his fifth year there was nothing given the king by his subjects. In his eighth year, at the parliament at London, a tenth and a fifteenth was granted: in his tenth year he seized upon the Italians' goods here in England to his own use, with all the goods of the monks, Cluniacs, and others of the order of the Cistercians: in the eleventh year he had given him by the parliament a noble relief, the one half of the wools throughout England, and of the clergy all their wools; after which, in the end of the year, he had granted, in his parliament at Westminster, 40*s.* upon every sack of wool, and for every thirty woolfells 40*s.*; for every last of leather as much, and for all other merchandises after the same rate; the king promising that, this year's gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old custom. He had, over and above this great aid, the eighth part of all goods of all citizens and burgesses; and of other, as of foreign merchants, and such as lived not of the gain of breeding of sheep and cattle, the fifteenth of their goods. Nay, my lord, this was not all, though more than ever was granted to any king; for the same parliament bestowed on the king the ninth sheaf of all the corn within the land, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lamb, for two years next following: now what thinks your lordship of this parliament?

*Couns.* I say, they were honest men.

*Just.* And I say, the people are as loving to their king now as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withal; and so his majesty had found them in his last two parliaments, if he had not been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

*Couns.* But I pray you, sir, whom shall a king trust, if

he may not trust those whom he hath so greatly advanced?

*Just.* I will tell your lordship whom the king may trust.

*Couns.* Who are they?

*Just.* His own reason, and his own excellent judgment, which have not deceived him in any thing wherein his majesty hath been pleased to exercise them: *Take counsel of thine heart*, saith the Book of Wisdom, *for there is none more faithful unto thee than it.*

*Couns.* It is true; but his majesty found that those wanted no judgment whom he trusted, and how could his majesty divine of their honesties?

*Just.* Will you pardon me if I speak freely, for I speak out of *love*, which, as Solomon saith, *covereth all trespasses:* the truth is, that his majesty would never believe any man that spake against them, and they knew it well enough; which gave them boldness to do what they did.

*Couns.* What was that?

*Just.* Even, my good lord, to ruin the king's estate, so far as the state of so great a king may be ruined by men ambitious and greedy without proportion. It had been a brave increase of revenue, my lord, to have raised 50,000*l.* land of the king's to 20,000*l.* revenue, and to raise the revenue of wards to 20,000*l.* more; 40,000*l.* added to the rest of his majesty's estate, had so enabled his majesty, as he could never have wanted. And, my good lord, it had been an honest service to the king, to have added 7000*l.* lands of the lord Cobham's, his woods and goods being worth 30,000*l.* more.

*Couns.* I know not the reason why it was not done.

*Just.* Neither doth your lordship, perchance, know the reason why the 10,000*l.* offered by Swinnerton, for a fine of the French wines, was by the then lord treasurer conferred on Devonshire and his mistress.

*Couns.* What moved the treasurer to reject and cross that raising of the king's lands?

*Just.* The reason, my good lord, is manifest; for had the

land been raised, then had the king known when he had given or exchanged land, what he had given or exchanged.

*Couns.* What hurt had it been to the treasurer, whose office is truly to inform the king of the value of all that he giveth?

*Just.* So he did, when it did not concern himself nor his particular, for he could never admit any one piece of a good manor to pass in my lord Aubigne's book of 1000*l.* land, till he himself had bought, and then the remaining flowers of the crown were culled out. Now had the treasurer suffered the king's lands to have been raised, how could his lordship have made choice of the old rents, as well in that book of my lord Aubigne, as in exchange of Theobald's, for which he took Hatfield, which the greatest subject or favourite queen Elizabeth had, never durst have named unto her by way of gift or exchange. Nay, my lord, so many other goodly manors have passed from his majesty, as the very heart of the kingdom mourneth to remember it, and the eyes of the kingdom shed tears continually at the beholding it; yea, the soul of the kingdom is heavy unto death with the consideration thereof, that so magnanimous a prince should suffer himself to be so abused.

*Couns.* But, sir, you know that Cobham's lands were entailed upon his cousins.

*Just.* Yea, my lord, but during the lives and races of George Brooke's children, it had been the king's, that is to say, for ever in effect, but to wrest the king, and to draw the inheritance upon himself, he persuaded his majesty to relinquish his interest for a petty sum of money; and that there might be no counterworking, he sent Brooke six thousand pounds to make friends, whereof lord Hume had two thousand pound back again, Buckhurst and Barwick had the other four thousand pound, and the treasurer and his heirs the mass of land for ever.

*Couns.* What then, I pray you, came to the king by this confiscation?

*Just.* My lord, the king's majesty, by all those goodly possessions, woods, and goods, loseth five hundred pounds

by the year, which he giveth in pension to Cobham, to maintain him in prison.

*Couns.* Certainly, even in conscience they should have reserved so much of the land in the crown as to have given Cobham meat and apparel, and not made themselves so great gainers, and the king five hundred pounds per annum loser by the bargain; but it is past: *Consilium non est eorum quæ fieri nequeunt.*

*Just.* Take the rest of the sentence, my lord: *Sed consilium versatur in iis quæ sunt in nostra potestate.* It is yet, my good lord, *in potestate regis* to right himself. But this is not all, my lord; and I fear me, knowing your lordship's love to the king, it would put you in a fever to hear all: I will therefore go on with my parliaments.

*Couns.* I pray do so, and amongst the rest, I pray you, what say you to the parliament holden at London in the fifteenth year of king Edward III.

*Just.* I say, there was nothing concluded therein to the prejudice of the king. It is true, that a little before the sitting of the house, the king displaced his chancellor and his treasurer, and most of all his judges and officers of the exchequer, and committed many of them to prison, because they did not supply him with money, being beyond the seas; for the rest, the states assembled besought the king that the laws of the two charters might be observed, and that the great officers of the crown might be chosen by parliament.

*Couns.* But what success had these petitions?

*Just.* The charters were observed as before, and so they will be ever; and the other petition was not rejected, the king being pleased, notwithstanding, that the great officers should take an oath in parliament to do justice. Now for the parliament of Westminster in the seventeenth year of the king, the king had three marks and a half for every sack of wool transported; and in the eighteenth he had a tenth of the clergy, and a fifteenth of the laity for one year. His majesty forbare after this to charge his subjects with any more payments until the twenty-ninth of his reign, when

there was given the king by parliament fifty shillings for every sack of wool transported for six years, by which grant the king received a thousand marks a day, a greater matter than a thousand pounds in these days; and a thousand pound a day amounts to 365,000*l.* a year, which was one of the greatest presents that ever was given to a king of this land: for besides the cheapness of all things in that age, the king's soldiers had but threepence a day wages, a man at arms sixpence, a knight but two shillings. In the parliament at Westminster, in the three and thirtieth year, he had twenty-six shillings and eightpence for every sack of wool transported, and in the forty-second year three dismes and three fifteens. In his forty-fifth year he had fifty thousand pound of the laity; and because the spirituality disputed it, and did not pay so much, the king changed his chancellor, treasurer, and privy-seal, being bishops, and placed laymen in their room.

*Couns.* It seems that in those days the kings were no longer in love with their great chancellors than when they deserved well of them.

*Just.* No, my lord, they were not, and that was the reason they were well served; and it was the custom then, and in many ages after, to change the treasurer and the chancellor every three years, and withal to hear all men's complaints against them.

*Couns.* By this often change the saying is verified, that there is no inheritance in the favour of kings. *He that keepeth the fig tree*, saith Solomon, *shall eat the fruit thereof*; for reason it is that the servant live by the master.

*Just.* My lord, you say well in both; but had the subject an inheritance in the prince's favour, where the prince hath no inheritance in the subject's fidelity, then were kings in more unhappy estate than common persons: for the rest, Solomon meaneth not, that he that *keepeth the fig tree* should surfeit; though he meant he should eat, he meant not that he should break the branches in gathering the figs, or eat the ripe, and leave the rotten for the owner of the tree; for what saith he in the following chapter: he saith,

that *he that maketh haste to be rich cannot be innocent.* And before that he saith, *that the end of an inheritance hastily gotten cannot be blessed.* Your lordship hath heard of few or none great with kings, that have not used their power to oppress, that have not grown insolent and hateful to the people, yea, insolent towards those princes that advanced them.

*Couns.* Yet you see that princes can change their fancies.

*Just.* Yea, my lord, when favourites change their faith, when they forget that how familiar soever kings make themselves with their vassals, yet they are kings: *He that provoketh a king to anger,* saith Solomon, *sinneth against his own soul.* And he farther saith, that *pride goeth before destruction, and a high mind before a fall.* I say, therefore, that in discharging those Lucifers, how dear soever they have been, kings make the world know that they have more of judgment than of passion, yea, they thereby offer a satisfactory sacrifice to all their people. Too great benefits of subjects to their king, where the mind is blown up with their own deservings, and too great benefits of kings conferred upon their subjects, where the mind is not qualified with a great deal of modesty, are equally dangerous. Of this latter and insolenter, had king Richard the Second delivered up to justice but three or four, he had still held the love of the people, and thereby his life and estate.

*Couns.* Well, I pray you, go on with your parliaments.

*Just.* The life of this great king Edward draws to an end, so do the parliaments of his time, where in fifty years reign he never received any affront, for in his forty-ninth year he had a disme and a fifteenth granted him freely.

*Couns.* But, sir, it is an old saying, that all is well that ends well: judge you whether that in his fifteenth year in parliament at Westminster he received not an affront, when the house urged the king to remove and discharge from his presence the duke of Lancaster, the lord Latimer his chamberlain, sir Richard Sturry, and others, whom the king favoured and trusted. Nay, they pressed the king to thrust

a certain lady out of court, which at that time bare the greatest sway therein.

*Just.* I will with patience answer your lordship to the full; and first, your lordship may remember by that which I even now said, that never king had so many gifts as this king had from his subjects, and it hath never grieved the subjects of England to give to their king, but when they knew there was a devouring lady, that had her share in all things that passed; and the duke of Lancaster was as scraping as she: that the chancellor did eat up the people as fast as either of them both. It grieved the subjects to feed these cormorants. But, my lord, there are two things by which the kings of England have been pressed, to wit, by their subjects, and by their own necessities. The lords in former times were far stronger, more warlike, better followed, living in their countries, than now they are. Your lordship may remember in your reading, that there were many earls could bring into the field a thousand barbed horses, many a baron five or six hundred barbed horses, whereas now very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the king. But to say the truth, my lord, the justices of peace in England have opposed the injustices of war in England; the king's writ runs over all, and the great seal of England, with that of the next constables, will serve the turn to affront the greatest lords in England, that shall move against the king. The force therefore by which our kings in former times were troubled is vanished away, but the necessities remain. The people therefore, in these latter ages, are no less to be pleased than the peers; for as the latter are become less, so by reason of the training through England, the commons have all the weapons in their hand.

*Couns.* Was it not so ever?

*Just.* No, my good lord; for the noblemen had in their armouries to furnish some of them a thousand, some two thousand, some three thousand men, whereas now there are not many that can arm fifty.

*Couns.* Can you blame them? But I will only answer for myself, between you and me be it spoken; I hold it

not safe to maintain so great an armoury, or stable; it might cause me or any other nobleman to be suspected, as the preparing of some innovation.

*Just.* Why so, my lord? rather to be commended as preparing against all danger of innovation.

*Couns.* It should be so; but call your observation to account, and you shall find it as I say; for indeed such a jealousy hath been held ever since the time of the civil wars, over the military greatness of our nobles, as made them have little will to bend their studies that way: wherefore let every man provide according as he is rated in the muster-book: you understand me.

*Just.* Very well, my lord, as what might be replied in the perceiving so much; I have ever (to deal plainly and freely with your lordship) more feared at home popular violence, than all the foreign that can be made; for it can never be in the power of any foreign prince, without a papistical party, either to disorder or endanger his majesty's estate.

*Couns.* By this, it seems, it is no less dangerous for a king to leave the power in the people, than in the nobility.

*Just.* My good lord, the wisdom of our own age is the foolishness of another; the time present ought not to be preferred to the policy that was, but the policy that was to the time present; so that the power of the nobility being now withered, and the power of the people in the flower, the care to content them should not be neglected, the way to win them often practised, or at least to defend them from oppression. The motive of all dangers that ever this monarchy hath undone should be carefully heeded; for this maxim hath no postern, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum.* And now, my lord, for king Edward, it is true, though he were not subject to force, yet was he subject to necessity, which because it was violent he gave way unto it; *Potestas,* saith Pythagoras, *juxta necessitatem habitat:* and it is true, that, at the request of the house, he discharged and put from him those before-named, which done, he had the greatest gift (but one) that ever he received in all his days, to wit, from every person, man and

woman, above the age of fourteen years, fourpence of old money; which made many millions of groats, worth sixpence of our money. This he had in general; besides he had of every beneficed priest twelvepence, and of the nobility and gentry I know not how much, for it is not set down. Now, my good lord, what lost the king by satisfying the desires of the parliament house? For as soon as he had the money in purse, he recalled the lords, and restored them; and who durst call the king to account, when the assembly were dissolved? *Where the word of a king is, there is power*, saith Ecclesiasticus: *who shall say unto him, What dost thou?* saith the same author; *for every purpose there is a time and judgment.* The king gave way to the time, and his judgment persuaded him to yield to necessity: *Consiliarius nemo melior est quam tempus.*

*Couns.* But yet you see the king was forced to yield to their demands.

*Just.* Doth your lordship remember the saying of monsieur de Lange? "That he that hath profit of the war hath "also the honour of the war, whether it be by battle or re-"treat." The king, you see, hath the profit of the parliament, and therefore the honour also. What other end had the king than to supply his wants? A wise man hath evermore respect unto his ends: and the king also knew that it was the love that the people bare him, that they urged the removing of these lords; there was no man among them that sought himself in that desire, but they all sought the king, as by the success it appeared. My good lord, hath it not been ordinary, in England and France, to yield to the demands of rebels? Did not king Richard the Second grant pardon to the outrageous rogues and murderers that followed Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, after they had murdered his chancellor, his treasurer, chief justice, and others, broke open his exchequer, and committed all manner of outrages and villainies? And why did he do it, but to avoid a greater danger? I say, the kings have then yielded to those that hated them and their estates, to wit, to pernicious rebels; and yet without dishonour. Shall it be called dishonour

for the king to yield to the honest desires of his subjects? No, my lord, those that tell the king those tales fear their own dishonour, and not the king's; for the honour of the king is supreme, and, being guarded by justice and piety, it cannot receive either wound or stain.

*Couns.* But, sir, what cause have any about our king to fear a parliament?

*Just.* The same cause that the earl of Suffolk had in Richard the Second's time, and the treasurer Fareham, with others; for these great officers, being generally hated for abusing both the king and the subject, at the request of the states were discharged, and others put in their rooms.

*Couns.* And was not this a dishonour to the king?

*Just.* Certainly no; for king Richard knew that his grandfather had done the like: and though the king was in his heart utterly against it, yet had he the profit of this exchange; for Suffolk was fined at twenty thousand marks, and a thousand pounds lands.

*Couns.* Well, sir, we will speak of those that fear the parliament some other time: but, I pray you, go on with that that happened in the troublesome reign of Richard the Second, who succeeded, the grandfather being dead.

*Just.* That king, my good lord, was one of the most unfortunate princes that ever England had; he was cruel, extreme prodigal, and wholly carried away with his two minions, Suffolk and the duke of Ireland, by whose ill advice, and others, he was in danger to have lost his estate; which in the end (being led by men of the like temper) he miserably lost. But for his subsidies, he had given him in his first year, being under age, two tenths and two fifteens: in which parliament Alice Pierce, who was removed in king Edward's time, with Lancaster, Latimer, and Surrey, were confiscated and banished. In his second year, at the parliament at Gloucester, the king had a mark upon every sack of wool, and sixpence the pound upon wards. In his third year, at the parliament at Winchester, the commons were spared, and a subsidy given by the better sort; the dukes gave twenty marks, and earls six marks, bishops and abbots

with mitres six marks, every mark thirteen shillings and fourpence, and every knight, justice, esquire, sheriff, parson, vicar, and chaplain, paid proportionably according to their estates.

*Couns.* This, methinks, was no great matter.

*Just.* It is true, my lord; but a little money went far in those days: I myself once moved it in parliament, in the time of queen Elizabeth, who desired much to spare the common people, and I did it by her commandment; but when we cast up the subsidy-books we found the sum but small, when the thirty pound men were left out. In the beginning of his fourth year, a tenth with a fifteenth were granted, upon condition that for one whole year no subsidies should be demanded: but this promise was as suddenly forgotten as made; for in the end of that year the great subsidy of poll-money was granted in the parliament at Northampton.

*Couns.* Yea, but there followed the terrible rebellion of Baker, Straw, Leister, Wrais, and others.

*Just.* That was not the fault of the parliament, my lord; it is manifest that the subsidy given was not the cause; for it is plain that the bondmen of England begun it, because they were grievously oppressed by their lords in the tenure of villainage, as also for the hatred they bare to the lawyers and attorneys; for the story of those times says, that they destroyed the houses and manors of men of law, and such lawyers as they caught, slew them, and beheaded the lord chief justice; which commotion being once begun, the head-money was by other rebels pretended. A fire is often kindled with a little straw, which oftentimes takes hold of greater timber, and consumes the whole building; and that this rebellion was begun by the discontented slaves (whereof there have been many in elder times the like) is manifest by the charter of manumission, which the king granted *in hæc verba: Rich. Dei gratia, &c. sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali manumissimus, &c.* to which seeing the king was constrained by force of arms, he revoked the letters patents, and made them void, the same revocation being strength-

ened by the parliament ensuing, in which the king had given him a subsidy upon wools, called a *maletot*. In the same fourth year was the lord treasurer discharged of his office, and Hales, lord of St. John's, chosen in his place: in his fifth year was the treasurer again changed, and the staff given to Segrave; and the lord chancellor was also changed, and the staff given to the lord Scroope: which lord Scroope was again, in the beginning of his sixth year, turned off, and the king, after that he had for a while kept the seal in his own hand, gave it to the bishop of London, from whom it was soon after taken, and bestowed on the earl of Suffolk, who they say had abused the king, and converted the king's treasure to his own use. To this the king condescended. And though, saith Walsingham, he deserved to lose his life and goods, yet he had the favour to go at liberty, upon good sureties: and because the king was but young, and that the relief granted was committed to the trust of the earl of Arundel, for the furnishing of the king's navy against the French.

*Couns.* Yet you see it was a dishonour to the king, to have his beloved chancellor removed.

*Just.* Truly no; for the king had both his fine, a thousand pound lands, and a subsidy to boot. And though for the present it pleased the king to fancy a man all the world hated, (the king's passion overcoming his judgment,) yet it cannot be called a dishonour; for the king is to believe the general council of the kingdom, and to prefer it before his affection, especially when Suffolk was proved to be false even to the king; for were it otherwise, love and affection might be called a phrensy and a madness; for it is the nature of human passions, that the love bred by fidelity doth change itself into hatred, when the fidelity is first changed into falsehood.

*Couns.* But you see there were thirteen lords chosen in the parliament, to have the oversight of the government under the king.

*Just.* No, my lord, it was to have the oversight of those officers, which, saith the story, had embezzled, lewdly

wasted, and prodigally spent the king's treasure; for the commission to those lords, or to any six of them, joining with the king's council, was one of the most royal and most profitable that ever he did, if he had been constant to himself. But, my good lord, man is the cause of his own misery; for I will repeat the substance of the commission granted by the king and confirmed by parliament, which whether it had been profitable for the king to have prosecuted your lordship may judge. The preamble hath these words: "Whereas our sovereign lord the king perceiveth, "by the grievous complaints of the lords and commons of "this realm, that the rents, profits, and revenues of this "realm, by the singular and insufficient counsel and go-"vernment, as well of some his late great officers and others, "&c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, given, granted, alien-"ated, destroyed, and evil dispended, that he is so much "impoverished and void of treasure and goods, and the "substance of the crown so much diminished and destroy-"ed, that his estate may not honourably be sustained as "appertaineth. The king of his free will, at the request of "the lords and commons, hath ordained William archbishop "of Canterbury, and others, with his chancellor, treasurer, "keeper of his privy-seal, to survey and examine as well the "estate and governance of his house, &c. as of all the rents, "and profits, and revenues that to him appertaineth, and "to be due, or ought to appertain and be due, &c. and all "manner of gifts, grants, alienations, and confirmations "made by him of lands, tenements, rents, &c. bargained "and sold to the prejudice of him and his crown, &c. and "of his jewels and goods which were his grandfather's, at "the time of his death, &c. and where they be become."

This is in effect the substance of the commission, which your lordship may read at large in the book of statutes, this commission being enacted in the tenth year of the king's reign. Now if such a commission were in these days granted to faithful men, that have no interest in the sales, gifts, nor purchases, nor in the keeping of the jewels at the queen's death, nor in the obtaining grants of the king's best lands,

I cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered; and what says your lordship, was not this a noble act for the king, if it had been followed to effect?

*Couns.* I cannot tell whether it were or no, for it gave power to the commissioners to examine all the grants.

*Just.* Why, my lord, doth the king grant any thing that shames at the examination? are not the king's grants on record?

*Couns.* But by your leave, it is some dishonour to a king to have his judgment called in question.

*Just.* That is true, my lord; but in this, or whensoever the like shall be granted in the future, the king's judgment is not examined, but their knavery that abused the king. Nay, by your favour, the contrary is true, that when a king will suffer himself to be eaten up by a company of petty fellows, by himself raised, therein both his judgment and courage is disputed: and if your lordship will disdain it at your own servant's hands, much more ought the great heart of a king to disdain it. And surely, my lord, it is a greater reason (though it undercreep the law) to tear from the crown the ornaments thereof: and it is an infallible maxim, that he that loves not his majesty's estate, loves not his person.

*Couns.* How came it then that the act was not executed?

*Just.* Because those against whom it was granted persuaded the king to the contrary; as the duke of Ireland, Suffolk, the chief justice Tresilian, and others; yea, that which was lawfully done by the king, and the great council of the kingdom, was (by the mastery which Ireland, Suffolk, and Tresilian had over the king's affections) broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the king, not by any private invention, but by general council, were by a private and partial assembly adjudged traitors, and the most honest judges of the land enforced to subscribe to that judgment; insomuch that the judge Belknap plainly told the duke of Ireland and the earl of Suffolk, when he was constrained to set his hand, that he wanted but a rope, that he might therewith receive a reward for his subscription. And

in this council of Nottingham was hatched the ruin of those which governed the king, of the judges by them constrained, of the lords that loved the king, and sought a reformation, and of the king himself; for though the king found by all the shrieves of the shires, that the people would not fight against the lords, whom they thought to be most faithful unto the king; when the citizens of London made the same answer, being at that time able to arm fifty thousand men, and told the mayor that they would never fight against the king's friends, and defenders of the realm; when the lord Ralph Basset, who was near the king, told the king boldly, that he would not adventure to have his head broken for the duke of Ireland's pleasure, when the lord of London told the earl of Suffolk in the king's presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c. yet would the king in the defence of the destroyers of his estate, lay ambushes to entrap the lords, when they came upon his faith; yea, when all was pacified, and that the king by his proclamation had cleared the lords, and promised to produce Ireland, Suffolk, and the archbishop of York, Tresilian, and Bramber, to answer at the next parliament, these men confess that they durst not appear; and when Suffolk fled to Calais, and the duke of Ireland to Chester, the king caused an army to be levied in Lancashire for the safe conduct of the duke of Ireland to his presence, when as the duke, being encountered by the lords, ran like a coward from his company, and fled into Holland. After this was holden a parliament, which was called, that wrought wonders, in the eleventh year of this king, wherein the aforenamed lords, the duke of Ireland and the rest, were condemned and confiscated, the chief justice hanged, with many others, the rest of the judges condemned and banished, and a tenth and a fifteenth given to the king.

*Couns.* But, good sir, the king was first besieged in the Tower of London, and the lords came to the parliament, and no man durst contradict them.

*Just.* Certainly, in raising an army they committed treason; and though it appear that they loved the king, (for

they did him no harm, having him in their power,) yet our law doth construe all levying of war without the king's commission, and all force raised, to be intended for the death and destruction of the king, not attending the sequel. And it is so judged upon good reason; for every unlawful and ill action is supposed to be accompanied with an ill intent. And besides, those lords used too great cruelty in procuring the sentence of death against divers of the king's servants, who were bound to follow and obey their master and sovereign lord in that he commanded.

*Couns.* It is true, and they were also greatly to blame to cause then so many seconds to be put to death, seeing the principals, Ireland, Suffolk, and York, had escaped them. And what reason had they to seek to reform the state by a strong hand? Was not the king's estate as dear to himself as to them? He that maketh a king know his error mannerly and privately, and gives him the best advice, is discharged before God and his own conscience. The lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the king to his own ways, who had more to lose than they had.

*Just.* My lord, the taking of arms cannot be excused in respect of the law; but this might be said for the lords, that the king being under years, and being wholly governed by their enemies and the enemies of the kingdom, and because by those evil men's persuasions it was advised how the lords should have been murdered at a feast in London, they were excusable, during the king's minority, to stand upon their guard against their particular enemies. But we will pass over, and go on with our parliaments that followed, whereof that of Cambridge in the king's twelfth year was the next; therein the king had given him a tenth and a fifteenth, after which being twenty years of age, rechanged, saith H. Knighton, his treasurer, his chancellor, the justices of either bench, the clerk of the privy-seal, and others, and took the government into his own hands. He also took the admiral's place from the earl of Arundel, and in his room he placed the earl of Huntingdon in the year following, which

was the thirteenth year of the king. In the parliament at Westminster there was given to the king upon every sack of wool 14*s*., and 6*d*. in the pound upon other merchandise.

*Couns*. By your leave, the king was restrained this parliament, that he might not dispose of but a third part of the money gathered.

*Just*. No, my lord, by your favour: but true it is, that part of this money was by the king's consent assigned towards the wars, but yet left in the lord treasurer's hands; and, my lord, it would be a great ease, and a great saving to his majesty, our lord and master, if it pleased him to make his assignations upon some part of his revenues, by which he might have a thousand pound upon every ten thousand, and save himself a great deal of clamour. For seeing of necessity the navy must be maintained, and that those poor men, as well carpenters as ship-keepers must be paid, it were better for his majesty to give an assignation to the treasurer of his navy, for the receiving so much as is called ordinary, than to discontent those poor men, who, being made desperate beggars, may perchance be corrupted by them that lie in wait to destroy the king's estate. And if his majesty did the like in all other payments, especially where the necessity of such as are to receive cannot possibly give days, his majesty might then in a little roll behold his receipts and expenses; he might quiet his heart when all necessaries were provided for, and then dispose the rest at his pleasure. And, my good lord, how excellently and easily might this have been, if the forty thousand pound had been raised as aforesaid upon the king's lands and wards; I say, that his majesty's house, his navy, his guards, his pensioners, his munition, his ambassadors, and all else of ordinary charge, might have been defrayed, and a great sum left for his majesty's casual expenses and rewards. I will not say they were not in love with the king's estate, but I say, they were unfortunately born for the king that crossed it.

*Couns*. Well, sir, I would it had been otherwise: but for the assignments, there are among us that will not will-

ingly endure it. Charity begins with itself: shall we hinder ourselves of fifty thousand pounds per annum to save the king twenty? No, sir; what will become of our new-year's-gifts, our presents and gratuities? We can now say to those that have warrants for money, that there is not a penny in the exchequer, but the king gives it away unto the Scots faster than it comes in.

*Just.* My lord, you say well; at least you say the truth, that such are some of our answers; and hence comes that general murmur to all men that have money to receive. I say, that there is not a penny given to that nation, be it for service or otherwise, but is spread over all the kingdom; yea, they gather notes, and take copies of all the privy-seals and warrants that his majesty hath given for the money for the Scots, that they may shew them in parliament: but of his majesty's gifts to the English there is no bruit, though they may be ten times as much as the Scots. And yet, my good lord, howsoever they be thus answered, that to them that sue for money out of the exchequer, it is due to them for ten, or twelve, or twenty in the hundred, abated according to their qualities that sue, they are always furnished. For conclusion, if it would please God to put into the king's heart to make these assignations, it would save him many a pound, and gain him many a prayer, and a great deal of love; for it grieveth every honest man's heart to see the abundance which even the petty officers of the exchequer, and others, gather both from the king and subject, and to see a world of poor men run after the king for their ordinary wages.

*Couns.* Well, well; did you never hear this old tale, that when there was a great contention about the weather, the seamen complaining of contrary winds, when those of the high countries desired rain, and those of the valleys sunshining days; Jupiter sent them word by Mercury, that when they had all done, the weather should be as it had been. And it shall ever fall out so with them that complain; the course of payments shall be as they have been; what care we what petty fellows say? or what care we for

your papers? Have we not the king's ears? who dares contest with us? Though we cannot be revenged on such as you are for telling the truth, yet upon some other pretence, we will clap you up, and you shall sue to us ere you get out. Nay, we will make you confess that you were deceived in your projects, and eat your own words. Learn this of me, sir, that as a little good fortune is better than a great deal of virtue; so the least authority hath advantage over the greatest wit. Was he not the wisest man that said, *The battle was not to the strongest, nor yet bread for the wise, nor riches to men of understanding, nor favour to men of knowledge: but that time or chance came to them all.*

*Just.* It is well for your lordship that it is so: but queen Elizabeth would set the reason of a mean man before the authority of the greatest counsellor she had; and by her patience therein she raised upon the usual and ordinary customs of London, without any new imposition, above 50,000*l.* a year. For though the treasurer Burleigh, and the earl of Leicester, and secretary Walsingham, all three pensioners to customer Smith, did set themselves against a poor waiter of the custom-house called Carwarden, and commanded the grooms of the privy-chamber not to give him access, yet the queen sent for him, and gave him countenance against them all. It would not serve the turn, my lord, with her, when your lordships would tell her, that the disgracing her great officers, by hearing the complaints of busy heads, was a dishonour to herself; but she had always this answer, "That if any man complain unjustly against a "magistrate, it were reason he should be severely punished; "if justly, she was the queen of the small, as well as of the "great, and would hear their complaints." For, my good lord, a prince that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsaketh one of the greatest regalities belonging to a monarchy; to wit, the last appeal, or, as the French call it, *le dernier resort.*

*Couns.* Well, sir, this from the matter; I pray you go on.

*Just.* Then, my lord, in the king's fifteenth year he had a tenth and fifteenth granted in the parliament of London. And that same year there was a great council called at Stamford, to which divers men were sent for, of divers counties, besides the nobility, of which the king took advice whether he should continue the war, or make a final end with the French.

*Couns.* What needed the king to take the advice of any but of his own council in matters of peace or war?

*Just.* Yea, my lord, for it is said in the Proverbs, *Where is many counsellors, there is health;* and if the king had made the war by a general consent, the kingdom in general were bound to maintain the war; and they could not then say, when the king required aid, that he undertook a needless war.

*Couns.* You say well; but I pray you go on.

*Just.* After the subsidy in the fifteenth year, the king desired to borrow 10,000*l.* of the Londoners, which they refused to lend.

*Couns.* And was not the king greatly troubled therewith?

*Just.* Yea, but the king troubled the Londoners soon after; for the king took the advantage of a riot made upon the bishop of Salisbury's men, sent for the mayor, and other the ablest citizens, committed the mayor to prison in the castle of Windsor, and others to other castles, and made a lord warden of this city; till in the end, what with 10,000*l.* ready money, and other rich presents, instead of lending 10,000*l.* it cost them 20,000*l.* Between the fifteenth year and twentieth year he had two aids given him in the parliaments of Winchester and Westminster; and this latter was given to furnish the king's journey into Ireland, to establish that estate which was greatly shaken since the death of the king's grandfather, who received thence yearly 30,000*l.* and during the king's stay in Ireland he had a tenth and fifteenth granted.

*Couns.* And good reason; for the king had in his army four thousand horse and thirty thousand foot.

*Just.* That, by your favour, was the king's safety: for great armies do rather devour themselves than destroy enemies. Such an army (whereof the fourth part would have conquered all Ireland) was in respect of Ireland such an army as Xerxes led into Greece. In his twentieth year, wherein he had a tenth of the clergy, was the great conspiracy of the king's uncle the duke of Gloucester, and of Moubray, Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the abbot of Westminster, and others, who in the one and twentieth of the king were all redeemed by parliament. And what thinks your lordship, was not this assembly of the three states for the king's estate, wherein he so prevailed, that he not only overthrew those popular lords, but besides, (the English chronicle saith,) the king so wrought and brought things about, that he obtained the power of both houses to be granted certain persons, to fifteen noblemen and gentlemen, or to seven of them.

*Couns.* Sir, whether the king wrought well or ill, I cannot judge; but our chronicles say, that many things were done in this parliament to the displeasure of no small number of people; to wit, for that divers rightful heirs were disinherited of their lands and livings; with which wrongful doings the people were much offended, so that the king, with those that were about him, and chief in counsel, came into great infamy and slander.

*Just.* My good lord, if your lordship will pardon me, I am of opinion that those parliaments wherein the kings of this land have satisfied the people, as they have been ever prosperous, so where the king hath restrained the house, the contrary hath happened; for the king's achievements in the parliament were the ready preparations to his ruin.

*Couns.* You mean by the general discontentment that followed; and because the king did not proceed legally with Gloucester and others. Why, sir, this was not the first time that the kings of England have done things without the council of the land; yea, contrary to law.

*Just.* It is true, my lord, in some particulars, as even at

this time the duke of Gloucester was made away at Calais by a strong hand without any lawful trial; for he was a man so beloved of the people, and so allied, having the dukes of Lancaster and York his brethren, the duke of Aumarle and the duke of Hereford his nephews, the great earls of Arundel and Warwick, with divers others of his part in the conspiracy, as the king durst not try him according to the law: for at the trial of Arundel and Warwick, the king was forced to entertain a pretty army about him: and though the duke was greatly lamented, yet it cannot be denied but that he was then a traitor to the king. And was it not so, my lord, with the duke of Guise? Your lordship doth remember the spur-galled proverb, that necessity hath no law: and, my good lord, it is the practice of doing wrong, and of general wrong done, that brings danger, and not where kings are pressed in this or that particular; for there is great difference between natural cruelty and accidental. And therefore it was Machiavel's advice, that "all that a king did in that kind, he shall do "at once, and by his mercy afterwards make the world "know that his cruelty was not affected." And, my lord, take this for a general rule, that the immortal policy of a state cannot admit any law or privilege whatsoever, but in some particular or other the same is necessarily broken; yea, in an aristocracy, or popular estate, which vaunts so much of equality and common right, more outrage hath been committed than in any Christian monarchy.

*Couns.* But whence came this hatred between the duke and the king his nephew?

*Just.* My lord, the duke's constraining the king, when he was young, stuck in the king's heart; and now the duke's proud speech to the king when he had rendered Brest, formerly engaged to the duke of Britain, kindled again those coals that were not altogether extinguished; for he used these words: "Your grace ought to put your body in "great pain to win a strong hold or town by feats of arms, "ere you take upon you to sell or deliver any town gotten "by the manhood and strong hand and policy of your

"noble progenitors." Whereat, saith the story, the king changed his countenance, &c.; and to say truth, it was a proud and masterly speech of the duke; besides that inclusively he taxed him of sloth and cowardice, as if he had never put himself to the adventure of winning such a place. Undutiful words of a subject do often take deeper root than the memory of ill deeds do: the duke of Biron found it when the king had him at advantage. Yea, the late earl of Essex told queen Elizabeth, that her conditions were as crooked as her carcass; but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him but for that speech. *Who will say unto a king*, saith Job, *Thou art wicked?* Certainly it is the same thing to say unto a lady, Thou art crooked, (and perchance more,) as to say unto a king that he is wicked; and to say that he is a coward, or to use any other words of disgrace, it is one and the same error.

*Couns.* But what say you for Arundel, a brave and valiant man, who had the king's pardon of his contempt during his minority.

*Just.* My good lord, the parliament, which you say disputes the king's prerogative, did quite contrary, and destroyed the king's charter and pardon formerly given to Arundel; and, my good lord, do you remember that at the parliament that wrought wonders, when these lords compounded that parliament, as the king did this, they were so merciless towards all that they thought their enemies, as the earl of Arundel most insolently suffered the queen to kneel unto him three hours for the saving of one of her servants, and that scorn of his, *manebat alta mente repostum.* And to say the truth, it is more barbarous and unpardonable than any act that ever he did, to permit the wife of his sovereign to kneel to him, being the king's vassal: for if he had saved her lord's servant freely at her first request, it is like enough that the queen would also have saved him: *Miseris succurrens paria obtinebis aliquando.* For your lordship sees that the earl of Warwick, who was as far in the treason as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also at this parliament that the duke of He-

reford accused Moubray duke of Norfolk, and that the duke of Hereford, son to the duke of Lancaster, was banished, to the king's confusion, as your lordship well knows.

*Couns.* I know it well; and God knows, that the king had then a silly and weak council about him, that persuaded him to banish a prince of the blood, a most valiant man, and the best beloved of the people in general of any man living, especially considering that the king gave every day more than other offence to his subjects. For besides that, he fined the inhabitants that assisted the lords in his minority, (of the seventeen shires,) which offence he had long before pardoned; his blank charters, and letting the realm to farm to mean persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the people's hatred toward the present government.

*Just.* You say well, my lord; princes of an ill destiny do always follow the worst counsel, or at least embrace the best after opportunity is lost: *Qui consilia non ex suo corde sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed auribus cogitant.* And this was not the least grief of the subject in general, that those men had the greatest part of the spoil of the commonwealth, which neither by virtue, valour, or counsel, could add any thing unto it. *Nihil est sordidius, nihil crudelius*, saith Anto. Pius, *quam si remp. ii arrodunt, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferunt.*

*Couns.* Indeed, the letting to farm the realm was very grievous to the subject.

*Just.* Will your lordship pardon me, if I tell you that the letting to farm of his majesty's customs (the greatest revenue of the realm) is not very pleasing?

*Couns.* And why, I pray you? Doth not the king thereby raise his profits every third year, and one farmer outbids another to the king's advantage?

*Just.* It is true, my lord, but it grieves the subject to pay custom to the subject; for what mighty men are those farmers become? And if those farmers get many thousands every year, as the world knows they do, why should they not now (being men of infinite wealth) declare unto the king

upon oath what they have gained, and henceforth become the king's collectors of his custom? Did not queen Elizabeth, who was reputed both a wise and just princess, after she had brought customer Smith from 14,000*l.* a year to 42,000*l.* a year, make him lay down a recompense for that which he had gotten? And if these farmers do give no recompense, let them yet present the king with the truth of their receivings and profits. But, my lord, for conclusion; after Bullinbrook, arriving in England with a small troop, notwithstanding the king at his landing out of Ireland had a sufficient and willing army, yet he wanting courage to defend his right, gave leave to all his soldiers to depart, and put himself into his hands that cast him into his grave.

*Couns.* Yet you see he was deposed by parliament.

*Just.* As well may your lordship say he was knocked in the head by parliament; for your lordship knows that if king Richard had ever escaped out of their fingers that deposed him, the next parliament would have made all the deposers traitors and rebels, and that justly. In which parliament, or rather unlawful assembly, there appeared but one honest man; to wit, the bishop of Carlisle, who scorned his life and estate in respect of right and his allegiance, and defended the right of his sovereign lord against the king elect and his partakers.

*Couns.* Well, I pray, go on with the parliaments held in the time of his successor Henry the Fourth.

*Just.* This king had in his third year a subsidy, and in his fifth a tenth of the clergy without a parliament: in his sixth year he had so great a subsidy, as the house required there might be no record thereof left to posterity; for the house gave him 20*s.* of every knight's fee, and of every 20*l.* land, 20*d.*; and 13*d.* the pound of goods.

*Couns.* Yea, in the end of this year, the parliament pressed the king to annex unto the crown all temporal possessions belonging to churchmen within the land, which at that time was the third foot of all England. But the bishops made friends, and in the end saved their estates.

*Just.* By this you see, my lord, that Cromwel was not

the first that thought on such a business; and if king Henry the Eighth had reserved the abbeys, and other church-lands, which he had given at that time, the revenue of the crown of England had exceeded the revenue of the crown of Spain, with both the Indies; whereas, used as it was, (a little enriched the crown,) it served but to make a number of pettifoggers and others gentlemen.

*Couns.* But what had the king instead of this great revenue?

*Just.* He had a fifteenth of the commons, and a tenth and a half of the clergy; and withal all pensions granted by king Edward and king Richard were made void. It was also moved, that all crown-lands formerly given (at least given by king Edward and king Richard) should be taken back.

*Couns.* What think you of that, sir? Would it not have been a dishonour to the king? and would not his successors have done the like to those that the king had advanced?

*Just.* I cannot answer your lordship, but by distinguishing; for where the kings had given land for services, and had not been overreached in their gifts, there it had been a dishonour to the king to have made void the grants of his predecessors, or his grants; but all those grants of the kings, wherein they were deceived, the very custom and policy of England makes them void at this day.

*Couns.* How mean you that; for his majesty hath given a great deal of land among us since he came into England, and would it stand with the king's honour to take it from us again?

*Just.* Yea, my lord, very well with the king's honour, if your lordship, or any lord else, have under the name of 100*l.* land a year gotten 500*l.* land, and so after that rate.

*Couns.* I will never believe that his majesty will ever do any such thing.

*Just.* And I believe as your lordship doth; but we spake erewhile of those that dissuaded the king from calling a parliament: and your lordship asked me the reason why

any man should dissuade it, or fear it, to which this place gives me an opportunity to make your lordship answer; for though his majesty will of himself never question those grants, yet when the commons shall make humble petition to the king in parliament, that it will please his majesty to assist them in his relief, with that which ought to be his own; which, if it will please his majesty to yield unto, the house will most willingly furnish and supply the rest; with what grace can his majesty deny that honest suit of theirs, the like having been done in many kings' times before? This proceeding, my good lord, may perchance prove all your phrases of the king's honour false English.

*Couns.* But this cannot concern many, and for myself I am sure it concerns me little.

*Just.* It is true, my lord, and there are not many that dissuade his majesty from a parliament.

*Couns.* But they are great ones, a few of which will serve the turn well enough.

*Just.* But, my lord, be they ever so great, (as great as giants,) yet if they dissuade the king from his ready and assured way of his subsistence, they must devise how the king may be elsewhere supplied; for they otherwise run into a dangerous fortune.

*Couns.* Hold you contented, sir, the king needs no great dissuasion.

*Just.* My lord, learn of me, that there is none of you all that can pierce the king. It is an essential property of a man truly wise, not to open all the boxes of his bosom, even to those that are nearest and dearest unto him; for when a man is discovered to the very bottom, he is after the less esteemed. I dare undertake, that when your lordship hath served the king twice twelve years more, you will find that his majesty hath reserved somewhat beyond all your capacities. His majesty hath great reason to put off the parliament, as his last refuge, and in the mean time to make trial of all your loves to serve him, for his majesty hath had good experience how well you can serve yourselves: but when the king finds that the building of your own fortunes

and factions hath been the diligent studies, and the service of his majesty but the exercises of your leisures, he may then perchance cast himself upon the general love of his people: of which, I trust, he shall never be deceived, and leave as many of your lordships as have pilfered from the crown to their examination.

*Couns.* Well, sir, I take no great pleasure in this dispute; go on, I pray.

*Just.* In that king's fifteenth year he had also a subsidy, which he got by holding the house together from Easter to Christmas, and would not suffer them to depart: he had also a subsidy in his ninth year. In his eleventh year the commons did again press the king to take all the temporalities of the churchmen into his hands, which they proved sufficient to maintain 150 earls, 1500 knights, and 6,400 esquires, with 100 hospitals; but not prevailing, they gave the king a subsidy.

As for the notorious prince Henry the Fifth, I find that he had given him in his second year 300,000 marks, and after that two other subsidies, one in his fifth year, another in his ninth, without any disputes.

In the time of his successor Henry the Sixth there were not many subsidies. In his third year he had a subsidy of a tonnage and poundage. And here, saith John Stow, began those payments which we call customs; because the payment was continued; whereas before that time it was granted but for a year, two, or three, according to the king's occasions. He had also an aid and gathering of money in his fourth year, and the like in his tenth year, and in his thirteenth year a fifteenth. He had also a fifteenth for the conveying of the queen out of France into England. In the twenty-eighth year of that king was the act of resumption of all honours, towns, castles, seigniories, villages, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, fees, &c.; but because the wages of the king's servants were by the strictness of the act also restrained, this act of resumption was expounded in the parliament at Reading, the one and thirtieth year of the king's reign.

*Couns.* I perceive that those acts of resumption were ordinary in former times; for king Stephen resumed the lands, which in former times he had given to make friends during the civil wars. And Henry the Second resumed all (without exception) which king Stephen had not resumed; for although king Stephen took back a great deal, yet he suffered his trustiest servants to enjoy his gifts.

*Just.* Yes, my lord, and in after-times also; for this was not the last, nor shall be the last, I hope. And judge you, my lord, whether the parliaments do not only serve the king, whatsoever is said to the contrary; for as all king Henry the Sixth's gifts and grants were made void by the duke of York, when he was in possession of the kingdom by parliament; so in the time of king Henry, when king Edward was beaten out again, the parliament of Westminster made all his acts void, made him and all his followers traitors, and gave the king many of their heads and lands. The parliaments of England do always serve the king in possession: it served Richard the Second to condemn the popular lords; it served Bullinbrook to depose Richard, when Edward the Fourth had the sceptre; it made them all beggars that had followed Henry the Sixth; and it did the like for Henry, when Edward was driven out. The parliaments are as the friendship of this world is, which always followeth prosperity. For king Edward the Fourth, after that he was possessed of the crown, had in his thirteenth year a subsidy freely given him; and in the year following he took a benevolence through England: which arbitrary taking from the people served that ambitious traitor the duke of Bucks. After, the king's death was a plausible argument to persuade the multitude, that they should not permit, saith sir Thomas More, his line to reign any longer upon them.

*Couns.* Well, sir, what say you to the parliament of Richard the Third in his time?

*Just.* I find but one, and therein he made divers good laws. For king Henry the Seventh, in the beginning of his third year, had by parliament an aid granted unto him to-

wards the relief of the duke of Britain, then assailed by the French king: and although the king did not enter into the war, but by the advice of the three estates, who did willingly contribute; yet those northern men, which loved Richard the Third, raised rebellion under colour of the money imposed, and murdered the earl of Northumberland whom the king employed in that collection. By which your lordship sees, that it hath not been for taxes and impositions alone, that the ill-disposed have taken arms; but even for those payments which have been appointed by parliament.

*Couns.* And what became of these rebels?

*Just.* They were fairly hanged, and the money levied notwithstanding. In the king's first year he gathered a marvellous great mass of money by a benevolence, taking pattern by this kind of levy from Edward the Fourth: but the king caused it first to be moved in parliament, where it was allowed, because the poorer sort were therein spared. Yet it is true, that the king used some art; for in his letters he declared that he would measure every man's affections by his gifts. In the thirteenth year he had also a subsidy, whereupon the Cornish men took arms, as the northern men of the bishopric had done in the third year of the king.

*Couns.* It is without example that ever the people have rebelled for any thing granted by parliament, save in this king's days.

*Just.* Your lordship must consider, that he was not overmuch beloved; for he took many advantages upon the people and the nobility both.

*Couns.* And, I pray you, what say they now of the new impositions lately laid by the king's majesty? Do they say that they are justly or unjustly laid?

*Just.* To impose upon all things brought into the kingdom is very ancient: which imposing, when it hath been continued a certain time, is then called customs, because the subjects are accustomed to pay it; and yet the great tax upon wine is still called impost, because it was imposed after

the ordinary rate of payment had lasted many years. But we do nowadays understand those things to be impositions which are raised by the command of princes, without the advice of the commonwealth; though, as I take it, much of that which is now called custom was at the first imposed by prerogative royal. Now whether it be time or consent that makes them just, I cannot define. Were they unjust because new, and not justifiable yet by time, or unjust because they want a general consent? yet is this rule of Aristotle verified in respect of his majesty, *Minus timent homines injustum pati a principe quem cultorem Dei putant.* Yea, my lord, they are also the more willingly borne, because all the world knows they are no new invention of the king's: and if those that advised his majesty to impose them had raised his lands (as it was offered them) to 20,000*l.* more than it was, and his wards to as much as aforesaid, they had done him far more acceptable service: but they had their own ends in refusing the one, and accepting the other. If the land had been raised, they could not have selected the best of it for themselves: if the impositions had not been laid, some of them could not have their silk, or other pieces in farm, which indeed grieved the subject ten times more than that which his majesty enjoyeth: but certainly they made a great advantage that were the advisers; for if any tumult had followed, his majesty's ready way had been to have delivered them over to the people.

*Couns.* But think you that the king would have delivered them, if any troubles had followed?

*Just.* I know not, my lord; it was Machiavel's counsel to Cæsar Borgia to do it, and king Henry the Eighth delivered up Empson and Dudley; yea, the same king, when the great cardinal Wolsey, who governed the king and all his estate, had (by requiring the sixth part of every man's goods for the king) raised a rebellion, the king, I say, disavowed him absolutely, that had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk appeased the people, the cardinal had sung no more mass: for these are the words of our story; The king then came to Westminster to the cardinal's palace, and as-

sembled there a great council, in which he protested, " that " his mind was never to ask any thing of his commons " which might sound to the breach of his laws." Wherefore he then willed them to know by whose means they were so strictly given forth. Now, my lord, how the cardinal would have shifted himself by saying, " I had the opinion " of the judges," had not the rebellion been appeased, I greatly doubt.

*Couns.* But, good sir, you blanch my question, and answer me by examples. I ask you whether or no, in any such tumult, the people pretending against any one or two great officers, the king should deliver them or defend them?

*Just.* My good lord, the people have not stayed for the king's delivery, neither in England nor in France. Your lordship knows how the chancellor, treasurer, and chief justice, with many others at several times, have been used by the rebels; and the marshals, constables, and treasurers in France have been cut in pieces in Charles the Sixth's time. Now to your lordship's question, I say, that where any man shall give a king perilous advice, as may either cause a rebellion, or draw the people's love from the king, I say, that a king shall be advised to banish him: but if the king do absolutely command his servant to do any thing displeasing to the commonwealth, and to his own peril, there is the king bound in honour to defend him. But, my good lord, for conclusion, there is no man in England that will lay any invention either grievous or against law upon the king's majesty; and therefore your lordships must share it amongst you.

*Couns.* For my part, I had no hand in it; Ingram (I think) was he that propounded it to the treasurer.

*Just.* Alas, my good lord, every poor waiter in the custom-house, or every promoter might have done it; there is no invention in these things. To lay impositions, and sell the king's lands, are poor and common devices. It is true that Ingram and his fellows are odious men, and therefore his majesty pleased the people greatly to put him from the

coffership. It is better for a prince to use such a kind of men, than to countenance them; hangmen are necessary in a commonwealth, yet in the Netherlands none but a hangman's son would marry a hangman's daughter. Now, my good lord, the last gathering which Henry the Seventh made was in the twentieth year, wherein he had another benevolence both of the clergy and laity, a part of which taken of the poorer sort, he ordained by his testament that it should be restored. And for king Henry the Eighth, although he was left in a most plentiful estate, yet he wonderfully pressed his people with great payments; for in the beginning of his time it was infinite that he spent in masking, and tilting, banqueting, and other vanities, before he was entered into the most consuming expense of the most fond and fruitless war that ever king undertook. In his fourth year he had one of the greatest subsidies that ever was granted; for besides two fifteens and two dismes, he used David's law of capitation, or head-money, and had of every duke ten marks, of every earl five pounds, of every lord four pounds, of every knight four marks, and every man rated at eight pound in goods four marks, and so after the rate; yea, every man that was valued but at forty pound paid twelvepence, and every man and woman above fifteen years, fourpence. He had also in his sixth year divers subsidies granted him: in his fourteenth there was a tenth demanded of every man's goods, but it was moderated. In the parliament following, the clergy gave the king the half of their spiritual livings for one year, and of the laity there was demanded 800,000*l.* which could not be levied in England, but it was a marvellous great gift that the king had given him at that time. In the king's seventeenth year was the rebellion before spoken of, wherein the king disavowed the cardinal: in his seventeenth year he hath a tenth and fifteenth given by parliament, which were before that time paid to the pope; and before that also the money that the king borrowed in his fifteenth year were forgiven him by parliament in his seventeenth year. In his thirty-fifth year a subsidy was granted of fourpence the

pound of every man worth in goods from twenty shillings to five pounds, from five pounds to ten pounds, and upward of every pound two shillings; and all strangers, denizens, and others, doubled this sum; strangers, not being inhabitants above sixteen years, fourpence a head: all that had lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty to five, and so double as they did for goods; and the clergy gave sixpence the pound. In the thirty-seventh year a benevolence was taken, not voluntary, but rated by commissioners, which because one of the aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a soldier into Scotland. He had also another great subsidy of six shillings the pound of the clergy, and two shillings eightpence of the goods of the laity, and four shillings the pound upon lands.

In the second year of Edward the Sixth, the parliament gave the king an aid of twelvepence the pound of goods of his natural subjects, and two shillings the pound of strangers, and this to continue for three years; and by the statute of the second and third of Edward the Sixth, it may appear the same parliament did also give a second aid, as followeth; to wit, of every ewe kept in several pastures, threepence; of every weather kept as aforesaid, twopence; of every sheep kept in the common, three-halfpence. The house gave the king also eightpence the pound of every woollen cloth, made for sale throughout England for three years. In the third and fourth of the king, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the pole-money upon sheep, and the tax upon cloth, this act of subsidy was repealed, and other relief given the king; and in the seventh year he had a subsidy and two fifteenths.

In the first year of queen Mary, tonnage and poundage were granted: in the second year a subsidy was given to king Philip and to the queen. She had also a third subsidy in annis 4 et 5.

*Eliz. reg.* Now, my lord, for the parliaments of the late queen's time, in which nothing new, neither head-money, sheep-money, escuage, nor any of these kinds of payments was required, but only the ordinary subsidies, and those as

easily granted as demanded, I shall not need to trouble your lordship with any of them; neither can I inform your lordship of all the passages and acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

*Couns.* No, it were but time lost to speak of the latter; and by those that are already remembered we may judge of the rest; for those of the greatest importance are public. But I pray you deal freely with me; what think you would be done for his majesty, if he should call a parliament at this time, or what would be required at his majesty's hands?

*Just.* The first thing that would be required would be the same that was required by the commons in the thirteenth year of Henry the Eighth; to wit, that if any man of the commons' house should speak more largely than of duty he ought to do, all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of record.

*Couns.* So might every companion speak of the king what they list.

*Just.* No, my lord; the reverence which a vassal oweth to his sovereign is always intended for every speech, howsoever it must import the good of the king and his estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise not; for in queen Elizabeth's time, who gave freedom of speech in all parliaments, when Wentworth made those motions that were but supposed dangerous to the queen's estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the privilege of the house, and there died.

*Couns.* What say you to the Sicilian vespers remembered in the last parliament?

*Just.* I say, he repented him heartily that used that speech; and, indeed, besides that it was seditious, this example held not. The French in Sicily usurped that kingdom; they neither kept law nor faith; they took away the inheritance of the inhabitants; they took from them their wives, and ravished their daughters, committing all other insolencies that could be imagined. The king's majesty is the natural lord of England, his vassals of Scotland obey

the English laws; if they break them, they are punished without respect: yea, his majesty put one of his barons to a shameful death, for being consenting only to the death of a common fencer; and which of these ever did or durst commit any outrage in England: but to say the truth, the opinion of packing the last was the cause of the contention and disorder that happened.

*Couns.* Why, sir? Do you not think it best to compound a parliament of the king's servants, and others, that shall in all obey the king's desires?

*Just.* Certainly no; for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the king's part, nor on the subjects, as by the parliament before remembered your lordship may gather; for from such a composition do arise all jealousies and all contentions. It was practised in elder times, to the great trouble of the kingdom, and to the loss and ruin of many: it was of latter time used by king Henry the Eighth, but every way to his disadvantage. When the king leaves himself to his people, they assure themselves they are trusted and beloved of their kings; and there was never any assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their king. Henry the Sixth, when his estate was in effect utterly overthrown and utterly impoverished, at the humble request of his treasurer made the same known to the house; or otherwise, using the treasurer's own words, he humbly desired the king to take his staff, that he might save his wardship.

*Couns.* But you know, they will presently be in hand with those impositions which the king hath laid by his own royal prerogative.

*Just.* Perchance not, my lord; but rather with those impositions that have been by some of your lordships laid upon the king; which did not some of your lordships fear more than you do the impositions laid upon the subjects, you would never dissuade his majesty from a parliament: for no man doubted but that his majesty was advised to lay those impositions by his council; and for particular things on which they were laid, the advice came from petty fel-

lows (though now great ones) belonging to the custom-house. Now, my lord, what prejudice hath his majesty, (his revenue being kept up,) if the impositions that were laid were laid by the general council of the kingdom, which takes off all grudging and complaint.

*Couns.* Yes, sir, but that which is done by the king, with the advice of his private or privy-council, is done by the king's absolute power.

*Just.* And by whose power is it done in parliament, but by the king's absolute power? Mistake it not, my lord: the three estates do but advise, as the privy-council doth; which advice if the king embrace, it becomes the king's own act in the one, and the king's law in the other; for without the king's acceptation, both the public and private advices be but as empty egg-shells: and what doth his majesty lose, if some of those things which concern the poorer sort be made free again, and the revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a loss to the king to be beloved of the commons? If it be revenue which the king seeks, is it not better to take it of those that laugh, than those that cry? Yea, if all be content to pay upon moderation and change of the species, is it not more honourable and more safe for the king that the subject pay by persuasion, than to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the king, were it not better to give them the rod into their hands, than to commit them to the executioner? Certainly it is far more happy for a sovereign prince that a subject open his purse willingly, than that the same be opened by violence. Besides, that when impositions are laid by parliament, they are gathered by the authority of the law, which, as aforesaid, rejecteth all complaints, and stoppeth every mutinous mouth: it shall ever be my prayer, that the king embrace the counsel of honour and safety, and let other princes embrace that of force.

*Couns.* But, good sir, it is his prerogative which the king stands upon, and it is the prerogative of the king's that the parliaments do all diminish.

*Just.* If your lordship would pardon me, I would say

then, that your lordship's objections against parliaments is ridiculous. In former parliaments three things have been supposed dishonour to the king: the first, that the subjects have conditioned with the king, when the king hath needed them, to have the great charter confirmed: the second, that the estates have made treasurers for the necessary and profitable disbursing of those sums by them given; to the end, that the kings to whom they were given should expend them for their own defence, and for the defence of the commonweal: the third, that these have pressed the king to discharge some great officers of the crown, and to elect others. As touching the first, my lord, I would fain learn what disadvantage the kings of this land have had by confirming the great charter, the breach of which hath served only men of your lordship's rank to assist their own passions, and to punish and imprison at their own discretion the king's poor subjects, covering their private hatred with the colour of the king's service: for the king's majesty takes no man's inheritance, (as I have said before,) nor any man's life, but by the law of the land, according to the charter: neither doth his majesty imprison any man, (matter of practice which concerns the preservation of his estate excepted,) but by the law of the land; and yet he useth his prerogative as all the kings of England have ever used it. The supreme reason causeth to practise many things without the advice of the law. As for insurrections and rebellions, it useth the martial, and not the common law, without any breach of the charter, the intent of the charter considered truly. Neither hath any subject made complaint, or been grieved, in that the kings of this land, for their own safeties, and preservation of their estates, have used their prerogatives, the great engine, on which there is written *soli Deo*. And, my good lord, was not Buckingham in England, and Biron in France, condemned, their peers uncalled? And withal, was not Biron utterly (contrary to the customs and privileges of the French) denied an advocate to assist his defence? For where laws forecast cannot provide remedies for future dangers, princes are forced to

assist themselves by their prerogatives. But that which hath been ever grievous, and the cause of many troubles very dangerous, is, that your lordships, abusing the reasons of state, do punish and imprison the king's subjects at your pleasure. It is you, my lords, that when subjects have sometimes need of the king's prerogative, do then use the strength of the law; and when they require the law, you afflict them with the prerogative, and tread the great charter (which hath been confirmed by sixteen acts of parliament) under your feet, as a torn parchment, or waste paper.

*Couns.* Good sir, which of us do in this sort break the great charter? Perchance you mean, that we have advised the king to lay the new impositions.

*Just.* No, my lord; there is nothing in the great charter against impositions; and besides that, necessity doth persuade them: and if necessity do in somewhat excuse a private man, *a fortiori* it may then excuse a prince. Again, the king's majesty hath profit and increase of revenue by the impositions: but there are of your lordships (contrary to the direct letter of the charter) that imprison the king's subjects, and deny them the benefit of the law, to the king's disprofit. And what do you otherwise thereby, (if the impositions be in any sort grievous,) but *renovare dolores?* and withal dig out of the dust the long buried memory of the subjects' former contentions with the king.

*Couns.* What mean you by that?

*Just.* I will tell your lordship, when I dare: in the meantime, it is enough for me to put your lordship in mind, that all the estates in the world, in the offence of the people, have either had profit or necessity to persuade them to adventure it; of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the subject exceedingly grieved, your lordship may conjecture, that the house will be humble suitors for a redress. And if it be a maxim in policy to please the people in all things indifferent, and never suffer them to be beaten for the king's benefit, (for there are no blows forgotten with the smart but these;) then, I say, to make them vassals to vassal, is to batter down those masterly buildings, erected by Henry

the Seventh, and fortified by his son, by which the people and gentry of England were brought to depend on the king alone. Yea, my good lord, our late dear sovereign queen Elizabeth kept them up, and to their advantage, as well repaired as ever prince did. Defend me, and spend me, saith the Irish churl.

*Couns.* Then you think, that this violent breach of the charter will be the cause of seeking the confirmation of it in the next parliament, which otherwise could never have been moved.

*Just.* I know not, my good lord, perchance not; for if the house press the king to grant to them all that is theirs by the law, they cannot in justice refuse the king all that is his by the law. And where will be the issue of such a contention? I dare not divine, but sure I am, that it will tend to the prejudice both of the king and subject.

*Couns.* If they dispute not their own liberties, why should they then dispute the king's liberties, which we call his prerogative?

*Just.* Among so many and so diverse spirits, no man can foretell what may be propounded; but, however, if the matter be not slightly handled on the king's behalf, these disputes will soon dissolve; for the king hath so little need of his prerogative, and so great advantage by the laws, as the fear of impairing the one, viz. the prerogative, is so impossible, and the burden of the other, viz. the law, so weighty, as but by a branch of the king's prerogative, namely, of his remission and pardon, the subject is no way able to undergo it. This, my lord, is no matter of flourish, that I have said; but it is the truth, and unanswerable.

*Couns.* But to execute the laws very severely would be very grievous.

*Just.* Why, my lord, are the laws grievous which ourselves have required of our kings? and are the prerogatives also, which our kings have received to themselves, also grievous? How can such a people then be well pleased? And if your lordship confess that the laws give too much, why does not your lordship urge the prerogative, that gives

more? Nay, I will be bold to say it, that except the laws were better observed, the prerogative of a religious prince hath manifold less perils than the letter of the law hath. Now, my lord, for the second and third, to wit, for the appointing treasurers, and removing of counsellors, our kings have evermore laughed them to scorn that have pressed either of these, and, after the parliament dissolved, took the money of the treasurers of the parliament, and recalled or restored the officers discharged; or else they have been contented, that some such persons should be removed at the request of the whole kingdom, which they themselves, out of their noble natures, would not seem willing to remove.

*Couns.* Well, sir, would you, notwithstanding all these arguments, advise his majesty to call a parliament?

*Just.* It belongs to your lordships, who enjoy the king's favour, and are chosen for your able wisdom, to advise the king. It were a strange boldness in a poor and private person, to advise kings attended with so understanding a council. But, belike, your lordships have conceived some other way how money may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen, your lordship knows that then there were nothing so dangerous for a king as to be without money. A parliament cannot assemble in haste; but present dangers require hasty remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the subjects by using any unordinary ways.

*Couns.* Well, sir, all this notwithstanding, we dare not advise the king to call a parliament; for if it should succeed ill, we, who advise, should fall into the king's disgrace. And if the king be driven into any extremity, we can say to the king, that because we found it extremely unpleasing to his majesty to hear of a parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

*Just.* My lord, to the first, let me tell you, that there was never any just prince that hath taken any advantage of the success of counsels which have been founded on reason. To fear that, were to fear the loss of the bell, more than the loss of the steeple; and were also the way to beat all men from the studies of the king's service. But for the se-

cond, where you say you can excuse yourselves upon the king's own protesting against a parliament, the king upon better consideration may encounter that finesse of yours.

*Couns.* How, I pray you?

*Just.* Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your lordships together, and delivering to you, that he hears how his loving subjects in general are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a parliament; for that was the common answer to all the sheriffs in England, when the late benevolence was commanded. In which respect, and because you come short in all your projects, and because it is a thing most dangerous for a king to be without treasure, he requires such of you, as either mislike, or rather fear a parliament, to set down your reasons in writing, for which you either misliked or feared it. And such as wish and desire it, to set down answers to your objections; and so shall the king prevent the calling or not calling a parliament, as some of your great counsellors have done in many other things, shrinking up their shoulders, and saying, The king will have it so.

*Couns.* Well, sir, it grows late, and I will bid you farewell; only you shall take well with you this advice of mine, that in all that you have said against our greatest, those men in the end shall be your judges in their own cause: you, that trouble yourself with reformation, are like to be well rewarded. Hereof you may assure yourself, that we will never allow of any invention, how profitable soever, unless it proceed, or seem to proceed, from ourselves.

*Just.* If then, my lord, we may presume to say, that princes may be unhappy in any thing, certainly they are unhappy in nothing more, than in suffering themselves to be so enclosed. Again; if we may believe Pliny, who tells us, that it is an ill sign of prosperity in any kingdom or state, where such as deserve well find no other recompense than the contentment of their own consciences; a far worse sign is it, where the justly accused shall take revenge of the just accuser. But, my good lord, there is this hope remaining, that seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted

most, he will not for the future dishonour his judgment, (so well informed by his own experience,) as to expose such of his vassals as have had no other motives to serve him than simply the love of his person and estate, to their revenge, who have only been moved by the love of their own fortunes and their glory.

*Couns.* But, good sir, the king hath not been deceived by all.

*Just.* No, my lord, neither have all been trusted; neither doth the world accuse all, but believe that there be among your lordships very just and worthy men, as well of the nobility as others; but those, though most honoured in the commonwealth, yet have not been most employed. Your lordship knows it well enough, that three or four of your lordships have thought your hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest affairs in the commonwealth; and strong enough all the lands have found them, to beat down whom they pleased.

*Couns.* I understand you; but how shall it appear that they have only sought themselves?

*Just.* There needs no perspective glass to discern it; for neither in treaties of peace and war, in matters of revenue, and matters of trade, any thing hath happened either of love or judgment. No, my lord, there is not any action of theirs eminent, great or small, the greatness of themselves only excepted.

*Couns.* It is all one; your papers can neither answer nor reply; we can. Besides, you tell the king no news in delivering these complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

*Just.* For the first, my lord, whereas he hath once the reasons of things delivered him, your lordships shall need to be well advised in their answers. There is no sophistry will serve the turn, where the judge and understanding are both supreme. For the second, to say, that his majesty knows, and cares not; that, my lord, were but to despair all his faithful subjects. But by your favour, my lord, we see it is contrary: we find now that there is no such singular

power as there hath been. Justice is described with a balance in her hand, holding it even, and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any king's days; for singular authority begets but general oppression.

*Couns.* However it be, that is nothing to you that have no interest in the king's favour, nor perhaps in his opinion; and concerning such a one, the misliking, or but misconceiving of any hard word, phrase, or sentence, will give argument to the king, either to condemn or reject the whole discourse. And however his majesty may neglect your informations, you may be sure that others (at whom you point) will not neglect their revenges: you will therefore confess it (when it is too late) that you are exceeding sorry that you have not followed my advice. Remember cardinal Wolsey, who lost all men for the king's service; and when their malice (whom he grieved) had outlived the king's affection, you know what became of him as well as I.

*Just.* Yea, my lord, I know it well, that malice hath a longer life than either love or thankfulness; for as we always take more care to put off pain than to enjoy pleasure, because the one has no intermission, and with the other we are often satisfied; so it is in the smart of injury, and memory of good turns. Wrongs are written in marble; benefits are sometimes acknowledged, rarely requited. But, my lord, we shall all do the king great wrong, to judge him by common rules or ordinary examples; for seeing his majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his service, no man need doubt of his goodness towards those that perform any thing worthy reward. Nay, the not taking knowledge of those of his own vassals that have done him wrong, is more to be lamented, than the relinquishing of those that do him right is to be suspected. I am therefore, my lord, held to my resolution by these two, besides the former: the first, that God would never have blest him with so many years, and in so many actions, yea, in all his actions, had he paid his honest servants with evil for good. The second, where your lordship tells me, that

I shall be sorry for not following your advice; I pray your lordship to believe, that I am no way subject to the common sorrowing of worldly men; this maxim of Plato being true, *Dolores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur*; but for my body, my mind values it at nothing.

*Couns.* What is it then you hope for, or seek?

*Just.* Neither riches, nor honour, or thanks; but only seek to satisfy his majesty, (which I would have been glad to have done in matters of more importance,) that I have lived and will die an honest man.

9 JACOBI.

# A DISCOURSE

TOUCHING

## A MATCH PROPOUNDED BY THE SAVOYAN

BETWEEN

THE LADY ELIZABETH AND THE PRINCE OF PIEDMONT.

To obey the commandment of my lord the prince, I have sent you my opinion of the match lately desired by the duke of Savoy, and propounded by his own ambassador, between the lady Elizabeth, his majesty's eldest and only surviving daughter, and the prince of Piedmont; with an overture (as I have heard) of a cross marriage between the most excellent and hopeful prince of Wales and the eldest daughter of the said duke.

Now as by the first, to wit, by the match with the lady Elizabeth, the duke's son, of a Spanish race, may in the future (if it should please God to lay such a heavy burden upon us) become king of England; so by the second, though the Savoyan had no heirs male, yet would it not be easy for a king of England to recover the right of those principalities, all France being interjacent. For one of the most renowned kings, and the most valiant, that ever France had, spent more in the obtaining and defence of that part of Savoy and Piedmont, which fell unto him by Louisa his mother, heir to her brother Philibert, than both those petty provinces could be valued to be worth. And if those of the house of Austria and of Spain thought it a matter so exceeding perilous for a French king to possess that barren diadem; much more will the French esteem it dangerous for them, that a king of England should inherit it. The reason why, I need not tell you. But we will leave these

considerations to their far-off possibilities; and in the meantime take it for granted, that marriages between foreign princes, for the most part, are but politic: for wheresoever they employ their own affections, judging by persons presented, and not by pictures representing, they commonly make choice of their own subjects. Now this policy in marriages hath either respect to the enlarging of dominion and uniting of kingdoms, dukedoms, and other principalities; as by a marriage the duchy of [a] Bretagne, and other seigniories in France, were annexed to that crown; by a [b] marriage the Netherlands became subject to the princes of Austria, and Castile to Arragon, and Portugal to Castile, &c. or to the ending of some great war, and the establishing of peace; as when Ferdinand of Arragon married the lady Germaine of Foix; when king Francis the First married queen Eleanor; Philip the Second the lady Elizabeth of France, and Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the lady Margaret, sister to king Henry the Second of France: or, lastly, it hath respect to the combination and league against some other king, or estate, powerful and suspected.

Now for the first, I think his majesty holds nothing more impossible, nor any thing less profitable, than the inheritance of Savoy: for as long as there is a king of France, or a king of Spain, they will never (if their powers fail them not) endure the uniting of Savoy and Piedmont to an absolute monarchy powerful in itself. It was a long war, a cruel and costly one, made for the defence of the duchy of Milan, and to keep it a duchy apart from the Imperial, Spanish, and French. For the second, to wit, the establishing a peace after a long war, as there never was any effect without a cause; so to those things that never had beginning, there never was any man that took care to give end or conclusion.

For the third, namely, a combination against some powerful or suspected enemy, I know no Christian prince so powerful as the king of Great Britain; and, out of doubt,

[a] Charles VIII. [b] Mary of Burgundy to the archduke, son to the emperor.

the estate of Savoy cannot be changed by any alliance, for it hath ever depended, and must ever depend, either upon France or Spain. And for the strengthening our king, or the levy of an army in those parts, either against France or Spain, the least of the cantons of Switzers, or the meanest of the German princes, may be of far more use to the king's majesty, than the duke of Savoy can be. Certainly, that Savoy cannot but depend on Spain, it is manifest enough; for thus the case stands between those princes: the duke hath yet living four sons: he had five, but the eldest was poisoned in Spain, because the king bound himself to give the duchy of Milan to the first and eldest son borne by his daughter.

The second is now prince of Piedmont, called don Philibert; lives with the duke his father, but of less hope by far than don Philip his brother was.

His third son, don Victorio Amadeo, knight of Malta, is the great commander of St. John's in Spain, worth one hundred thousand crowns a year, and withal general of all the king of Spain's galleys; a place of great honour and profit.

The fourth son is a cardinal, and hath the one half of the profit of the archbishopric of Toledo, and is promised the whole after the death of the now bishop; an estate worth three hundred thousand crowns a year.

The fifth, don Thomaso, with whom the mother the lady Catharine of Austria died, a prince of fifteen years of age; and hath also a pension out of Spain, but hath not yet acquired any particular title.

Hereby it is easy to judge, whether the duke of Savoy, by the power of Savoy, will abandon all these pensions and preferments, and enter into a war with the king of Spain for the duchy of Milan, or for the quarrel of any other prince; seeing Milan itself, when it was a duchy apart, was ever a principality of greater force than Savoy and Piedmont. Shall we then hope, that he will offend the king of Spain in respect of England? Certainly it were madness so to do. Milan is too near him; and so are both Spain

and Naples; and England too far off. They are ever like to be neighbours; England never like to be. Again; that he will ever be used against the French for the English, it is very improbable: he hath been too well beaten for that fault; I mean for joining himself against the French, though not for us. For that he is a prince of no strength, if the king of France draw his sword against him, Francis I. hath resolved us; who, in despite of all the assistance of Charles V. when he returned victorious out of Africa, and notwithstanding the great armies which the said emperor employed in the duke's defence; and notwithstanding his forcible invading of Picardy, thereby to drain the French out of Piedmont; and notwithstanding (ere yet the war had ended) that king Henry VIII. of England did also invade France with a most puissant army; yet did Francis I. by the earl of St. Paul, take from him his duchy of Savoy in a short time, and by other his commanders possess Turin, the chief city of Piedmont, with the greatest part of all that principality; and held both the one and the other from the year 1538 to the year 1544; when with a daughter of France, or rather out of commiseration, it was restored.

This is true; and it is all the good our king of England can expect from Savoy, that he must either abandon his son-in-law, if either France or Spain oppress him, which were too great a dishonour; or he must enter into a war for his defence, which were too great a charge. And his majesty doth well know, that while the league stands between him and the Low Countries, that he is invincible by them, and they by him; and that all other petty combinations will be rather chargeable than profitable.

And if any man shall tell the king, that by having the duke of Savoy at his devotion, he may offend France whenever he pleaseth; his majesty may look into the exploits of Henry VIII., and what flowers and fruit that war of his in France brought forth. For king Henry VIII. had not only a duke of Savoy, but a duke of Bourbon, a king of Arragon, and an emperor the most ambitious and undertaking prince that Germany hath seen for many ages: he had

also the Low Countries, Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, to join with him, and he with them, against the French: but let us see what he brought to pass.

In the year 1512, Ferdinand of Arragon persuaded Henry VIII. to send an army of English into Biscay, and by the way of Bayonne to invade Guienne; by the countenance of whose forces, and while the English affronted the French in those parts, Ferdinand conquered the kingdom of Navarre, deferring his assistance of king Henry VIII. till the next year; and so the English returned with a great deal of loss, and more dishonour.

In the year 1513 king Henry did not only set out a fleet of ships of war against the French, and gave the emperor one hundred thousand ducats towards the levying an army to invade Burgundy; but the king landed in France with 40,000 foot and 5000 men at arms, and was persuaded by the emperor to besiege Terouenne, a town of as much use to the English, as if it had been seated in Arabia. Neither did he gain any foot of ground else by the emperor's assistance; neither could he succour or relieve that city without an army of equal strength to that by which it was won; to wit, an army consisting of 40,000 foot and 5000 barbed horse.

In the year 1515 he again paid divers regiments of Switzers against king Francis (because the said king sent the duke of Albany into Scotland) for the protection of king James V., king Henry's own nephew, and his majesty's grandfather.

In the year 1522 he renewed the war against Francis I. and entered into league against him with the emperor, the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines; and after the English army had in vain besieged Hesdin, and set fire on Dourlans, dispeopled and abandoned unto them, they privately hasted homeward; and in exchange for a great deal of treasure and time spent, they returned again loaden with nothing but poverty and diseases.

In the year 1523 he invaded France with the like success, by the duke of Suffolk; took certain small towns to-

day, and lost them again to-morrow; and spent a world of treasure to be laughed at.

In the year 1524 it was promised, that all former errors should be amended, and France should be conquered for king Henry by the emperor and the duke of Bourbon, who received of king Henry 100,000 crowns for the first month; and so much they were to have monthly during the same war.

But the duke of Bourbon, to whom the preservation of the duchy of Milan was more profitable than the invasion of France, spent our king's crowns merrily in that good city: so as when king Henry had spent all the treasure left him by that provident king Henry VII.; all that mass of monies made by the dissolutions of the abbeys, and all that England could yield him besides, in war against the French, assisted also therein by all the foreign princes and states, he had nothing remaining of all those great expenses of treasure, arms, and the body of men, but the poor town of Boulogne, the restitution of which to the French, king Henry himself promised; but being prevented by death, the same was delivered up by Edward his son. What account can we make therefore of Savoy, since neither Charles the emperor, nor all that joined with him and with the English against the French, would put us in possession of one good place in eighteen or twenty years' war? But, sir, that which we are to consider in this treaty is, whether it doth not drag after it some Spanish exploit. For it is certain that the Castilians, and those of whom these princes are descended, have gotten no less by the traffick of their marriages than they have done by the trade of their Indies; of which, because the instances are many, I will remember unto you some few, and leave the rest to your own reading.

In the year 1503, Philip, archduke of Austria, (authorized by Ferdinand of Arragon, his father-in-law,) made a peace with Lewis XII. promising, that his son Charles (afterwards emperor) should marry the lady Claudia, the king's daughter; which marriage was solemnly sworn and

performed at Blois. But what was the end of this love-making, other than to persuade king Lewis, that, according to the division made of the kingdom of Naples between the Spanish and French, the French king should enjoy his part, and the Spanish his, and all war and debate take end? Whereupon, while Lewis (meaning all things in good faith) neglected to reinforce and to supply his army in those parts, Gonsalvo, according to his secret instructions, (and notwithstanding that this peace was proclaimed through all Naples, and commandments sent to Gonsalvo by the archduke to abstain from all acts of hostility,) set upon the French unawares, defeated the duke of Antry and mons. D'Aubigny, and following the advantage of his former victory, overthrew the remainder of the French army, led by that valiant duke of Nemours, who lost himself, with all, in effect, that the French possessed in that kingdom. And yet this was not all the use the Spaniard made of this lady; for after that Lewis XII. had sent a new army into Italy, for the recovery of Naples, commanded at the time of the overthrow thereof by the marquis of Salluco, (the Spaniard being not as yet strongly settled in his new conquests,) the former marriage was again to be confirmed, and in recompense of one half of the kingdom of Naples, the investiture of the duchy of Milan was promised to king Lewis, and his heirs male, and for want of heirs male to the lady Claudia and Charles her imaginary husband: and to make it a plain bargain, king Lewis was to pay unto Maximilian a great sum of money, which was presently sent by the cardinal of Amboise at Haguenau in Alsatia; but this money was never repaid, this match never effected, nor the duchy of Milan ever delivered into the French possession. In the neck of this, and upon the death of Isabella, queen of Castile, Ferdinand of Arragon, fearing to be dispossessed of Castile and Leon by his son-in-law the archduke Philip, (who, by the right of his wife, the daughter of queen Isabel, was now lawful king thereof,) sought peace with Lewis XII. and to that end took to wife the lady Germain de Foix, sister to Gaston de Foix, the king's niece, upon con-

dition that Lewis should resign all that part of Naples unto which he had right, and that Ferdinand should pay to Lewis 700,000 ducats.

In conclusion, the Spaniards got the start; for the French king delivered those few places which they had held in Naples, and withal resigned his right to the rest; but as for the money promised, the same was never paid unto this day.

What use Ferdinand of Arragon made by giving his daughter in marriage to Henry VIII. of England, the conquest of Navarre hath told us.

For a fifth marriage (the archduke Philip, father to Charles, afterwards emperor, being dead) it was accorded, that Charles, now archduke of Austria and king of Castile, should take to wife Renée, daughter to Lewis XII. deceased; and that Francis I. his successor, should give in dowry with the said lady the duchy of Berry, and 600,000 crowns; and that Renée should give up to king Francis all her right, both by father and mother, of the duchy of Milan: and this marriage proceeded so far, as all conditions were agreed on and sworn between the princes.

In the mean while the great Ferdinand dies; and now comes Charles archduke of Austria, king of Castile and Arragon, upon the stage; who inherited his grandfather Ferdinand as well in all his kingdoms, as in his subtleties and breach of faith.

And to the end that he might obtain of king Francis a passage by the way of France into Spain, as well to possess himself of his kingdoms there, as to fortify Navarre, lately conquered, he creates a peace with France, (made fearful unto him by the great overthrow given to the Switzers at the battle of Marignan;) and instead of Renée, daughter to Lewis, he desired the lady Louisa, daughter to king Francis, presently reigning, Renée being afterwards married to the duke of Ferrara.

For the accomplishment of this alliance, Lyons was appointed; where it was concluded by the deputies, that the kingdom of Navarre should be restored to Henry of Al-

bent, son to John of Albret, and father to Foix, lately deceased.

That king Francis should, by way of dowry to his daughter, clearly resign all his right in the kingdom of Naples; and Charles was to pay unto the king 150,000 ducats yearly towards the maintenance of Louisa his wife, till she became of full age; with divers other conditions agreed to and sworn.

But this lady dying after, a marriage was concluded between the said Charles and king Francis's younger daughter, upon the former conditions.

But in the mean while the emperor Maximilian leaves the world; and Charles, not contented with all the kingdoms of Spain, (Portugal excepted,) nor with all the dukedoms and earldoms of the Netherlands, nor with the kingdoms of Sicily, but he affects the empire of Germany, and dealt not therein as king Francis, who had the same ambition; but having new settled his estates in Spain, Naples, and Navarre, which he could not but by the pretence of the aforesaid marriage, he raised an army on the sudden, which marched towards Francfort; and assuring thereby those of his own party, and discouraging the rest, he was forthwith elected emperor of Germany.

And now he forgets his father-in-law king Francis; forgets the restitution of Navarre; forgets the pension promised to the lady Louisa; and, in conclusion, he took to wife the sister of John, king of Portugal, with whom he had a great mass of money, to maintain his war against the French.

By this you may see to what great advantage these princes used the sacrament of marriage; for being twice promised to Renée, and twice married to the daughters of Francis I. and once given to the lady Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. having served his turn by them all, he left them to seek new paramours. And it is well noted by those that knew the stories of those times, that before the battle of Pavia, where king Francis was made prisoner, Charles always wrote to king Henry VIII. "Your son and cousin Charles;" but

never after that time did he afford him one line but by his secretaries; nor ever after subscribed more than simple Charles. And by deluding king Henry by promise of being his son-in-law, he did not only borrow great sums of money of him, but drew him often into France, to the great prejudice of that nation.

But we may not end here; for Charles, that had himself married so many wives, had also store for other men; for, the better to confirm the duke of Bourbon in his disloyalty against his sovereign lord king Francis, he promised him his own sister, Eleanor, widow of Emanuel, king of Portugal; but that poor duke finding himself derided, died soon after in the ditch of Rome, as he offered to assail the walls thereof.

And Charles the emperor, having now king Francis his prisoner at Madrid in Spain, made a match between him and his said sister, formerly promised to Bourbon, upon condition that Francis should resign all his right in Italy, render unto the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, quit the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, with many other insolent and cruel conditions; whereby you may perceive, that although the Spaniard had often abused the French by offering them marriages never meant; yet at last they made a bargain outright, but such a costly one, as should cost for ever the French the price of a Spanish wife.

But this matrimonial traffick is not yet at an end; the market is still continued by the emperor. For Francis I. resolving to recover the duchy of Milan, and to take an account of the duke of Savoy for his mother's inheritance therein, prepares an army to effect it.

The emperor, being newly returned out of Africa, and from the taking of Tunis, finding his forces marvellously decayed by the great heat of that country and toils of war, and therefore not in case at present to resist king Francis, he created a marriage between the infanta of Portugal and the dauphin of France; and between the duke Angoulesme, the king's younger son, and the infanta of Spain, though he did not directly name her. He offered to give to any one

of the king's sons 100,000 crowns a year out of the duchy of Milan, desiring withal that the duke of Orleans might accompany him in the conquest of Algiers; than which, and than any of these marriages, he never meant any thing less. And doubting that the king would not bite at any of these baits, he also offered to invest the duke of Angoulesme in the duchy of Milan.

These goodly offers the king could not refuse, though he had experience enough of the Spanish treachery; but while the emperor held the king in this treaty, he got time to levy an army in Germany, to prepare his fleet by Andrew Dorea at Genoa, to make a confederacy in Italy, and to draw thither all the Spanish garrisons out of Sicily commanded by Gonsalvo. After which, he never spake word of these marriages, nor of any pension, nor restitution of Milan.

Now for conclusion, we will remember the goodly marriage between king Philip II. and queen Mary of England, formerly promised to his father Charles; for after that Charles had failed in his design to make England a province, and subject to Spain, he drew the good queen into a war against the French; but after his turn was served, and the victory at St. Quintin's, he, Philip, concluded a peace with France, not so much as including the queen his wife; who, being abandoned by her husband, she lost the good town of Calais, which had remained in the possession of the crown of England from the year 1347 to the year 1558.

Neither had king Philip's second wife, the lady Elizabeth of France, the daughter of king Henry II. any great cause of joy in that her advancement; for she died in Spain after a strange manner, as it was suspected.

Now, methinks, I hear some Englishmen Hispaniolized say unto the king, that seeing the kings of France, but especially of Spain, have often matched themselves with the dukes of Savoy; why should not his majesty also accept of their alliance? But his majesty, being of an universal understanding, will easily find the difference. For though the kings of Polonia found it greatly to their advantage to match with the dukes of Lithuania; yet if such an overture

were made to our king, he would find it exceedingly ridiculous. For the French king, and the kings of Spain, who have often quarrelled for Italy, Naples, and Milan, and who are like hereafter so to do, have great reason to make the dukes of Savoy theirs: France in respect of a passage into Italy, Spain in respect of a bulwark against France.

But our kings of England, who have no business over the Alps, and who pretend no title to Milan or Naples, but as kings of France, (which if ever God restore unto them, they shall as easily beat the Savoyan as the French hath done,) can make no use of that alliance other than to draw them into a war for the defence of those dukes. But let us somewhat, amongst these other respects, enter into the due consideration of the person of this excellent young princess, the only daughter of our sovereign, the dear beloved sister of our prince, and one of the precious jewels of this kingdom; let us, I say, but indifferently examine what increase of honour and dignity, what great comfort and contentment she can expect or hope for by the benefit of this match.

For the first, to wit, honour and dignity; as she is born the eldest, and now the only daughter of one of the mightiest kings of Christendom, so is she thereby of higher place and state than the wife of a duke of Savoy; besides, in her birth and blood, both of father and mother, descended of such royal races as Savoy cannot add any greater grace or glory unto; and by nature and education endowed with such princely perfections, both of body and mind, as may well deserve to be reputed a worthy spouse for the greatest monarch of Christendom; especially considering the possibilities of the daughters of England, whereof we have had many precedents, and at this time is happily manifested in the king's majesty, our sovereign, being descended of a daughter of England; whereby the island, formerly divided, is again now made one Great Britain, to the mutual strength of either.

Now to confer the possibility of such a fortune upon a poor popish prince of Savoy, that can return no recompense of benefit to this state, were greatly for his glory, though

of the king's sons 100,000 crowns a year out of the duchy of Milan, desiring withal that the duke of Orleans might accompany him in the conquest of Algiers; than which, and than any of these marriages, he never meant any thing less. And doubting that the king would not bite at any of these baits, he also offered to invest the duke of Angoulesme in the duchy of Milan.

These goodly offers the king could not refuse, though he had experience enough of the Spanish treachery; but while the emperor held the king in this treaty, he got time to levy an army in Germany, to prepare his fleet by Andrew Dorea at Genoa, to make a confederacy in Italy, and to draw thither all the Spanish garrisons out of Sicily commanded by Gonsalvo. After which, he never spake word of these marriages, nor of any pension, nor restitution of Milan.

Now for conclusion, we will remember the goodly marriage between king Philip II. and queen Mary of England, formerly promised to his father Charles; for after that Charles had failed in his design to make England a province, and subject to Spain, he drew the good queen into a war against the French; but after his turn was served, and the victory at St. Quintin's, he, Philip, concluded a peace with France, not so much as including the queen his wife; who, being abandoned by her husband, she lost the good town of Calais, which had remained in the possession of the crown of England from the year 1347 to the year 1558.

Neither had king Philip's second wife, the lady Elizabeth of France, the daughter of king Henry II. any great cause of joy in that her advancement; for she died in Spain after a strange manner, as it was suspected.

Now, methinks, I hear some Englishmen Hispaniolized say unto the king, that seeing the kings of France, but especially of Spain, have often matched themselves with the dukes of Savoy; why should not his majesty also accept of their alliance? But his majesty, being of an universal understanding, will easily find the difference. For though the kings of Polonia found it greatly to their advantage to match with the dukes of Lithuania; yet if such an overture

ther, and as little comfort to our most religious king, their grandfather.

Lastly, the very binding cause of amity between all kings, princes, and states, is their trade and intercourse of their subjects.

Now there is not any prince or state of Europe, (the inland counties of Hungary and Transylvania excepted,) but the English have trade withal; yea, even with the Turk, Barbarian, Persian, and Indians: only with the subjects of Savoy I do not know that we have any meddling or interchange at all. For the duke hath no port, (his ditch of Villa Franca excepted, which is only capable of a few galleys,) either to furnish ships from, or to receive them being strangers. And therefore, for his majesty of England to match his eldest and only daughter with a prince which hath his dependance upon other kings; a prince jesuited, which can neither stead us in time of war, nor trade with us in time of peace; a prince, by the situation of his country, every way unprofitable unto us, and no less perilous for his child to live in; I resolve myself, that his majesty is of too excellent a judgment ever to accept of it, and his honourable council too wise and provident to advise the prosecution thereof.

Now if his highness should be pleased to ask my opinion, with what Christian prince he should match his sister, were it in his own power and choice to make election? I humbly desire to be excused herein, nor would it become me to presume so far.

It is true, I have heard it, that some overtures have been made for the prince palatine of the Rhine. Certainly he is as well born as the duke of Savoy, and as free a prince as he is. The nation is faithful; he is of our religion, and by him we shall greatly fasten unto us the Netherlands. And for the little judgment God hath given me, I do prize the alliance of the palatine of the Rhine, and of the house of Nassau, more than I do the alliance of ten dukes of Savoy.

9 JACOBI.

# A DISCOURSE

TOUCHING

## A MARRIAGE BETWEEN PRINCE HENRY OF ENGLAND, AND A DAUGHTER OF SAVOY.

THERE is nobody that persuades our prince to match with Savoy, for any love to the person of the duke, nor, as I hope, for his religion; neither will any man oppose it for any particular dislike: for as there hath never been quarrel between our nation and his, so hath he, for ought I have heard, never given offence to any of ours. It should therefore seem, that it is for the good of England that he that desires it, desires it; and for the same good it is, that he that desires it not, dissuades it.

The points in it, which are considerable, are these:

The first, wherein it concerns the duke to seek the alliance of England.

The second, that the pretences of marriages between princes are seldom the same with their intents that propounded them; and what hidden danger may lie under the alliance presently desired.

The third, wherein it may concern us to match with Savoy; and against whom he can assist us.

The fourth, that Savoy and Spain are inseparable, and that Savoy dare not offend the pope nor the emperor.

The fifth, against whom the English shall need his assistance.

The sixth, of the inconveniences in general.

The seventh, of the inconveniences in particular to the prince.

The eighth, with what prince it be most fit for his highness's advantage to match withal.

The reasons that are apparent on the duke's behalf are these:

The first, that, either by the countenance or assistance of his majesty, he may hope to possess himself of the duchy of Milan, which was promised him on dowry with his wife by the king of Spain.

The second, to recover Bresse from the French.

The third, to obtain Geneva from the protestants.

The fourth, to make his daughter a great queen; and so he and his shall be able to say in future times, that the kings of England are of the race of Savoy.

These pretences are exceeding fair, if the pretences in the traffick of marriages between kings and princes were the same with their intents: but we know by experience how many of these fraudulent propositions have been made both to the French, English, and other princes, by the house of Austria, of which the daughters of Savoy are descended; and by which kind of traffick those kings have prevailed more than by all their forces and arms.

For by these false goods they carried Naples and Milan from the French. So prevailed they with our king Henry VIII.; when they drew his army into Biscay, to invade France, they conquered Navarre.

They had it also in their hope to have possessed England by a match with queen Mary; which, though they failed to gain, yet thereby we failed not to lose Calais. What marriage had a fairer pretence in the world than that of the king of Navarre (afterwards king Henry the Fourth of France) with the lady Margaret of Valois, now living; by which a peace was concluded between the king and the party of the religion, and by which the miserable civil wars in France were concluded? And yet the intent was so far from the pretence, as one hundred thousand protestants were thereby murdered in one day within Paris and elsewhere. Nay, what greater treason and cruelty was there ever covered under a pretence of marriage, than that of

Francis Sforza, duke of Milan; who, under pretence to win that brave Italian captain to his party, gave him his daughter Drusiana in marriage, and sent him with his army to serve Ferdinand, king of Naples; where, by the practice of Sforza, Picininus and his son were murdered by the king, after he had royally received him in his own court and castle.

Lastly, because examples are infinite, I will conclude with the practice of Bentivoglio, prince of Bologna, who, to the end to make himself master of Farenza, gave his daughter to the lord thereof; and she, according to her father's instructions, caused her husband to be murdered in her own chamber.

There is a kind of noble and royal deceiving in marriages between kings and princes; yea, and it is of all others the fairest and most unsuspected trade of betraying. It has been as ordinary amongst them to adventure or cast away a daughter, to bring some purpose to pass, as at other times, for saving of charges, to make them nuns. I speak not this to prejudice or forejudge so worthy a prince as the duke of Savoy; for there is no example to be followed or to be feared, where like occasions and like circumstances do not occur. He cannot betray us till we trust him: there is nothing of ours near him, nor of his near us.

It is the Spaniard that is to be feared; the Spaniard, who layeth his pretences and practices with a long hand. In which respect, it were not amiss to consider of the plots of our English priests, who not long since have published and printed certain far-fetched titles both of the king of Spain and of the infanta his daughter; for it were an horrible dishonour to be overreached by any of those dry and subtle-headed Spaniards.

Parsons, under the name of Doleman, hath cast abroad a most pestilent book in our English tongue; wherein, after he hath laboured with all his strainings and subtleties to weaken all other titles, and his majesty's, which is undoubted; most of all he prefers that of the infanta, and of the king her father, and brother, for the most clear and ancient.

The first he draws from Constance, the eldest daughter of William the Conqueror; the second from John of Gaunt.

Now this title, or pretence of the title, of the infanta, of which all our papists had so great hope in the latter times of queen Elizabeth, is, for want of heirs of her body, fallen upon the heirs of her sister the duchess of Savoy, the infanta and her sister being two daughters of Philip II. And I cannot tell, I leave it to wiser men to judge, whether the lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of England, were not therefore sought, both by the king of Spain and the Savoyan, by her to strengthen and revive the former pretences; and seeing both of them have failed in that hope, the duke of Savoy would now send a daughter into England, who might practise a party, either for her brother or for her uncle. Certainly it were a brave subject for our malicious papists to work upon, who are all better learned in Doleman's book than in the New Testament. For having a daughter of Savoy, the infanta failing, they have the same princess, in whose title and religion they believe; they have the same for all their purposes, by having the infanta's sister's daughter, as the infanta herself. Nay, it will serve their turns better; for the infanta being our next neighbour, they may, under the colour of visitations, practise at pleasure; and it is the infanta that hath the best army in Europe in her hands, and it may be passed over into England in one night.

And that it may not be thought that this point has been framed by me, these are Parsons's own words, fol. 164. "I "said also, that this lady infanta, or some other, by her title, "and her father's good-will, was likeliest of all strangers to "bear it away. For if the infanta should either die, or be "married into any other country, or otherwise be disposed "of, so as her pretence to England should be disenabled "before this affair came to be tried; then may the said fa-"ther and she (if they list) cast their aforesaid interest and "titles (as divers men think they would) upon some other "prince of their own house and blood." Which is as much as to say, they will resign their supposed right to the chil-

dren of the duke of Savoy; nay, to mend the matter, Parsons gives a title to the duke of Savoy himself by the lady Beatrice of Portugal, his grandmother.

It is true, that any title will serve the Spaniard's turn. Braganza, Parma, and Antonio, were before Philip in the kingdom of Portugal: he came behind them all in right, but he went before them all in power, which needs no advocate; and though it seems to be resolved, that the king of Spain and the duke are at difference for the present; yet the king of Spain hath him in his hand, and the duke's children receive the very bread they feed on from the Spaniard; which being denied them, they have nothing wherewith to sustain themselves, for the duke is extreme poor. They are of the blood of Spain, to whom the dukes of Savoy have always been servants, and very often the commanders of their armies. I say, that herein whatsoever is pretended to the contrary, it is Spain that we ought to suspect. Savoy from Spain is inseparable; Spain to which England is irreconcileable.

For thus the case stands between those two princes. The duke hath yet living four sons: he had five, but the eldest was poisoned in Spain, because the king of Spain bound himself to give the duchy of Milan to the first and eldest son of his daughter.

The second, which is now prince of Piedmont, called don Philibert, lives with his father, but of less hope by far than his brother Philip.

His third son, don Victorio Amadeo, knight of Malta, is the great commander of St. John's in Spain, worth 100,000 crowns a year; and withal general of all the Spanish galleys; a place of great honour and profit.

The fourth son is a cardinal, and hath the one half of the profit of the archbishopric of Toledo, and is promised the whole after the death of the now bishop; an estate worth 300,000 crowns a year.

The fifth, don Thomaso, with whom the mother the lady Catharine of Austria died, a prince of fifteen years of age;

and hath also a pension out of Spain, but hath not yet acquired any particular title.

For his four daughters, the eldest, a very goodly, wise, and virtuous lady, is yet unmarried.

The second is married to the duke of Mantua.

The third is married to the first son to the duke of Modena and Reggio, bastard son to the duke of Ferrara, that last died without lawful heirs male, whereby Ferrara was escheated to the pope.

The youngest, the lady Catharine, is yet undisposed.

Here it is easy to judge, whether the duke of Savoy will abandon all these pensions and preferments, and enter into a war with the king of Spain for the duchy of Milan, or for the quarrel of any other prince; seeing Milan itself, when it was a duchy apart, was ever a principality of greater force than Savoy and Piedmont. To think that they can be assisted by us, they have, as I believe, by far exceeded their commission that have given him that hope: for if England itself quarrel with Spain, it must of necessity maintain the war by the war; as the Netherlands did, after they lost the trade with Spain, and as we ourselves did in our late queen's time. If it be against France that the duke pretends, he cannot forget yet how Francis I. thrust him out of all he had, because he refused him a passage into Italy, when Charles I. that great emperor, and king of Spain, sought to defend him; and that the late king Henry IV. took from the duke now living Bourg in Bresse, with the territories, and forced him to come to Paris in person to buy his peace. I say, they are betrayed by their own ignorance, that persuade themselves that Savoy dare lift up her hands against either of these two kings; against Spain, without the help of France; or against France, without the assistance of such a league or civil war, as the house of Lorrain made and moved in the year 1585, against Henry III. and afterwards against Henry IV. at which time the duke of Savoy recovered the marquisate of Salluces.

Thirdly, For the obtaining of Geneva, I am persuaded

that his majesty will never be a party in that enterprise. And if the duke should offer it to our king, he might well answer him, as Alexander did Darius, that the gift of those things that are not in our possession is not thankworthy: and were it his to give, how shall his majesty keep it so far off? seeing the Brill and Flushing, seated so near us, are in such sort ours, as the Hollanders and Zealanders may thrust us out of them when they please, those places being daily enlarged and increased with people and power; and our garrisons, if they do not diminish, increase not.

For the fourth, that the duke hath a desire (and it may be that is his ambition) to see his daughter a great queen, and to be on one side the parent of the kings of England.

For the first, I am of opinion that his daughter will be a very old lady ere that come to pass; for his majesty, being subject to no sickness, is by God's favour like to live long. For the other, it cannot be doubted, seeing the mother of this daughter had nine children in nine years, but the duke's sons may call our kings cousins.

Now the third consideration is, of what use the match of Savoy may be to us.

First, it may be said, that for want of heirs-male the principality may fall to our prince, or to his. I confess it possible; but there is no hope that the prince can have it, being so far off; for the duke hath four sons yet living: and if these fail, yet were there any collateral heir-male in the world to be found, he should be sure of the assistance of Spain, Naples, Milan, and the pope, and of the strength the provinces of the Netherlands under the archduke can assemble. And therefore, as the state of things doth now stand in the world, the expectation is nothing worth. Francis I. that had right to it by his mother, quitted it. Ireland is near us, and in our sight, and yet have we often wished it in the bottom of the sea: for having been governed neither as a country conquered, nor free, it hath served us but as a grave for our best captains and soldiers, and for conduits to draw from us the greatest part of all

our provisions and treasure. The Low Countries and Ireland have beggared England and Spain.

If then the hope of principality be not great, what is there else that our king and prince can expect from Savoy? You will say, assistance against our enemies. Certainly, if the king had a quarrel against Spain or France, the duke knows not how to help us in either; for if he declare himself against Spain, Milan would easily waste or master all Piedmont; if against France, the frontier countries of Provence, Dauphiné, Lyons, and Bresse, are stronger than he. Against the pope, all the world knows that he dares not stir; and our king hath no enemy so malicious as that prelate. For the emperor, of all others, he cannot move against him: for whatever his own lawyers may say, and whatever has been concluded in his own parliaments, yet Felinus, and others excellently learned, make him a fedary prince of the empire: and both Adolph and Winceslaus were deposed; and Bodin doth not acknowledge the emperor himself for an absolute sovereign, but for the sovereign officer of the empire. And therefore, for the wrong they did, and for abusing their authority, did the states of the empire, in whom the sovereignty resideth, depose that Adolph and Winceslaus; and if the emperor be not a sovereign, much less he that holdeth of the empire: *Sovereigne est celui, qui ne recognôit point de superieur*; "A sovereign "is he that acknowledgeth no superior." But he that is the emperor's vicar in his own territory acknowledgeth a superior; the word *vicar* importing as much as lieutenant, or deputy.

The earldom of Savoy was one of the four earldoms of the empire; and so it continued well-near four hundred years, from the time of Henry the Fifth till the time of Sigismund; who at the council of Constance made the earls of Savoy dukes. And it is no longer since than the time of Charles, this man's grandfather, that after he had taken his oath to the emperor, within two years after, he made suit to have the form of his allegiance altered. If the king had quarrel against any other state or prince of the Romish

religion, the pope would presently style the war catholic, and curse and excommunicate all princes and states, subject to the see of Rome, that should offer us assistance.

The little princes of Italy have not that daring that they had in former time; when Philip Visconti, Fortibraccio, Francis Sforza, and other lords and commonwealths, invaded the territories of the church, and enforced the Romans themselves to thrust the pope Eugenius out of Rome, to save their city from sacking. No, the great king of Spain will not now offend his holiness; for the pope, in favour of Philip II. because he was wasted in a war against the Lutherans, cut off by his authority I know not how many millions of his debts to the Genoese. The pope hath given him in favour all the pardons which are sent to the Indies, worth to the king a million every year; he giveth to him the collation of the benefices and bishoprics; he suffered him to enjoy the rich orders of Calatrava and St. James; he gives him the service of the Jesuits, assassins, to murder all kings and princes his enemies; witness William of Nassau, prince of Orange, Henry III. and IV. of France. Proportionally hath the duke of Savoy many benefits from the pope. His son Victorio hath received from him the cardinal's hat: cardinal Aldobrandino, nephew to Clement the Eighth, hath purchased Racense in Piedmont of the duke; after whose death that rich territory must fall to the church, if the pope of his grace doth not confer it upon the duke.

In brief, the duke is so tied to the see of Rome, both by religion and benefit, as he can be no more separate from it and subsist, than the body of man be from his soul and live.

What then remains of profit to our prince by this alliance? A sum of money and a beautiful lady: for beauty was never so cheap in any age, and it is ever better loved in the hope, than when it is had. For the million of crowns offered, which makes but two of our subsidies, I speak it confidently, when all those dukes, lords, and great ladies, which will attend the princess in her passage hither, shall

be all presented with gifts according to their degrees and the king's honour; when the preparations, triumphs, and feastings, are paid for; there will nothing remain but a great increase of charge, and perchance a great deal of melancholy.

If then, by the duke of Savoy, we can neither strengthen or enrich ourselves; let us see who they are that for the present we have cause to fear, and against whom we have need of assistance. There are but two princes that the king hath cause to look after; to wit, France and Spain. As for the archduke, the States, for their own interest, will attend him.

In France, his majesty hath a party strong enough, both of his own allies and of the religion: at least he is sure, that, during the king's minority, the queen will keep all quiet, if she can.

For Spain, it is a proverb of their own, that the lion is not so fierce as he is painted. His forces in all parts of the world (but the Low Countries) are far under the fame: and if the late queen would have believed her men of war, as she did her scribes, we had in her time beaten that great empire in pieces, and made their kings kings of figs and oranges, as in old times. But her majesty did all by halves, and by petty invasions taught the Spaniard how to defend himself, and to see his own weakness; which, till our attempts taught him, was hardly known to himself.

Four thousand men would have taken from him all the ports of his Indies; I mean all his ports, by which his treasure doth or can pass. He is more hated in that part of the world by the sons of the conquered, than the English are by the Irish. We were too strong for him by sea; and had the Hollanders to help us, who are now strongest of all. Yea, in eighty-eight, when he made his great and fearful fleet, if the queen would have hearkened to reason, we had burnt all his ships and preparations in his own ports, as we did afterwards upon the same intelligence and doubt in Cadiz.

He, that knows him not, fears him; but excepting his

Low Country army, which hath been continued and disciplined since Charles the Fifth's time, he is no where strong. They are but fables spoken of him elsewhere; and what can the Low Country's army do, if the Indies pay them not, but mutiny and spoil his own territories, as they have often done, and of late years, almost to the ruin of the archduke? But perchance you will say, that being combined with France, he is now more powerful than ever. It is true, if France and Spain were married together, as their princes are; or if these marriages were not more politic than faithful. The French and Spanish will never agree, that either of them shall overmuch endanger England, if it were in their power so to do.

When the emperor Charles V. the king of England, the pope, and most princes of Italy had made a league against Francis I. as soon as he was taken prisoner at Pavia, some of them fell presently off, and the rest made a league against the emperor to save France.

Kings are not like private men: they forsake not one another in adversity, though not for their sakes perchance that are oppressed, but for their own; because they fear the surmounting greatness of any one. What they may do by the preservation of the Jesuits for matters of religion, I do not know; but these marriages of France and Spain may vanish away in smoke, as many of them have done heretofore, when they have been as solemnly confirmed and sworn unto as these are.

However it be, the queen of France hath reason to keep all quiet during the minority of the king her son, and till such time he be able to draw his own sword. The Austrians have oftentimes overreached France, and made them children with the marriages of children; and therefore made the time more fruitful for their affairs than the daughters of France.

The French at this time may, for ought we know, pay them with the like coin; for it was well said by Machiavel in his Florentine History, *Intra gl' huomini, chi aspirano a una medessima grandezza, si puo facilmente far parentado,*

*ma non amicitia:* "Between men that aspire to one and "the same greatness alliance may easily be made, not "friendship."

Now the fourth part of this division is the consideration of the inconveniences in general.

At first, if we join in amity with Savoy, we lose all the protestant cantons, and break the hearts of the people of Geneva, which our late queen greatly favoured and relieved; which all the German protestant princes cherish; which the king of France, though of a contrary religion, hath ever protected. The duke of Savoy will ever be an enemy to their commonwealth, and they to him. Interest of dominion and religion will for ever separate them, till one be master.

Secondly, That, which is a matter of the greatest importance that our state can look after, we shall by this means increase the jealousies of the Netherlands. They began to cool towards us when we made peace without them, which enforced them to make a long truce. They were the last that put down arms; and though they compounded upon the greatest disadvantage, France and England having first compounded, yet they made a far more noble peace with Spain than we did.

Since that time they have neglected us by degrees. Let us look to it with all the eyes we have; for to which of the three those people fasten themselves, as either to England, France, or Spain, he that hath them will become the greatest, and give the law to the rest. If any man doubt it, he knows not much; but this hath been our own fault, and the detested covetousness of some great ones of ours. For whereas in my time, I have known one of her majesty's ships command forty of theirs to strike sail, they will now take us one to one, and not give us a good-morrow; they master us both in their number and in their mariners; and they have our own ordnance to break our own bones withal. We had good reason to help them, but not to set them up to that height, as to make them able to tread upon our own heads.

Henry IV. of England gave assistance to the faction of Burgundy against Orleans; but as soon as he found that Orleans began to sink, he drew his sword on the weaker side; but *de præteritis non est consilium:* there is no counsel of things past, other than how to prevent the like, the like occasions arising.

For the last, the match with Savoy divides us from France. The narrow seas cannot so much sunder us, as that alliance will do. It dissolves their hope; and whereas now they are fastened to Spain but with cords of cobweb, they will then perchance chain themselves with steel.

You will then ask me, where the prince shall marry? Neither in Savoy nor in Florence; for the money received from either being told, you have told the best of the tale for them. Not to object what I have heard hath been objected against those princes, that they are meanly descended; for the Medici were ancient, and ancient in virtue and fame. It is true, that long agone they were merchants; and so was king Solomon too. The kings in old times had their herdsmen, their shepherds, and their ploughmen; they traded with nature and with the earth; a trade by which all that breathe upon the earth live. All the nobility and gentry in Europe trade their grass, and corn, and cattle, their vines and their fruits: they trade them to their tenants at home, and other merchants adventure them abroad.

The king of Spain is now the greatest merchant: the king of Portugal was. The kings of France are twice come out of the Florentines, and therefore their supposed ignobility cannot disvalue them; but, as I have said already, they can give us but money, and the sum is but the same which the Savoyan hath offered. If you ask me, if I like of any German lady? I say, that I like it well enough in respect of the nation, who are just, and free from treachery: but the match between the palatine of the Rhine and the lady Elizabeth will make us strong enough in Germany, and, by reason of his alliance with the house of Nassau, better assured of the Netherlands than we were. But as the merchant doth not hazard all his estate in one vessel, no

more do well-advised princes lay all their hopes on one nation.

Now, if, by these dislikes of the former alliances, you make judgment, that it is my desire that the prince should not marry at all; I say, my desire is not, that he should not marry at all, but not as yet; and I am exceeding sorry the prince hath not the same desire. For, seeing his majesty is yet but young, and by God's favour like to live very many years; and that his highness, if he should now marry, may have many children born unto him before he be thirty years old; and seeing all his children shall be princes, and must be provided for as princes; I think it will much perplex him to find himself so environed, till his majesty have somewhat repaired his estate, and provided beautiful gardens fit to plant those olive-branches in. While the prince is unmarried, all the eyes of Christendom are upon him; for with what king soever he shall be balanced, he will cast the scale; but to have him weighed with a little prince, I should be sorry, and he himself will be as sorry after.

All the princes in Christendom wooed Charles duke of Burgundy, while his daughter was unmarried; and while our prince is free, (our enemies not knowing on what ground to build their practices,) his majesty's safety in the mean while will be infinitely more assured; but the prince once disposed of, they will presently muster our forces, measure our fortunes, sound us to the bottom, and make their approaches accordingly: they will then say we have seen the utmost of the prince of Wales.

Seeing therefore we have nothing yet in hand; seeing there is nothing moves; seeing the world is yet in a slumber, and that this long calm will shortly break out in some terrible tempest; I would advise the prince to keep his own ground for a while, and no way to engage or entangle himself. While he is yet free, all have hope; but a great deal of malice will follow us after he is had, from those that have been refused. We shall say, *Manebit* (though it mar the verse) *alta mente repostum*

*Judicium Paridis spretæque injuria formæ.*

"He that hath been sought by many, and hath refused "many, shall be hated by many."

I should therefore wish, that the prince were fastened to such a party, when he is fastened, as could best sustain it. And seeing there is none but a catholic lady for us, let us have a king on our side to boot. If you object the daughter of France is too young, I hope the prince doth not find himself too old to tarry a while; and for any reason that I know to the contrary, if money be the matter, it may be had in the mean while. This match, I say, will give the new league such an alarm, as they will hardly know how to cover themselves in their own trenches.

There was never nation had so much cause to hate another, as France hath to hate Spain. They hold from him the kingdom of Navarre, without so much as the colour of a title: they betrayed him in Naples, and did not overcome their army there, but murdered it after a peace proclaimed. They hold Milan from them by strong hand; and after that Charles V. (to have leave to pass through France into Flanders to pacify the tumults of Ghent) had promised the French king to restore it, the emperor derided him, and said, that he promised him Milan, which is the French word for a kite. They have betrayed them in many offers of marriages; they poisoned the dauphin at Viennoys; they have murdered their ambassadors; they displanted them in Florida, and, contrary to faith, killed the possessors in cold blood. They tore Strozza in pieces at Terceres; they set the subjects of Henry III. and Henry IV. against them; they invaded France, possessed Paris, and most of the cities of France, and, in conclusion, practised to murder both these kings. Now if these injuries be not far more memorable than marriageable, let the world judge. On the contrary, against us the French have no pretence. They hold from us that which we never had from them but by our lawful inheritance, yet did her majesty assist them in all their extremities; and as all her majesty's ancestors have been most constant friends unto them, so did king James V.

send 16,000 of his nation to succour Francis I. when the emperor invaded Provence.

If therefore our prince shall also take a daughter of France, (the lady promised to Spain being yet taken but in terms,) we may well assure ourselves, if there remains virtue in nobility, or gratitude in the French nation, that the queen of France will make great difference between her sons-in-law; and the king of France between his brother-in-law of England and Spain.

By holding France, we hold the Low Countries, which will make us invincible; for they dare not abandon us both. On the contrary, although these princes, apart and disunited, are not (as before is said) to be feared; yet were it a needless hazard to neglect the love of France, and to sustain the hatred of the archduke, of the pope, and of the king of Spain: a hatred more than immortal (if more can be) to our nation and state. The wounds are too many and too deep, that we have given them, to be healed with the plaister of a peace. And herein the different affections of these two nations were made manifest; that the Spaniards did utterly shun, and the French did earnestly seek, the love of our prince.

If then the former princes shall combine against us, from whom may we hope for help? If it be from Savoy, or Florence, God help us! our friends inhabit beyond the mountains; our enemies hard at hand. We leave those that are strongest and nearest us, for those that are weakest and furthest off. We leave those that can help us or harm us, for those that can do neither; those we leave that depend on themselves, to wit, the French, for those that depend on others, to wit, the Savoyans and Florentines.

# A DISCOURSE

OF THE

## ORIGINAL AND FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE

OF

## NATURAL, ARBITRARY, NECESSARY, AND UNNATURAL WAR.

THE ordinary theme and argument of history is war; which may be defined the exercise of violence under sovereign command against withstanders; force, authority, and resistance, being the essential parts thereof. Violence limited by authority is sufficiently distinguished from robbery, and the like outrages; yet consisting in relation towards others, it necessarily requires a supposition of resistance; whereby the force of war becomes different from the violence inflicted upon slaves, or yielding malefactors. As for arms, discipline, and whatsoever else belongeth to the making of war prosperous, they are only considerable in their degree of perfection; since naked savages fighting disorderly with stones, by appointment of their commanders, may truly and absolutely be said to war. Nevertheless, it is true, that as the beasts are armed with fierce teeth, paws, horns, and other bodily instruments, of much advantage against unweaponed men: so hath reason taught man to strengthen his hand with such offensive arms, as no creature else can well avoid, or possibly resist. And it might seem happy if the sword, the arrow, the gun, with many terrible engines of death, could be wholly employed in the exercise of that lordly rule which the Lord of all hath given to mankind over the rest of living things. But since in human reason there hath no means been found of holding all mankind at peace within itself; it is needful that against

the wit and subtlety of man we oppose, not only the brute force of our bodies, (wherein many beasts exceed us,) but, helping our strength with art and wisdom, strive to excel our enemies in those points wherein man is excellent over other creatures.

The necessity of war, which among human actions is the most lawless, hath some kind of affinity and near resemblance with the necessity of law: for there were no use either of war or of law, if every man had prudence to conceive how much of right were due both to and from himself; and were withal so punctually just as to perform what he knows requisite, and to rest contented with his own: but seeing our conveyances of land cannot be made so strong by any skill of lawyers, without multiplicity of clauses and provisos, that it may be secure from contentions, avarice, and the malice of false seeming justice; it is not to be wondered that the great charter, whereby God bestowed the whole earth upon Adam [a], and confirmed it unto the sons of Noah, being as brief in words, as large in effect, hath bred much quarrel of interpretation.

Surely, howsoever the letter of that donation may be unregarded by the most of men; yet the sense thereof is so imprinted in their hearts, and so passionately embraced by their greedy desires, as if every one laid claim for himself unto that which was conferred upon all.

This appeared in the Gauls falling upon Italy under their captain Brennus, who told the Roman ambassador plainly, "That prevalent arms were as good as any title; "and that valiant men might account to be their own "as much as they could get: that these wanting land "wherewith to sustain their people, and the Tatienses hav-"ing more than enough, it was their meaning to take what "they needed by strong hand, if it were not yielded "quietly."

Now if it be well affirmed by lawyers, that there is no taking of possession more just than in *vacuum venire*, to enter upon land uninhabited, (as our countrymen have lately

[a] Gen. i. 28.

done in the Summer Islands;) then may it be inferred, that this demand of the Gauls held more of reason than could be discerned at the first view.

For if the title of occupiers be good in land unpeopled, why should it be bad accounted in a country peopled over thinly? Should one family, or one thousand, hold possession of all the southern undiscovered continent, because they had seated themselves in Nova Guiana, or about the straits of Magellan? Why might not then the like be done in Afric, in Europe, and in Asia? If these were most absurd to imagine, let then any man's wisdom determine, by lessening the territory, and increasing the number of inhabitants, what proportion is requisite to the peopling of a region in such manner, that the land shall neither be too narrow for those whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater multitude? Until this can be concluded and agreed upon, one main and fundamental cause of the most grievous war that can be imagined is not like to be taken from the earth.

It was perhaps enough in reason, to succour with victuals and other helps a vast multitude compelled by necessity to seek a new seat, or to direct them to a country able to receive them. But what shall persuade a mighty nation to travel so far by land or sea, over mountains, deserts, and great rivers, with their wives and children, when they are (or think themselves) powerful enough to serve themselves nearer hand, and enforce others unto the labour of such a journey. [b] I have briefly shewed in another work, that the miseries accompanying this kind of war are most extreme: forasmuch as the invaders cannot otherwise be satisfied than by rooting out or expelling the nation upon whom they fall.

And although the uncertainty of the tenure by which all worldly things are held ministers very unpleasant meditation; yet it is most certain, that within 1,200 years last past, all, or the most part of kingdoms to us known, have truly felt the calamities of such forcible transplantations; being either overwhelmed by new colonies that fell upon them, or driven,

[b] Gen. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

as one wave is driven by another, to seek new seats, having lost their own.

Our western parts of Europe, indeed, have great cause to rejoice, and give praise to God, for that we have been free above 600 years from such inundations as were those of the Goths and Vandals; yea, from such as were those of our own ancestors, the Saxons, Danes, and Normans: but howsoever we have, together with the feeling, lost the memory of such wretchedness as our forefathers endured by those wars; (of all others the most cruel;) yet are there few kingdoms in all Asia that have not been ruined by such overflowing multitudes within the same space of these last 600 years.

It were an endless labour to tell how the Turks and Tartars, falling like locusts upon that quarter of the world, having spoiled everywhere, and in most places eaten up all by the roots, consuming (together with the princes formerly reigning, and a world of people) the very names, language, and memory of former times. Suffice it, that when any country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it, there is a natural necessity compelling it to disburden itself, and lay the load upon others, by right or wrong; for (to omit the danger of pestilence, often visiting them which live in throngs) there is no misery that urgeth men so violently unto desperate courses and contempt of death, as the torments and threats of famine: wherefore the war that is grounded upon this general remediless necessity may be termed the general and remediless, or necessary war.

Against which, that our country is better provided, as may be shewed hereafter, than any civil nation to us known, we ought to hold it a great blessing of God, and carefully retain the advantages he hath given us.

Besides, this remediless, or necessary war, which is not frequent, there is a war voluntary and customable, unto which the offended party is not compelled: and this customary war, which troubleth all the world, giveth little respite or breathing-time of peace, and doth usually borrow

pretence from the necessity, to make itself appear more honest; for covetous ambition thinking all too little which at present it hath, supposeth itself to stand in need of all which it hath not.

Wherefore if two bordering princes have their territories meeting in an open campaign, the more mighty will continually seek occasion to extend his limits to the further border thereof.

If they be divided by mountains, they will fight for the mastery of the passage of the tops, and finally for the towns that stand upon the roots.

If rivers run between them, they contend for the bridges; and think themselves not well assured, until they have fortified the further bank.

Yea, the sea itself must be very broad, barren of fish, and void of little islands interjacent, else will it yield plentiful argument of quarrel to the kingdoms which it serveth: all this proceeds from desire of having; and such desire from fear of want.

Hereunto may be added, that in these arbitrary wars, there is commonly to be found some small measure of necessity, though it seldom be observed; perhaps, because it extendeth not so far as to become public: for where many younger sons, of younger brothers, have neither lands nor means to uphold themselves; and where many men of trade, or useful profession, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of employ, there can it not be avoided, but that the whole body of the state (howsoever otherwise healthfully disposed) should suffer anguish by the grievance of these ill-affected members.

It sufficeth not that the country hath wherewith to sustain even more than lives upon it, if means be wanting whereby to drive convenient participation of the general store into a great number of well deservers.

In such cases there will be complaining, commiseration, and finally murmur, (as men are apt to lay the blame of those evils whereof they know not the ground upon public misgo-

vernment,) unless order be taken for some redress by the sword, of injury supposed to be done by foreigners; whereto the discontented sort give commonly a willing ear: and in this regard I think it was that the great cardinal, Francis de Amiens, who governed Spain in the minority of Charles V. hearing tell that 8,000 Spaniards were lost in the enterprise of Algiers, under don Diego de Vera, made light of the matter, affirming, "that Spain stood in need "of such evacuations." Foreign war serving (as king Ferdinand had wont so say) "like a potion of rhubarb, to "waste away choler from the body of the realm."

Certainly, among all kingdoms of the earth, we shall scarce find any that stand in less need than Spain of having the veins opened by an enemy's sword; the many colonies it sends abroad so well preserving it from swelling humours: yet is not that country thereby dispeopled, but maintaineth still growing upon it (like a tree from whom plants have been taken to fill whole orchards) as many as it can well nourish.

And to say what I think; if our king Edward III. had prospered in his French wars, and peopled with English the towns which he won, as he began at Calais, driving out the French; the kings (as his successors) holding the same course, would by this time have filled all France with our nation, without any notable emptying of this island.

The like may be affirmed upon like suspicion of the French in Italy, or almost of any others; as having been verified by the Saxons in England, and Arabians in Barbary. What is then become of so huge a multitude, as would have overspread a great part of the continent? Surely, they died not of old age, nor went out of the world by the ordinary ways of nature; but famine and contagious distempers, the sword, the halter, and a thousand mischiefs have consumed them. Yea, of many of them perhaps children were never born; for they that want means to nourish children will abstain from marriage; or (which is all one) they cast away their bodies upon rich old women; or

otherwise make unequal or unhealthy matches for gain; or because of poverty they think it a blessing, which in nature is a curse, to have their wives barren.

Were it not thus, arithmetical progression might easily demonstrate how fast mankind would increase in multitude, overpassing (as miraculous, though indeed natural) the examples of the Israelites, who were multiplied in 215 years from 70 unto 600,000 able men. Hence we may observe, that the very progression of our kind hath with it a strong incentive even of those daily wars which afflict the whole earth. And that princes, excusing their drawing the sword by devised pretences of necessity, speak often more truly than they are aware; there being indeed a great necessity, though not apparent, as not extending to the generality, but resting upon private heads.

Wherefore other cause of war, merely natural, there is none: the want of room upon the earth, which pincheth the whole nation, begets the remediless war; vexing only some number of particulars, it draws on the arbitrary. But to the kindling of arbitrary war there are many other motives. The most honest of these is fear of harm, and prevention of danger; this is just, and taught by nature, which labours more strongly in removing evil, than in pursuit of what is requisite unto good: nevertheless, because war cannot be without natural violence, it is manifest, that allegation of danger and fear serves only to excuse the suffering party, the wrong-doer being carried by his own will; so that war thus caused proceeds from nature not altogether, but in part.

A second motive is revenge of injury sustained. This might be avoided, if all men could be honest, otherwise not; for princes must give protection to their subjects and adherents, when worthy occasion shall require it, else they will be held unworthy and insufficient; than which there can be to them no greater peril.

Wherefore Cæsar, in all deliberations where difficulties and dangers threatened on one side, and the opinion that there should be in him *parum præsidii*, little safeguard

for his friends, was doubted on the other side, always chose rather to venture upon extremities, than to have it thought that he was a weak protector: yea, by such maintenance of their dependants, many noblemen, in all forms of government, and within every man's memory, have kept themselves in greatness with little help of any other virtue.

Neither have mere tyrants been altogether careless to maintain, free from oppression of strangers, those subjects of theirs whom themselves have most basely esteemed, and used as no better than slaves; for there is no master that can expect good service from his bondslaves, if he suffers them to be beaten, and daily ill-treated by other men. To remedy this, it were needful that justice should every where be duly administered, as well to strangers as to denizens. But, contrariwise, we find, that in many countries, (as Muscovy, and the like,) the laws, or administration of them is so far from giving satisfaction to strangers, as they fill the general voice of them with complaints and exclamations.

Sir Thomas Moor said, (whether more pleasantly or truly, I know not,) "that a trick of law had no less power "than the wheel of fortune, to lift men up, or to cast them "down."

Certainly, with more patience men are wont to endure the loss that befell them by mere casualty, than the damage they sustain by means of injustice; because these are accompanied with sense of indignity, whereof the other are free. When robbers break into men's houses and spoil them, they tell the owners plainly, that money they want, and money they must have. But when a judge, corrupted by reward, hatred, favour, or any other passion, takes both house and land from the rightful owner, and bestows them upon some friend of his own, or his favourite, he says, that the rule of justice will have it so; that it is the voice of the law and ordinance of God himself: and what else herein doth he, than, by a kind of circumlocution, tell his humble suppliants, that he holds them idiots, or base wretches, not able to get relief? Must it not astonish, and withal vex any man of a free spirit, when he sees none other difference be-

tween the judge and the thief, than in the manner of performing of their exploits; as if the whole being of justice consisted in point of formality? In such case, an honest subject will either seek remedy by ordinary courses, or wait his time till God shall place better men in office, and call the oppressors to account. But a stranger will not do so; he hath nothing to do with the affairs of Barbary, neither concerns it him what officers be placed or displaced in Taradante, or whether Mulisidian himself can contain the kingdom; his ship and goods are unjustly taken from him, and therefore he will seek leave to right himself if he can, and return the injury tenfold upon the whole nation from which he received it. Truth is, that men are sooner weary to dance attendance at the gates of foreign lords, than to tarry the good leisure of their own magistrates; nor do they bear so quietly the loss of some parcel confiscate abroad, as the greater detriment which they suffer by some prowling vice-admiral, customer, or public minister, at their return.

Whether this proceed from the reverence which some men yield to their governors, I will not define; or whether excess of trouble in following their causes from home; or whether from despair of such redress as may be expected in their own country, in the hoped reformation of disorders; or whether from their more unwillingness to disturb the domestical than the foreign quiet by loud exclaimings; or whether, perhaps, their not daring to mutter against their own rulers for injustice (though it were shameful) for fear of faring worse, and for being punished for *scandalum magnatum*, as scandalers of men in authority: whencesoever it comes, as there can be but one allegiance, so men are apt to serve no more than they needs must; according to that of the slave, in the old comedy, *Non sum servus publicus:* "My master bought me for himself; and I am not every "man's man." And this opinion there is no prince unwilling to maintain in his own subjects; yea, such as are most rigorous to their own, do never find it safe to be better unto strangers; because it were a matter of dangerous conse-

quence, that the people should think all other nations to be in a better case than themselves.

The brief is, oppression, in many places, wears the robe of justice, which domineering over the natives may not spare strangers; and strangers will not endure, but cry out unto their own lords for relief by the sword. Wherefore this motive of revenging injuries is very strong, though it merely consist in the will of man, without any enforcement of nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is usually concurring with it a hopeful expectation of gain; for of the amends recovered, little or nothing returns to those that have suffered the wrong; but commonly all runs into the prince's coffers.

Such examples as was that of our late queen Elizabeth [a], of famous memory, are very rare: her majesty, when the goods of our English merchants were attacked by the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, and by king Philip in Spain, arrested likewise the goods of the Low Dutch, here in England, that amounted to a greater value: neither was she contented that her subjects should right themselves, as well as they could upon the Spaniards by sea; but having brought king Philip within four or five years [b] to better reason, though not so far as to restitution, she satisfied her own merchants to the full for all their losses, out of the Dutchmen's goods, and gave back to the duke what was remaining.

This, among many thousands of her royal deeds, made her glorious in all nations; but though it caused even strangers, in their speeches and writings, to extol her princely justice to the skies, yet served it not for a precedent for others of less virtue to follow.

It were more costly to take pattern from those acts which gave immortal renown to that great queen, than to imitate the thrifty dealing of that Spanish duke in the selfsame business, who kept all to his own use, or his master's, restoring to the poor Dutch merchants not one penny. It

[a] Anno 1569. [b] Anno 1573.

falls out many times, indeed, that a prince is driven to spend far more of his treasure in punishing by war the wrongs of his people, than the loss of his people do amount unto. In such cases, it is reason that he satisfy himself, and let the people (whereto commonly they are apt) rest contented with the sweetness of revenge.

But when victory makes large amends for all, it royally becomes a prince to satisfy those for whose satisfaction he undertook the war: far besides the purpose it were now, to teach how victory should be used, or the gains thereof communicated to the general content; this being only brought in to shew, that the profit thereby gotten is a strong provocation to the redress of injuries by the sword.

As for the redress of injuries done unto princes themselves, it may conveniently (though not always, for it were miserable injustice to deny leave to princes of maintaining their honour) be reserved unto the third motive of arbitrary wars, which is mere ambition.

This is and ever hath been the true cause of more wars than have troubled the world upon all other occasions whatsoever; though it least partake of nature, and urgent necessity of state. I call not here alone by the name of ambition that vain-glorious humour, which openly professeth to be none other, and vaunts itself as an imperial virtue; for the examples are not many of that kind: but where occasion of war is greedily sought, or being very slight is gladly entertained, (for that increase of dominion is hoped thereby,) we should rather impute the war to the scope at which it aimeth, than to any idle cause pretended.

The Romans feared lest they of Carthage, by winning Messina, should soon get the mastery over all Sicily, and have a fair entrance at pleasure into Italy; which to prevent, they made war upon the Carthaginians. This fear I call ambition: had they not trusted in their own arms, hoping thereby to enlarge their empire, but been weaker, and more afraid indeed, they would have feared less.

For colour of this war they took the Mamertines, a crew of thieves and cutthroats, into their protection, whom

being their associates they must needs defend; but had not their ambition been mightier than their justice, they would have endeavoured to punish the Mamertines, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like examples; *Know ye not*, said Ahab, *that Ramoth-Gilead is ours?* He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till opinion of his forces made him look unto his right: and of this nature (though some worse than other in degree) are claims of old forgotten tribute; or of some acknowledgments, due, perhaps, to the ancestors of a vanquished king, and long after challenged by the heirs of the conqueror. Broken titles to kingdoms or provinces, maintenance of friends and partizans, pretended wrongs, and indeed whatsoever it pleaseth him to allege, that thinks his own sword sharpest. But of old time, perhaps, before Helen of Greece was born, women have been the common argument of these tragedies; as of late ages in our parts of the world, since the names of the Guelfs and Ghibelines were heard, the rights of St. Peter, that is, the pope's revenues and authority: this last, and others of the same kind, I know not how patiently they will endure to be ranged amongst ambitious quarrellers; for the war that hath such foundations will not only be imputed free from worldly ambition, just, and honourable, but holy and meritorious, having thereto belonging pardon of sins, release from purgatory, and the promise of the life to come, as may be seen in the pope's croisada.

The truth is, that the Saracens affirm no less of the wars which they make against Christians, or which arise betwixt themselves from difference of sect; and if every man had his due, I think, that the honour of devising first this doctrine (viz. that religion ought to be enforced upon men by the sword) would be found appertaining to Mahomet the false prophet. Sure it is, that he, and the caliphs following him, obtained thereby, in short space, a mighty empire, which was in a fair way to have enlarged itself, until they fell out amongst themselves; not for the kingdom of heaven, but for dominion upon earth: and against this did the popes, when their authority grew powerful in the west,

incite the princes of Germany, England, France, and Italy; their chief enterprise was the recovery of the Holy Land, in which worthy but extreme difficult action, it is lamentable to remember what abundance of noble blood hath been shed, with very small benefit to the Christian state.

The recovery of Spain, whereof the better part was then in bondage of the Saracens, had been a work more available to the men of Europe, more easily maintained with supply, more aptly serving to advance any following enterprise upon kingdoms further removed, more free from hazard, and requiring less expense of blood; but the honourable piety of the undertakers could not be terrified by the face of danger, nor diverted from this to a more commodious business, by any motives of profit or facility; for the pulpit did sound in every church with the praises of that voyage; as it were a matter far less highly pleasing unto God, to bear arms for defence of his truth against persecutors, or for the deliverance of poor Christians oppressed with slavery, than to fight for that selfsame land wherein our blessed Saviour was born and died. By such persuasions a marvellous number were excited to the conquest of Palestine; which with singular virtue they performed, though not without exceeding great loss of men, and held that kingdom some few generations.

But the climate of Syria, the far distance from the strength of Christendom, and the near neighbourhood of those who were the most puissant amongst the Mahometans, caused that famous enterprise, after a long continuance of a terrible war, to be quite abandoned.

The care of Jerusalem being laid aside, it was many times thought needful to repress the growing power of the Turk, by the joint forces of all the Christian kings and commonwealths; and hereto the popes have used much persuasions, and often published in their croisada pardon of sins to all that would adventure in a work so religious, yet have they effected little or nothing, and less perhaps are ever like to do; for it hath been their custom so shamefully

to misuse the fervent zeal of men to religious arms, by converting the monies which they have levied for such wars to their own services, and by stirring up Christians one against another; yea, against their own natural princes, under the like pretence of serving God and the church; that, finally, men waxed weary of their turbulent spirits, and would not believe that God was careful to maintain the pope in his quarrels, or that remission of sins past was to be obtained by committing more, and more grievous, at the instigation of his suspected holiness.

Questionless, there was great reason why all discreet princes should beware of yielding hasty belief to the robes of sanctimony.

It was the rule of our blessed Saviour, *By their works ye shall know them:* what the works of those that occupy the papacy have been, since the days of Pepin and Charlemaigne, who first enabled them with temporal donation, the Italian writers have testified at large. Yet were it needless to recite Machiavel, who hath recorded their doings, and is therefore the more hateful; or Guicciardin, whose works they have guelded, as not enduring to hear all that he hath written; though he spake enough in that which remains. What history shall we read, (except the Annals of Cæsar Baronius, and some books of friars and friarly parasites,) which, mentioning their acts, doth not leave witnesses of their ungodly dealings in all quarters?

How few kingdoms are there, if any, wherein, by dispensing with oaths, transferring the right of crowns, absolving subjects from allegiance, and cursing, and threatening to curse, so long as their curses were regarded, they have not wrought unprofitable mischiefs! The shameless denial hereof by some of their friends, and the more shameless justification by their flatterers, makes it needful to exemplify; which I had rather forbear, as not loving to deal in such contentious arguments, were it not folly to be modest in uttering what is known to all the world. Pity it is, that by such demeanour they have caused the church (as

Hierom Savanarolla, and before him Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, prophesied) to be propagated by the sword; but God would have it so.

How far the pope's blessing did sanctify the enterprise upon Jerusalem, it rests in every man's discretion to judge.

And for the honourable Christians which undertook that conquest, to justify their war they had not only the redress of injuries, and protection of their oppressed brethren, but the repelling of danger from their own land, threatened by those misbelievers whom they invaded.

If the pope's extortions (which were not more forcible than those of Peter the Hermit's) added spirit unto the action, yet altered they not the grounds of the war, nor made it the more holy. Let the indulgences of pope Leo the Tenth bear witness of this, who, out of politic fear of the Turk's violence, urged a religious contribution towards a war to be made upon them; the necessity of that which he propounded was greater, doubtless, than any that had persuaded the conquest of Palestine.

But too foul and manifest was the unholiness of obtruding upon men remission of sins for money; and the sums which pope Leo thereby raised and converted to his own use have made his successors losers by the bargain, even to this day.

Pope Pius II. formerly well known by the name of Æneus Sylvius, was deservedly reckoned amongst the few good popes of latter ages; who, nevertheless, in a war of the same religious nature, discovered the like (though not the same) imperfection. His purpose was to set upon Mahomet the Great, who had newly won the empire of Constantinople, and by carrying the war over into Greece, to prevent the danger threatening Italy.

In this action, highly commendable, he intended to hazard his own person, that so the more easily he might win adventurers, who else were like to be less forward, as not unacquainted with such Romish tricks; yet was not his own devotion so zealous in pursuit of this holy business, but that he would stay a while, and convert his forces against Malatesta, a lord of Rimini; letting Scanderberg wait his

leisure, who had already set the war on foot in Greece; for, said he, "we must first subdue the little Turk, before we "meddle with the great." He spake reason, if we regard policy, but attending only to religion, find we not that he held the chastisement of one which molested the see of Rome alike pleasing to God, as would have been the holy war against the common enemy of our Christian faith? So thought all the rest of those bishops, and so much more (upon their several occasions) declare themselves to think it, by how much they commonly were worse men than this Æneas Sylvius. And good reason was there that they should be of such belief, or endeavour to make the Christian world believe no otherwise; for the natural constitution of their estate (I mean since the age of Pepin and Charlemaigne, or the times not long before-going) hath urged them all hitherto; though peradventure some few popes may have been overruled by their own private nature, and thereby have swerved from the rule of policy.

To speak in general; whosoever hath dominion absolute over some one authority, less absolute over many more, will seek to draw those that are not wholly his own into entire subjection.

It fares with politic bodies as with physical; each would convert all into their own proper substance, and cast forth as excrements what will not be changed.

We need not cite Philip the father of Alexander, nor Philip the father of Perseus, kings of Macedon, for examples; of which the former brought the Thessalonians, the latter would have brought the Achaians, and many estates in Greece, from the condition of followers and dependants, into mere vassalage.

Philip II. of Spain is yet fresh in mind, who attempted the selfsame upon the Netherlands.

Exceptions may be framed here against this, out of the honest, quiet, or timorous disposition of some princes; yet that all, or the most, are thus inclined, both reason and experience teach; yea, even our cities and corporations here in England, such as need the protection of great men, com-

plain other whiles of their patrons' overmuch diligence, either in searching into their private estates, or behaving themselves masterlike in point of government. But never hath authority better means to enlarge itself, than when it is founded upon devotion; and yet never doth authority of this kind work to raise itself upon mere dominion, until it fall into the hands of those whose piety is more in seeming than in deed.

The Levitical priests, in the old law, never arrogated unto themselves any temporal or coercive power, nor advanced their mitres against the crown of Israel. They well understood what authority God had committed unto them, and rested therewithal content. Some wrangling hereabout hath been of late, the pope's flatterers labouring to prove, that the high priests of old were not subject to the kings of Judah; and men of better spirit and learning have shewed them the contrary.

But whatsoever befell in those days, when there was no king in Israel, that is, before the reign of Saul, or after the captivity of Babel; sure it is, that the sons of Aaron were always obedient to the sons of David, and acknowledged them their lords.

As for the race of the Maccabees, that held both the kingdom and the priesthood at once, it falls not within this consideration. The first thereof (of whom I read) that used the advantage of honour given him in matter of religion, towards the getting of temporal possessions, was, if not Mahomet himself, Abubeker the successor unto Mahomet: this man having obtained, by the help of friends, the miserable happiness of being chosen heir unto the foul impostor in his dignity of prophet, made it one of his first works to despoil poor Aliffe, the nephew of Mahomet, and heir of his great riches, taking all from him by this pretence, that to whom belonged the succession in wisdom, to him also belonged the succession in wealth: and this grew presently to be a famous question among the doctors of the Saracen law. But however it were then decided, we see how the mufti, or high prelate, who is the only oracle among

the Turks in spiritual matters, lives and holds all that he hath at the discretion of the great sultan. Nevertheless, it should seem that the doctrine of Abubeker hath not lost all force; for the examples are many in all Saracens' lands, of prophets or decemors, who, having got that name, never rested until they became kings.

The seriffe in Barbary was one of the last, who, having once acquired the opinion of a holy man, afterwards found means to become a captain, and lord of a small territory; and, finally, increased his followers, and withal his bounds, so fast and so far, as having made himself king of Morocco, he had the grace to tell the king of Fez, (lately his sovereign,) that both Fez and all the kingdoms of those parts were belonging to his own holiness: and this he made good by winning all soon after.

Whether the claim which the popes lay to the supremacy over all kingdoms and estates had not affinity with the doctrine of Abubeker, let other men judge. That their practices to maintain it have been suitable to those of the seriffe, all histories do verify.

For when pope Gregory II. procured the city of Rome, and some other places in Italy, to rebel against the emperor Leo III. what other colour used he, than that he himself had excommunicated Leo, as an ungodly prince, for breaking down images that were worshipped in churches; when for this reason Paul, the ex-arch, lieutenant unto the emperor, besieged Rome, with the assistance of Luitprand, king of the Lombards? By what other art did the pope remove the siege, than by persuading the Lombards with a tale of Peter and Paul, that had consecrated the city of Rome with their precious blood. Thus was devotion made the cloak for treason, and thus did the popes first slip their necks out of the emperor's collar.

Within very few years after this, by the like religious pretext, were those princes of France, Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemaign, won to assist the papacy against the Lombards; yea, to give unto St. Peter the most part of those lands which the pope now holds in Italy, and not re-

store them to the emperor, from whom the Lombards had gotten them; and thereunto Pepin was persuaded for his soul's health.

Yet had pope Zachary, through the opinion that went of his holiness, done a notable good office for Pepin before, when he released the Frenchmen of their oath to king Chilperick, and was the cause that Pepin was chosen in his stead, by saying, that rather he should be king who did the king's duty, than he who did it not.

In like manner did pope Leo recompense the benefits of Charlemaign, by setting him up as emperor in the west against those of Constantinople. But in these mutual offices the bishops did only help, with grateful words, to adorn that might which Pepin and Charlemaign had before acquired; whereas those kings used force of arms to erect the papacy into a principality, that was yet held in a vassalage unto themselves.

Now this could not satisfy the ambition of that see, which gloried falsely to be the holy see apostolic: for as the reputation of the Roman prelates grew up in those blind ages, under the western emperors, much faster than true piety could cause it in former times, when better learning had flourished; so grew up in them withal a desire of amplifying their power, that they might be as great in temporal forces, as men's opinions had formed them in spiritual matters. Immediately, therefore, upon the death of Charlemaign, they began to neglect the emperor's consent in their elections; and finding in them that afterwards reigned of the house of France, either too much patience or too much weakness, they were bold, within seventy years, to decree, that in the creation of popes the emperor should have nothing at all to do. Having obtained this, it followed that they should make themselves lords over the whole clergy in all kingdoms.

But the work was great, and could not be accomplished in haste; for they were much disturbed at home with the people of Rome, who, seeing about fifty popes, or rather maintainers of papacy, would now have them called mon-

sters of St. Peter's chair, despising that hypocrisy which the world abroad did reverence as holiness.

Likewise the empire falling from the line of Charlemaign to the mighty house of Saxony, was so strongly upheld by the first princes of that race, as it greatly troubled the ambition of those aspiring spirits of prelates. Yet no impediment could always be forced to withstand the violence of so seeming sanctity.

The Polonians, Hungarians, and some other far remote nations, had yielded themselves in subjection more than merely spiritual, even to those popes whom Italy knew to be detestable men.

As for the Roman citizens they were chastised by the sword, and taught to acknowledge the pope their lord, though they knew not by what right; long it was, indeed, ere they could, with much ado, be throughly tamed; because they knowing the lewdness of their prelates and this court, the devotion unto him (the trade by which now they live) was very small; because also they were the pope's domestic forces, against which no prince did happily contend: but, finally, the pope's arms prevailed; or, when his own were too weak, the emperor's, or other princes. The sword of the people, even of their own subjects, hath been used, by teaching all Christians in our western world a false lesson; viz. that it is lawful and meritorious to rebel against kings excommunicated and deposed by the pope. This curse was first laid upon the emperor Henry IV. by pope Hildebrand, or Gregory VII. It is true that I said before, that Leo of Constantinople had felt the same, though not in the same sort; for Leo being excommunicated was not withal deposed only, but suffered a revolt of some Italian subjects; and one may say, that the German emperor deserved this plague, since the founder thereof had given countenance to the popes rebelling against their sovereigns, the emperors of Constantinople: howsoever it were, when Hildebrand had accursed and cast down from his throne Henry IV. there was none so hardy as to defend their injured lord against the counterfeit name of St. Peter; where-

fore he was fain to humble himself before Hildebrand; upon whom he waited three days barefoot in the winter, ere he could be admitted into his presence; neither yet could he otherwise get absolution, than by submitting his estate unto the pope's good pleasure. What was his fault? He had refused to yield up to the pope the investiture of bishops, and collation of ecclesiastical dignities within his dominions; a right that had always belonged unto princes until that day. It were superfluous to tell how grievously he was afflicted all his life after, notwithstanding his submission. In brief, the unappeasable rage of Hildebrand and his successors never left persecuting him, by raising one rebellion after another: yea, his own children rose up against him; till, despoiled of his crown, he was fain to beg food of the bishop of Spires, promising to earn it in a church of his own building, by doing there a clerk's duty, for he would serve the choir; and not obtaining this, he pined away and died.

That bishop of Spires dealt herein, perhaps, rather fearfully than cruelly; for he had to terrify him the example of Vitello, archbishop of Mentz, chief prelate among the Germans, who was condemned of heresy, having denied that the emperor might be deprived of his crown by the pope's authority.

If princes therefore be careful to exclude the doctrine of Hildebrand out of their dominions, who can blame them of rigour? This example of Hildebrand, though it could not have been forgot, might have been omitted, had it not been seconded with many of the same nature: but this was neither one pope's fault nor one prince's destiny. He must write a story of the empire, that means to tell of all their dealings in this kind; as how he wrought upon Henry V. whom they had set up against his father; what horrible effusion of blood they caused by their often thundering upon Frederick, and how they rested not till they had made the empire headless about seventeen years together.

Those things moved Rodolph earl of Hapsburg, who was chosen emperor after that long vacation, to refuse the

ceremony of being crowned at Rome, though he were thereto urged by the electors; for, said he, our Cæsars have gone to Rome as the foolish beasts in Æsop's fables went to the lion's den, leaving very goodly footsteps of their journey thitherwards, but not the like of their return.

The same opinion most of the succeeding emperors held, or almost all, neglecting the Roman coronation; good cause why, since the popes (besides many extortions which they practised about that ceremony) arrogated thence unto themselves, that the empire was held of them in homage; and dealt they not after the same fashion with other kingdoms?

What right had St. Peter to the crowns of Sicily and of Naples? The Roman princes won those lands from the Saracens, who had formerly taken them from the empire of Constantinople: the same Romans had also been mighty defenders of the papacy in many dangers; yet when time served, the pope took upon him as lord paramount of those countries, to drive out one king and set up another, with a bloody confusion of all Italy, retaining the sovereignty to himself.

In France he had the daring to pronounce himself superior to the king in all matters, both temporal and spiritual.

The crown of Poland he forced to hold of his mitre, by imposing a subjection in way of penance; for that the Polish king had caused one St. Stanislaus to be slain.

For the death of St. Thomas Becket, and (more strangely) for a refusal of an archbishop of Canterbury, whom his holiness had appointed, he imposed the like penance upon England.

Also when our king Edward I. made war upon the Scots, word came from Rome that he should surcease; for that the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the pope's chapel.

A great oversight it was of St. Peter, that he did not accurse Nero, and all heathen princes, whereby the pope's chapel ought to have gotten all that the Devil offered, and our Saviour Christ refused: yet what need was there of such a band, since friar Vincent of Valvarda could tell Ata-

balippa, king of Peru, that all the kingdoms of the earth were the pope's, who had bestowed more than half thereof upon the king of Spain. If the pope will have it so, it must be so, otherwise I should have interpreted that place of Genesis, *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth*, as spoken to Noah and his children, not as directed only to Tubal, Namar, and Phutt, the supposed fathers of the old Ibreans, Goths, and Moors, of whom the Spanish blood is compounded; but of such impudent presumption in disposing of countries far removed, and whereto the sword must acquire a better title, the mischief is not presently discovered.

It were well if his holiness had not loved to set the world in an uproar, by nourishing wars among them that respected him as a common father.

His dispensing with oaths taken for agreement between one king and another, or between kings and subjects, do speak no better of him; for by what right was it that Ferdinand of Arragon won the kingdom of Navarre? why did not the confederacy that was between Lewis XII. of France and the Venetians hinder that king from warring upon Venice? why did not the like between England and France hinder our king Henry VIII. from warring upon the son of king Lewis? Was it not the pope who did set on the French, to the end that himself might get Ravenna from the Venetians? was it not the same pope, who afterwards (upon desire to drive the French out of Italy) excommunicated Lewis and his adherents; by virtue of which excommunication Ferdinand of Arragon seized upon Navarre.

And served not the same warrant to set our Henry upon the back of France? But this was not our king's fault, more than all the people; we might with shame confess it, if other countries had not been as blindly superstitious as our fathers. That a bark of apples, blessed by the pope, and sent hither for presents to those that would be forward in the war upon France, made all our English hasty to take arms; in such sort, as the Italians wondered, and laughed to see our men no less greedy of those apples than Eve was of the forbidden fruit, for which they were to hazard their

lives in an unjust war. Few ages have wanted such, and more grievous examples of the pope's tumultuous disposition; but these were among the least that fell out before his unholiness was detected. Now for his dispensing between kings and their subjects, we need not seek instances far from home.

He absolved our king John of an oath given to the barons and people; the barons and people he afterwards discharged of their allegiance to king John.

King Henry III. had appeased his land, (how wisely I say not,) by taking such an oath as his father had done; swearing he was a knight, a Christian, and a king: but in a sermon at Paul's, people were taught how little was to be reposed to such assurance, the pope's dispensation being there openly read, which pronounced that oath void. Good cause why; for that king had the patience to be like neither knight nor king, but as the pope's tenant and rent-gatherer in England. But when the same king adventured to murmur, the pope could threaten to teach him his duty with a vengeance, and make him know what it was to winch, and play the Frederick.

Thus we see what has been his custom; to oppress kings by their people, and the people by their kings; yet this was for serving his own turn.

Wherein had our king Henry VI. offended him? (which king pope Julius would after, for a little money, make a saint.) Nevertheless, the pope's absolving of Richard duke of York from that honest oath which he had given, by mediation of all this land to that good king, occasioned both the king and the duke's ruin, and therewithal all those long and cruel wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, and brought all England into a horrible combustion. What he meant by this I know not, unless to verify the proverb, *Omnia Romæ venalia.*

I will not urge the dispensation whereby the pope released king Philip II. of Spain from his solemn oath, by which he was bound to maintain the privileges of the Netherlands; though the papal indulgence hath scarce as yet

left working, and been the cause of so many hundred thousands slain, for these last forty years, in the Netherlands.

Neither will I urge the pope's encouraging of Henry II. and his sons, to the last, against the French protestants, the cause of the first three civil wars; and, lastly, of the levying of the Byrons, in which there have perished no less than in the Low Countries.

For our country, it affords an example of fresh memory; since we should have had as furious a war as ever, both upon us and among us, in the days of our late famous sovereign queen Elizabeth, if pope Pius's bull could have gored as well as he could bellow.

Therefore it were not amiss to answer by herald the next pontifical attempt of like nature; rather sending defiance, as to an enemy, than publishing answers as to one that had here to do by any lawful power, either in civil or ecclesiastical, after such time as Britain was won from the Roman empire.

For howsoever it were ordered, in some of the first holy general councils, that the pope of Rome should be patriarch over these quarters: yea, or were it supposed that the forged canons, by which he now challengeth more than precedency and supremacy, had also been made indeed, yet could this little help his claim in kingdoms that hold not of the empire: for those right holy fathers did not make truth, but religiously expounded it by virtue of ecclesiastical government; they did not create princes, but ordered the discipline of the countries which they then had.

There were assemblies of all the bishops in the Roman world, and with the Roman dominion only they meddled; requisite it is that the faith which they taught should be embraced in all countries, as it ought likewise to be entertained in the east, if the same had been in like sort illustrated; not by them, but by general councils of the bishops in the great kingdom of the Abyssines, which is thought to have been Christian in those days: but it was not requisite, nor is, that the bishop of the Abyssines and of India should be under direction of the patriarch of Alexandria and An-

tioch; questionless, those godly fathers of the Nicene, and of the Chalcedonian council so thought: for they took not upon them to order the church-government in India, where St. Thomas had preached, nor to range the subjects of Prester-John, as we call them, under any of themselves, much less to frame an hierarchy upon earth, whereto men of all nations whatsoever should be subject in spiritual obedience.

If Constantine and his successors, the Roman emperors, could have won all Asia; like it is, that in the council following more patriarchs would have been ordained for the ecclesiastical government of that large continent, and not all those vast countries left unto him of Antioch and Constantinople. But since, contrariwise, the empire became losers; the patriarchs, whose jurisdiction depended upon the empire, became losers also.

We grant that even in the times of persecution, before Christian bishops durst hold open assemblies, there was given special honour to the bishops that were over the chief cities, that unity might be the better preserved, and heresy kept out of the church; but this honour was no more than a precedency and dignity without coercive power, extending no further than to matter of religion, and not having to do (but in the general way of Christian love) with any strangers.

We, therefore, that are no dependants on the empire, ought not to be troubled with the authority (be it what it may be) of any assemblies of their godly fathers, which all subjects of that empire believe are ordained for their own better government; but rather should regard the bishop of Rome, as the islanders of Jersey and Guernsey do him of Constance in Normandy, that is, nothing at all; since by that French bishop's refusal to swear unto the king, those isles were annexed to the diocese of Winchester.

The last kind of war we shall treat of is the unnatural, otherwise called the intestine or civil war; and though it has the same motives of ambition, avarice, or revenge, as the arbitrary and customary war, yet is it of a quite different

nature, and must be otherwise defined; for that is to use arms to redress injuries, to conquer or oppose strangers under sovereign authority; but this is to slay and oppress our countrymen, our friends, and even our own relations, without injury offered, though pretended, to gratify some exorbitant passion upon the public under no authority or legal command, but directly contrary and opposite to the sovereign power, and to the very being of society itself. For a member of a community, or civil society, has no more right to disturb the whole upon any failure, (if any be,) than he has to cut his own throat, because some part of his body offends him. And under this principle, so founded in nature, if men did not acquiesce, the world would be in a constant uproar; since the best and easiest government is just as far from being perfect, as the men are that compose it.

How vain then is it to be disturbed at that whose cause is beyond ourselves!

Tacitus says, we ought to submit to what is present, and should wish for good princes, but whatsoever they are, endure them; and Machiavel terms this a golden sentence, adding, that whosoever does otherwise, ruins both himself and country. Certain it is, the condition of no nation was ever bettered by a civil war; for when the people and the government draw the sword against each other, all former compacts and agreements for securing of liberty and property are dissolved, and become void; for flying to arms is a state of war, which is the mere state of nature, of men out of community, where all have an equal right to all things; and I shall enjoy my life, my substance, or what is dear to me, no longer than he that has more cunning, or is stronger than I, will give me leave: for natural conscience is not a sufficient curb to the violent passions of men out of the laws of society. And the few that shall survive the calamities and devastations that ambition or revenge shall make in civil dissension, must ever after submit to the arbitrary power of the conquering party. Now under what civil stipulations and covenants can a people be with their governors,

that can put them in a worse condition than this? And that any particular government is now *jure divino* is hard to affirm, and of no great use to mankind. For let the government of any country where I am a subject be by divine institution, or by compact, I am equally bound to observe its laws, and endeavour its prosperity. For I take it to be true what Plato says, *Qui legibus pie et prudenter latis inservit, inservit Deo.* "That the duty I owe to God obliges "me to conform to the laws of my country, which are for "the orderly and well being of every individual." For God is the God of order and harmony, and not confusion. Also the schools affirm, that *leges humanæ obligant conscientiam*, "that the consciences of men are bound by human "laws."

I will only mention more, the undeniable authority of scripture, which plainly commands us to *submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake*[a]; that is, obey the laws of men where the law of God is silent; and were not mankind thus obliged, all governments of church and state would soon fall into confusion.

And if the divines do rightly infer from the sixth Commandment, *Thou shalt not kill*, that scandalizing one's neighbour with false and malicious reports, whereby I vex his spirit, and consequently impair his health, is a degree of murder; I may affirm, that factions, rumours, and discourses, which alienate the minds of people, and impeach and weaken the government, is a degree of treason, and consequently a breach of the sixth Commandment.

I know it is said, though a people leaving the state of nature have entered into a community, and made laws, as they justly may to preserve that community, which laws are to be obeyed under the penalty of displeasing God himself; yet the administrators of those laws, being visibly and incurably defective in preserving the whole, may be removed; for, *cujus est dare, ejus est disponere;* where the people have no such right, they have lost all liberty.

[a] 1 Pet. ii. 13.

Therefore wise governors will not bear hard upon the people; for when public abuses come to the height, that the generality are sensible of them, and the true majority have a mind to discharge such from the government, whether single person or council, I know not who shall prevent it, or against what law they offend; since no prince can shew a patriarchal right, and a community is under conditions.

I only mention these two last paragraphs as the utmost the most zealous advocates can urge for the power of the people, and it amounts to no more than this: where the person or persons possessing the supreme power are incurably defective, and this plainly appears to the majority of the people, they have a right to change the same, I think naturally they must: but even the majority itself, where there is no such plain dangerous defect, cannot in right remove the persons, and alter the same; for then all governments every day would be at the will and pleasure of the people; and I am sure arbitrariness in a multitude is far more dangerous than in a single person: the experience of all ages has found this to be true.

It is no wonder that the public actions and affairs of state should meet with many censures and enemies, since few men can gain their own inward approbation of what they daily do themselves; so contradictory do passions make men act to their own reason and conscience. It was a home reproof our Saviour gave the scribes and pharisees, when they seemed forward to have the woman stoned that was taken in adultery; *Let him that is without sin cast the first stone:* self-conviction forced the pharisees to withdraw, and leave the woman without accusers. I therefore say, whoever impartially considers the corruptions of his own heart, the many failings of his understanding, and is not very tender in opening and manifesting the crimes and failings of others, wants the modesty even of these scribes and pharisees, and may expect a sharper reproof. It is an admirable direction, much known, but little considered, that Thales left as the characteristic of his wisdom, *Nosce te ipsum;* "Friend, know "thyself:" it is a hard point, and not every where found.

We labour hard to publish our abilities and conceal our infirmities: and our inquiry into ourselves is so slight and partial, that few men are really what they appear to themselves to be. The vain opiniator, in pursuit of some extravagant hopes, involves himself in innumerable intricacies and hazardous circumstances, and, driven by the force of passion from the dictates of reason and the common paths of sense, falls into inevitable calamities; and, having thus exposed himself, clamours against Providence for being unfortunate. These, being not a small number, are always ready to join with any party in civil dissensions, whereby they hope either to mend their condition, or get a good excuse for the bad one they are in.

The insatiable minds of men, impatient under what is present, fond of any alteration, headed by those that will be under no dominion but that of avarice, ambition, or revenge, are the original cause of those calamities a civil war brings upon a nation. And when we say we are fallen into bad times, we mean no otherwise but that we are fallen amongst a wicked generation of men. For the sun, the mediate vivifying cause of all things here below, and constant measurer of time, keeps its steady course. The condition of the public grows worse, as men grow more wicked; for in all ages, as the morals of men were depraved, and vice increased, the commonwealth declined.

All kingdoms being but the connection of families, the prince thereof is truly termed the father of the country, the grand *pater-familias*, the great master of the household. Now if the domestics of a family be overrun with the deadly sin of pride and luxury, sloth and rapine, it is a fair sign of its utter ruin. Thus in the larger rule of government there is the like dangers of ruin, where the ministers and public officers, who are the hands of a nation, are basely corrupted, serving the public no further than it serves their own interest; and, so they do but gain themselves, care not who loses, or what the government suffers. These seeming friends are the worst of enemies; they had better never have been born; they are as the corrupt tree which cannot

bring forth good fruit; absolute strangers (in practice) to prudence, justice, and the other virtues rightly called cardinal; for upon the observance of them does the safety and prosperity of mankind depend. That ever such men should be preferred is a neglect in any government; for there can be no merit in any man that wants honesty: it is said for excuse, that the heart of man cannot be known before trial: but the behaviour of a man in an employment may be well guessed at by the manner of his getting himself in; for if he owes his advance to money, or favour purely, then was there no regard to ability and merit; and what corruption must be expected in an office where so worthless a person is possessor of it? Wise men will assent, that the welfare of a kingdom principally depends upon the honesty and ability of its officers; where such are wanting, and the contrary employed, there will be hardships and complaints, and abettors easily found to raise from thence commotions and civil dissensions.

It will hardly be found, upon strict examination, that any of the many civil wars that history speaks of had their rise purely from open abuses in the government: for when public abuses become so notorious, that the people are universally grieved and affected therewith, how can such a government gain a party strong enough to make a civil war, since we cannot suppose any considerable number of men can be so senseless as to fight for those that abuse them? And if the generality perceive themselves necessarily obliged to alter the administrators of a government, as it may be done by right, so it will be done without bloodshed. It follows then, that the subtilty used towards some weak men, joined with others, overruled by the wealth and authority of some great ambitious persons, is the main foundation of all civil bloodshed. It may be affirmed, the number of those that have been slaughtered by their fellow-creatures exceed the number of all the inhabitants that ever were at one time living upon the face of the earth; yet very few of this infinite number, thus untimely slain, were ever masters of the grounds of the dispute for which they suffered, or the

true reason of their being led to the battle, the truth with much artifice being kept from all but what were parties to the design resolved on. What deluded wretches then have a great part of mankind been, who have either yielded themselves to be slain in causes which if truly known their heart would abhor, or been the bloody executioners of other men's ambition! It is a hard fate to be slain for what a man should never willingly fight; yet few soldiers have laid themselves down in the bed of honour under better circumstances. It was not ignorance made Monluc, marshal of France, confess, that if the mercies of God were not infinite, none of his profession could expect any.

And because many people's minds are better engaged by examples out of history than by direction and precept, I will mention some few instances, as related by the most known authors, for the truth of the proposition here asserted. History doth plainly tell us, that that furious war (which broke out in France) in the reign of Francis II., and which occasioned most barbarous murders, devastations, and such other calamities, (which are the common products of civil commotions, and by continuing near forty years had reduced France to the last misery,) was begun and carried on by some few great men of ambitious and turbulent spirits, deluding the people with the cloak and mask only of religion, to gain their assistance to what they did more especially aim at. It is plain the admiral Coligny advised the prince of Condé to side with the Huguenots, not only out of love to their persuasion, but to gain a party, and be made thereby the stronger; neither can any man think that the papists, out of the principle of the Christian religion, which enjoins us to be meek and charitable, did in few days' space cut the throats of near thirty thousand protestants in France, many of whom were men of great fame and quality, but out of fear of their numbers and power: these being removed, they made sure of grasping to themselves all rule and dominion. So that this Parisian massacre had no more religion in it than the Sicilian vespers, when in two hours'

time all the French throughout the whole kingdom of Sicily were at once, with great barbarity, massacred, for no other reason but that the Sicilians might get their room.

It is a severe fate for a people to be overcome by enemies, who fight not to increase their subjects and enlarge their dominions, but to lay waste their enemies' cities, destroy their people, and to extirpate their very name and being from the face of the earth: and such was the war between Rome and Carthage. They were so equal in wealth and power, that one seemed to eclipse the growing greatness of the other, being competitors for that sovereignty, which, unless one was totally destroyed, the other could never absolutely have. The discerning princes of Carthage clearly saw this, and no doubt upon this account it was that Hamilcar, who himself had saved them, made his son Hannibal swear, while but nine years old, to pursue Rome with immortal hatred. At twenty-six he is made general of the Carthaginian forces in Spain; upon successes there, he leaves the command of Spain to Asdrubal his brother, passing himself into Italy, convincing the Romans he was as ready to assault as they. The care he had for his country (which true honour always prefers before any private interest) made him despise the dangers he was sure to meet with there; and after many sharp encounters, in some of which he was dangerously wounded, and tedious marches, in one of which, passing the Apennine mountains, by severity of weather he lost the use of one eye, he gains the character of a great commander, both for the perfection of his military skill, and greatness of his spirit. This made him feared abroad, and much honoured at home; but envy, that always attends great merit, not as a friend to support, but as a spy to betray, began to draw a black cloud over Hannibal's performances, with sinister suggestions, which increased equally with his rising fame; so that after his glorious success at the battle of Cannæ, where he totally overthrew the Roman army, his enemies growing impatient at the great honours which he continually obtained by the happy progress of his arms, though managed with as much faithful-

ness to his country as bravery towards his enemies, were resolved to ruin him, whatever the public suffered by it. Hereupon Hanno, an ungrateful nobleman of that Carthage for whose liberty Hannibal had fought so many battles, with his envious accomplices, when account was given of Hannibal's proceedings and victories to the Carthaginian senate; and that he only wanted those supplies which he then demanded, to march even to the walls of Rome, his victory at Cannæ having laid the way open, so managed the matter in the senate, out of pure malice to Hannibal's person, that succours were neglected to be sent, whereby the Romans gained more advantage than all their armies could do; and Hannibal not only lost the opportunity of being master of that city, which boasted to be the mistress of the world, but saw the Carthaginian interest in a fair way of being utterly lost; which they would not see themselves, till it was too late to prevent. For as authors allow it probable, that if Hannibal had received suitable supplies to his occasions and request, he had torn up the Roman empire by the roots; so the defects of men and money must not only hinder his advancing, but must necessarily make him lose ground; and being made unfortunate, he must be made culpable, and so his enemies procured his being called home for not doing what they had contrived he should not. He received the message with much concern, abominating the base treachery his enemies had acted towards their own country as well as him, crying out, that Hanno the Carthaginian, and not Scipio the Roman, had destroyed Carthage. Upon his departure, the Romans appointed an holyday for thanks to the gods, acknowledging a braver officer could not be employed against them. In a little time the Romans became masters of all, even of the liberties of Carthage itself, upon whom they imposed base and servile conditions, the just fruits of their usage of Hannibal.

Carthage being thus betrayed by a faction at home, whose safety Hannibal had often preferred before his life; but being now made incapable of serving those he loved best, his honest countrymen, to avoid the being an eye-

witness of their miseries, and himself being taken, and made the reproach and scorn of his insulting enemies, he withdrew into Asia, trusts himself with Prusias king of Bithynia, whom the Romans presently demand as their most spiteful enemy; whereupon this wretched king, to content the Romans, contrary to the laws of hospitality and faith given, set a guard about Hannibal's lodgings, who, seeing himself enclosed and hemmed in, took poison, which he always carried about him. Thus died, through ambitious envy, that devours itself and all about it, the faithfullest subject that ever country had, and one of the greatest captains that ever the world bred; unfortunate, but famous.

Carthage soon found its period, when in the Romans' power, and Hannibal its defender was removed; and the sooner, because the Romans considered that the mastery of Carthage was not so much owing to their arms as the faction within itself. Thus their fears destroyed what the envy of others had betrayed; for Paterculus, their own author, says, *Neque se Romam securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam stantis maneret Carthaginis;* "That Rome was not secure "while Carthage was in being." And the same author says, after reciting that Scipio had razed the very foundations of that famous city, *Hunc finem habuit Romani imperii Carthago æmula;* "This was the fate of Carthage the com-"petitor of Rome's greatness."

It is confessed by all, that the gall and rancour which were raised in Hanno at those merits in others which he in no wise could pretend to, were the cause of the utter destruction of this populous and rich city of Carthage, once equal to Rome for power and wealth, and for antiquity superior, its foundation being sixty-five years older than that of Rome's.

It might be useful to set out and delineate to mankind the arts and disguises, the false topics and mediums, that Hanno and such factious persons as he must use to make their venomous intentions and false reasonings pass undiscovered by a wise senate. I know there are some historians of good credit, that lay the blame of retarding the supply

to be sent to Hannibal, which lost Carthage, to the natural sparing humour of the Carthaginians; but it does not seem probable to me, that the Carthaginians, after so many bloody and expensive wars with the Romans, more to defend than enlarge their territories, in this last war, wherein both parties seemed determined to have all their differences finally decided by the fortune of war, resolving to be either slaves or conquerors, should suffer the greatest victory they ever obtained, or that the Romans ever lost, to be of no effect and advantage through unseasonable avarice. Certainly the fatality of Carthage proceeded from a faction at home, which will eat the very heart of the strongest constituted government, and may never be perceived till it is past recovery.

It is remarkable, that in this war also the Romans had some base spirits among them, who, to make themselves popular, had run Rome into great hazard of receiving the same fate from the Carthaginians which Carthage received after from the Romans; and it is no mean instance of the mutability of human affairs, that Rome, from a low and despairing condition, should in a little time be able to tread upon their conquerors; and Carthage, from the highest successes, fall so low as to be denied the freedom of being a people in the world. This looks as if some were to have the show of happiness only, that their misery may seem the sharper; warning us, that when fortune comes smiling she often designs the most mischief. In truth, their misfortune proceeded from being wise too late, they did not know the causes till the effects were past. So *sero sapiunt Phryges*, Experience is not worth the cost; and to buy wisdom at one's own ruin, is like buying a noble medicine to cure the diseases of a man that is dead.

But to mention the stories which shew that base men of little ability may be popular in a government, and that it is dangerous when they are so: M. Centenius Penula, (whom Machiavel calls a very base fellow,) after Hannibal had been in Italy eight or ten years, and had filled the country with bloody slaughters of the Romans, to the great terror of

Rome itself, being swelled to a great conceit of himself, by the airy applauses and opinions of the vulgar, had the confidence to enter the senate, offering, that if they would give him authority to levy an army, he would in a short time deliver into their hands Hannibal, either dead or alive. The senate thought his demand very rash, but considering how acceptable such a proposal would sound in the ears of the people, durst not deny him, for fear of a tumult: thus they were forced to sacrifice their own judgments, an army of friends, and almost their whole state, to satisfy the humour of the people centred in one weak man. The success was no better than the expectation; for Hannibal meeting Penula near Capua, totally routs his whole army, so that of sixteen thousand, not two hundred escaped.

And not long before, Terentius Varro, a mean man in all respects, through the favour of the multitude was chosen consul, notwithstanding all the opposition the senate could make; apprehending the ill consequences which must happen from such a rash and inconsiderate commander in the army. However, to please the people, he boldly gave out in all meetings and public places of Rome, that he would certainly defeat Hannibal. The rashness of this man occasioned the battle of Cannæ, and the total overthrow of the Roman army there; so that without opposition the conqueror might have marched to Rome, and by laying waste that city have put an end to the war: and it was reckoned a fault in Hannibal he did not; Maherbal, an officer, telling him, he knew how to get, but not to use a victory. Thus the Roman state was brought to the very brink of ruin and destruction, through the means only of a hotheaded favourite of the people.

These three, Varro, Penula, and Hanno, are always spoken of with infamy, the baseness of their minds and lives leaving a suitable character behind them; the two first endangering, the last absolutely ruining a large and mighty commonwealth; yet, peradventure, when they saw the conclusion of their treacheries and follies was the ruin of their country, they might have the fool's excuse in reserve, that they

did not intend it; which rather aggravates than lessens their crimes; for he that begins a mischief upon a supposition that at such a time he will put a stop to it, will find himself miserably mistaken.

And as these persons were justly branded for the calamity they brought upon their country, so it ought to be considered how far the senators themselves, both of Carthage and Rome, were accessary to their own misfortune. The senate of Rome was well acquainted with the inabilities of Varro and Penula for such commands as the people pressed they might have, expecting from their conduct nothing but ruin to the public; yet the refusal of these the senate did believe would put the common people into such an uproar, that they ran a hazard of their own lives; therefore they chose rather to gratify the people, though to the apparent hazard of the whole commonwealth, than venture their own safety. This is *censura difficilis*, a severe reflection, especially upon a senate composed of Romans, who boasted of a public spirit beyond the ordinary pitch of mankind: yet the generality of the fault will much abate the blame; for it is believed there are few national or civil assemblies in the world, but have greater care of themselves than of the public.

Certainly the spirit of Attilius Regulus was above most men's imitation, who, being a prisoner at Carthage, was suffered to go to Rome with their ambassadors, upon faith given to return if peace was not made; against which Regulus himself, when he came to Rome, gave reasons to the senate out of love to his country; whereupon the senate and his own relations desired and advised him to stay, and not return to the Carthaginians, enraged by their disappointment of a peace, and who, they were informed, were resolved to use him barbarously: he told them he had so much of the spirit of a Roman, that he could not consent to what was base or dishonourable; and that the tortures of a rack were not so much to be feared as the shame of an infamous action, because the first only touched the body, but the other pierced the very soul. He returned therefore to Carthage,

to be just to his word, where they put him to death with the extremest tortures their wit could invent.

A great instance to what a contempt of this life, and the pains or pleasures that belong to it, a mere natural man may bring himself, that will free himself from the base and slavish importunities of the senses, and be guided only by the noble and ever happy dictates of honour and justice; and that the pains of the body are much inferior to those of the mind; so that the purity of the mind is to be preferred before the pleasure or being of the body.

But no senate nor civil assembly can be under such natural impulses to honour and justice as single persons; for politic members meet with neither encouragement nor reproaches for what was the effect of number only. For a majority is nobody when that majority is separated, and a collective body can have no synteresis, or divine ray, which is in the mind of every man, never assenting to evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: but the honour and conscience that lies in the majority is too thin and diffusive to be efficacious; for a number can do a great wrong, and call it right, and not one of that majority blush for it. Hence it is, that though a public assembly may lie under great censures, yet each member looks upon himself as little concerned: this must be the reason why a Roman senate should act with less spirit and less honour than any single Roman would do. And this compliance of the Roman senate with the multitude, contrary to their reason, and below their honour, shews, that when the commonalty are in their heats and commotions they must be forced or complied with, being rarely capable of reason and persuasion; and that it is an Herculean labour to persuade them from an imaginary to a real good. Thus to free themselves from the difficulties of reasoning with the multitude, it was the wisdom of the ancient lawgivers, such as Numa, Lycurgus, and Solon, to assign the laws they made for the benefit of the people (who understanding nothing suspect every thing) to some deity, that they might be received without opposition or contempt. The vulgar are easily moved, as Ma-

chiavel says, by arguments that tend to present gain or loss; their minds, being wholly taken up with the present, are ever void of that wisdom which is the result of reflection, not capable, by comparing the present with what has been, of making a rational conjecture of what may be.

As to the Carthaginian senators, it must be said, that though by their easiness of believing crafty insinuations, raised by base and designing spirits, was lost the greatest general then in the world, and with him themselves, and the whole commonwealth: it is hard to say that charity, that divine virtue so necessary in single persons, is dangerous in governors; yet in them it is prudence to believe all men are bent to mischief, and that good is seldom done but through force or fear, and that most have a wit to put in practice the wickedness of their minds as often as occasion shall serve. And to this innate disposition to evil is often added hypocrisy, making the greatest shows of probity and goodness when they intend to deceive most. Thus Hanno, under the disguise of being a patriot, ruined his country.

Rome hitherto had beheld with triumph the miseries of war in other nations, commanding, by the right of conquest, the lives and fortunes of the best part of the world, levelling with the ground their cities, and leading their princes in chains; but all terrestrial felicities must have an end, and triumphing Rome itself is at last so full of miseries, as if all the cruelties and barbarities her insulting armies had exercised on the nations round about were returned into her own bowels, managed by those that always are the worst of enemies, neighbours and countrymen: for Fabius said well, he had rather fall upon the enemy's sword than the citizens' malice. This state-phrensy of sedition, which ever proves fatal, was occasioned by the reviving of the Agrarian law, by which the lands taken from their enemies, and formerly divided among the nobility, should be shared among the people of Rome: the contentions about this law kindled such a hatred between the people and the senate, that it never ended but with the loss of the liberty of Rome, and the dissolution of that republic.

So vast a destruction happening from the single inconveniency of a reasonable law too violently urged, may caution wise men to avoid the least beginnings of strife in a government, since they often breed contentions which the wisest heads cannot compose: every division in a government is like the breaking out of a fire; when and where it will end nobody knows; and, as the Gracchi, they may fall first that think themselves farthest from danger.

The various progress of these contentions between the senate and the people about this law, the great barbarity used towards each other's party, as often as they had power; the miserable slaughters and massacres within the city, and the effusion of blood in the camps, which never ceased till the commonwealth expired, may be seen in their histories. I shall only set down some few particulars that occur from reflecting upon these civil feuds of the Romans. 1. That a greater plague cannot come upon a people than a civil war; for man has no worse enemy than man. David so well considered this, when three evils were proposed to him, as to entreat the prophet that he might not fall into the hands of man. 2. That authors of civil disturbances generally have the fate to fall by the tumults they have raised. 3. That a law may be just and reasonable, as this Agrarian, and yet not at all times fit to be promoted: it is plain by this also, how much men esteem wealth rather than honours; for the nobility of Rome ever gave way to the people, where it touched matter of honour without any extraordinary distaste; but when their wealth was concerned, how obstinately did they defend it, even to madness!

And it is more plain there is not in nature a point of stability to be found; every thing either ascends or declines: when wars are ended abroad, sedition begins at home, and when men are freed from fighting for necessity, they quarrel through ambition.

It will be sufficient to fright any thinking people from promoting any public disturbances, to consider the miseries which befell all ranks and orders of people during these dissensions.

Such a deluge of calamities are not to be found in any other position of the human nature.

The common people were butchered after a most inhuman manner, eight thousand being put to death together in a large house in the Campus Martius; the soldiers had liberty to kill all they met; and throughout all the cities of Italy the effusion of blood was such, that neither temple nor sanctuary nor private houses escaped their fury; so that Sylla was told, he ought to leave some people to reign over. Not to mention the miserable slaughters upon the entrance of Cinna and Marius into Rome, afterwards, by Sylla's party alone, being of the contrary faction, were put to death common people innumerable, two thousand six hundred gentlemen, fifteen consuls, and fourscore and ten senators; and that bloody day of Romans against Romans on the plains of Pharsalia was the effect of this quarrel; for Cæsar was made head of Marius's party, and Pompey of Sylla's.

And though the condition of the people of Rome and Italy was very deplorable under these civil disturbances, yet that of the commanders, and the chief in power, was in all respects much worse, however they might pride themselves in being satiated with blood and revenge; since it is better to be oppressed than to be an oppressor, better to be unfortunate than wicked, better to die lamented than live to be cursed, and thought the scourge and pest of one's country.

For at the several entries of Cinna and Marius, and afterwards of Sylla, into Rome, the salutations of the people were their curses and bitter outcries; *in execrationem Cinnæ partiumque ejus*, as their historians write, against Cinna and his faction; and so odious were their practices, that they said of Marius, the best of them, that he was *in otio civibus infestissimus, quietisque impatientissimus;* "in peace a bitter "enemy to his countrymen, and of quiet most impatient." And the same author shews the ground of turbulent spirits; *Sed iis quibus et pessima et immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere;* "That they whose greedy desires were "both extremely wicked and unbounded, could not away "with peace."

And certainly the fruit that these gentlemen reaped from their sedition will never tempt any to follow their example: for their days were spent in continual troubles, their nights must be dismal, whilst darkness and silence presented to their minds their cruel and horrid acts in their proper colours; their characters were villainous, leaving behind them an everlasting infamy; their power but momentary, not lasting three years in any; their deaths violent and infamous. Cinna was slain by his own soldiers; Marius indeed died within a month after made consul, which prevented a worse end: Sylla was eaten up with lice; an imposthume so corrupted his flesh that it turned all to that vermin, notwithstanding he was continually shifted night and day.

But most dreadful is the consideration of the weight of that guilt which must always accompany their spirits; for souls do not inhabit the dust. Those scenes of miseries and follies that these men have presented to the world are a sufficient proof what base creatures mankind are to themselves and others, when passions are predominant.

The common people of England have suffered the same fate as other nations; they have been drawn with heat and fury to shed one another's blood for such a liberty as their leaders never intended they should have, and have fought many battles to redress grievances, which victory, wherever it happened, always increased, endangering a good government upon pretences of making it better. Such practices have made foreigners believe the English are naturally of a turbulent and disquiet spirit; as if those epithets of *perfidi*, *inflati*, *feri*, *amentes*, *immanes*, which Scaliger bestows on us, were true.

But foreigners have reason to think our frequent disturbances proceed from our tempers, and not from any defects in the government; since learned writers abroad have declared, that of all seigniories in the world, the realm of England was the country where the commonwealth was best governed.

And men well governed should seek after no other li-

berty; for there can be no greater liberty than a good government. The truth is, the easiness of the government has made some so wanton as to kick against it; our own historians write, that most of our kings have been unthankfully used.

The barons' wars have been attributed, by good historians, to the stubbornness of the nobility, though it carried the specious pretence of confirming liberties. By this war Henry III. was forced, for want of money, to renounce to the king of France, for the poor consideration of three hundred thousand pounds, his right to Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Main, and Poictou, which had cost the English much blood and money; and by the loss of those havens and ports on the other side, the ocean our wall, the natural and best fence of our island, is left naked and exposed.

It has been observed also, that since these troubles from the barons, the kings of England, to lessen the power of the nobility, and balance them, have yielded to the growing greatness and privileges of the commons; and what effect that will have, time can only shew. Politicians do affirm, that nobility preserves liberty longer than the commons, and for instance say, Solon's popular state came far short of Lycurgus's by mixed government; for the popular state of Athens soon fell, whilst the royal, mixed government of Sparta stood a mighty time; by the nobility Sparta and Venice enjoyed their freedom longer than Rome.

The terribleness of civil war and dissensions will be sufficiently made out, by observing the methods of divine Providence; for never was any place so severely threatened with terrible judgments and desolations as Jerusalem, the capital city of the Holy Land, and the seat of religion for above eleven hundred years; and for a full accomplishment of that wrath and vengeance which was pronounced against it, it pleased God to suffer a mighty faction and sedition to be raised within itself, as one certain means of its misery and destruction.

It is plain, whilst we are mixed bodies we are continually

passing from one alteration to another, as well civilly as naturally: for inconveniences and offences, as the scripture declares, *will come;* but withal adds a woe unto them by whom *they do come.* It is the qualifications of our contemporaries, of the men that dwell at the same time with us, must make us happy or miserable; it must be their wisdom, justice, and honour, which are not local, as the law calls it, tied or annexed to a place, but moving and transitory as fortune itself. For there is the same proportion of good and evil in the world as ever, though it shifts and changes, not always in the same place, and never in the same degree; even the holy worship of God, religion, through the wickedness of men, has had its marches. Nor is man alone the subject of alteration and vicissitude; but the earth itself is sometimes dry land, and sometimes overwhelmed with waters; and a fruitful land has been turned into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein. All sublunaries being in continual motion, little knowledge in history will convince us, that persons, families, countries, and nations, have alternately fallen from great wealth, honour, and power, to poverty and contempt, and to the very dregs of slavery. We must look a long way back to find the Romans giving laws to nations, and their consuls bringing kings and princes bound in chains to Rome in triumph; to see men go to Greece for wisdom, or Ophir for gold; when now nothing remains but a poor paper remembrance of their former condition.

It would be an unspeakable advantage, both to the public and private, if men would consider that great truth, that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest. All I have designed is peace to my country; and may England enjoy that blessing when I shall have no more proportion in it than what my ashes make!

# A DISCOURSE

TOUCHING

## A WAR WITH SPAIN,

## AND OF THE PROTECTING OF THE NETHERLANDS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

IT belongeth not to me to judge whether the king of Spain hath done wrong to the Netherlands, or whether the Netherlands have failed in allegiance towards the king; the king pretending absolute sovereignty, they pretending a conditional obedience.

But it seems to me, without question, that both Holland and Zealand did of right belong to the lady Inquelin of Haynault; who, to save her own life, was forced to relinquish her estate; and that Zutphen and Guelders did as rightfully belong to the duke of Arnold, who, being prisoner with that duke of Burgundy that died before Nantz, the said duke intruded upon his possession to the prejudice of Adolfe his son and lawful successor.

But leaving their quarrels to their own consciences; whether it standeth with your majesty's safety to relinquish them, yea or no, is the argument which I presume to offer to your majesty's great wisdom.

The Hollanders and Zealanders, with the rest of the United Provinces, (which altogether we call by the name of Netherlands,) are your majesty's near neighbours, and most industrious people; they are near, and may, with a blast of wind, in twenty-four hours depart their own coasts and enter ours.

And a poor neighbour's house set on fire is to be better guarded or watched than a great city afar off.

They are strong by the situation of their countries, strong in cities, mariners, and shipping; by reason of the country and fortified towns, they are able to defend themselves; and by reason of the multitude of their ships, they are in a condition to offend others.

There are no people more industrious in all things, or more provident. Witness these two particulars: the first, that having in Holland neither timber nor iron, they build more ships, and cheaper, than either England or Spain, which have plenty of both.

The second is, that whereas their grounds are in effect all pastures, and have no wheat growing of their own, they not only serve themselves cheap, but have used (when the trade was open) to furnish both Spain, Portugal, and Italy, with the same grain. Now whether it will stand with your majesty's safety to abandon a nation so near, so strong, and so industrious, will be the question. I answer, that for your majesty to leave the Netherlands to themselves, as they are considered strong, can bring no other danger to your majesty than is common to all princes that have strong neighbours.

But if they cannot subsist of themselves, nor without their subjection to some other prince, or state, they shall not be able to defend themselves; then the peril which may ensue is very likely, or rather assured to Britain. It is first therefore to be inquired, whether they can subsist, or no? If they can, it is formerly answered; if they cannot, on what prince they are likeliest to rely?

First, that they have means to defend themselves, experience denies; and that experience is grounded upon good reason: for as your majesty best knows it, as from the beginning of their revolt they have made strangers to their bodies their defenders, so are their own people altogether unapt for soldiers: if they were otherwise, yet have their estates now such dominion, as they can employ them otherways; most part of their people are mechanics, and live by their handicrafts, their craftsmen maintain their trades, and navigation produces their revenues, which maintain

their wars. And though there have been certain troops erected of Frysons, and out of other island parts; yet these do rather serve to make up their numbers, and furnish their garrisons, than that they have used them in any important service, or in the field: so that the strength of their armies have consisted, for the most part, of English, Scotch, and French.

If then such be the composition of their armies, it is first apparent that they cannot defend themselves by their proper forces; and that they will rely and give themselves to one of these princes; viz. to the English, (accounting now England and Scotland all one,) or French; or else return again, in the end, to the archduke, or to the Spanish king.

The reason why they bind themselves to this choice is, power and neighbourhood: your majesty and the French being best able and the next adjoining.

To expect succour from the Germans, or from other princes which are remote, they cannot:

First, because those princes have dependance on the emperor.

Secondly, because they are not of ability to maintain the quarrel.

And thirdly, and chiefly, because their succour cannot come so far, being to march over-land, the charge being double to all armies that pass through the territories of other princes; which must either be able to master the territories, or pass by safe conducts whither they march.

So great armies, as shall master countries, the States need not; and the lesser will be always in danger to be cut off, or resisted. The neighbouring princes being more fearful of the Spaniard's greatness, than careful of the States' amity.

But the Netherlands require often supply, and few in number, such troops as may be transported by sea, in the Netherlands' own shipping, and at an easy rate, and in lesser time: for as England, Scotland, and France may supply them in twenty-four hours; so from any prince or state

else, they may be, in coming over-land, twenty-four weeks. It is therefore likely, that if your majesty refuse them, they will offer themselves to the French, or return to the Spanish obedience; both which will bring equal danger to your majesty's state.

The reasons are many; but I will rehearse them in a few words, because your majesty can better judge by a word, than another can by a volume.

There are two ways by which England may be afflicted.

The one by invasion, being put to the defensive, in which we shall but cast lots for our own garments.

The other by impeachment of our trades; by which trades all commonwealths flourish, and are enriched.

Invaded or impeached we cannot be, but by sea; and therefore that enemy which is strongest by shipping is most to be suspected and feared.

It is certain the Netherlands are able to furnish more ships of war, and mariners, than all England and Scotland can do, with greater facility, and in shorter time: what advantages your majesty hath by the powerfulness of your own ships, the same advantages are answered by the Netherlands in their numbers; who by reason of their long wars with Spain, and diligent search over the world for trade, are become the most orderly and best disciplined men of war by sea in all Europe.

This great strength of shipping is not so much to be accounted of, if it were not in these two respects.

The one, because it is so exceeding near us.

The other, because Holland and Zealand are situate between us and our best trades, which are all eastward.

For our Muscovia fleets, our merchant adventurers, our companies of Eastland, and all which trade through the Sound, from whence we have our materials for shipping, must pass by Holland.

And if those trades were impeached, all sorts of people would suffer together, and the commonwealth fall into extreme poverty and decay.

And whereas it may be objected, that our Muscovia fleet,

and our merchant adventurers are of sufficient strength to make their own passage, and need not fear the force of the Netherlands; I confess, that, as they may pass, so they may perish.

But this is a general and infallible rule in all the course of merchandise, that wheresoever the adventure is great and the profit little, the adventurer will soon give up.

But if the English merchants shall be driven to double man their ships, and furnish them with double munition, and pay double wages, then the charge will be double to that which now it is; the hazard will also be manifest, for the reasons before alleged.

And that which will prove as great an inconveniency as the rest will be, the great price of merchandise returned from all these burdens will light upon the buyer, and upon all sorts of people, in the end.

Example may be taken by the merchants of Seville in Spain; who, by reason of our scattering men of war upon their coasts in the Indies, did pay 20 per cent. for convoy. This new charge so impoverished the merchants, that both the banks of Seville broke, as the first misfortune that befell them, for little less than twenty millions.

There is a great difference between the strength of the Netherlands and that of the Spanish king. When he maketh any great armado, he is driven to take up and embark in the shipping of all nations; some of his own, others from Venice, or Ragusa, others out of all the parts of the Eastlands, and from the Hanse Towns, from the Danes, Hamburgers, Lubeckers, and Bremers.

These ships are of divers conducts, and divers swiftnesses, so as they cannot either assail or defend in gross, as the English or Netherlands can.

The Spanish king is also constrained to press the mariners of other nations; as the Italian, French, Flemming, and Dutch, to mingle with those of the Spanish nation. When these come to any extremity, either by foul weather or by fight, the confusion is infinite; and sometimes a ship

may be cast away by mistaking of a rope: there cannot be found any masters or captains that can speak all these languages; and if they could, yet were it to little purpose; for men are directed at sea by multitude, not in a single voice.

Furthermore, these men that are of strange nations, and are taken up by violence, fight with their hands, but not with their hearts; they rather desire liberty than victory; and rather seek to hide themselves, and save themselves thereby, than to hazard their lives in a quarrel that neither appertains to them, their princes, or their country.

Lastly, when the Spanish king shall attempt any thing upon England, or Ireland, or any such remote country, his fleets are subject to great variety of winds and weather, and to many storms, by reason whereof the late great Spanish admiral lost both his enterprises upon England: the last fleet also that came for Ireland was dispersed and much broken; and in the year 1588, after the duke of Medina was once beaten from the narrow seas, he lost the best part of his fleet by tempest.

On the contrary, the Netherlands have as many ships of their own as any Christian prince hath; their ships are of one fashion, conduct, and swiftness; their mariners of their own nation and language, valiant and well ordered men; and, as it is said before, so near us, as they will be in our ports in a summer's day: so no people are so fitted by art and nature to annoy these kingdoms as they.

It may perchance be objected, that when king Henry VIII. had wars with the emperor Charles V., who was also lord of the Low Countries, that the English received no prejudice by the main ships of the Netherlands: it is true, and I myself remember, that within these thirty years two of her majesty's ships would have commanded one hundred sail of theirs.

I remember also, when myself was a captain in Ireland, that a hundred foot and a hundred horse would have beaten all the force of the strongest provinces: but of late, I have

known an Easterling fight hand to hand with one of her majesty's ships; and that the Irish have, in this last war, been overthrown with an even, or a far less number.

The Netherlands, in those days, had wooden guns, and the Irish had darts; but the one is now furnished with as great a number of English ordnance as ourselves, and the other with as good pikes and muskets as England hath.

Of which war I know no other profit arising than the expense of two millions, the impoverishing of this kingdom, and the training and arming of the Irish, who have now, and ever had, their lands and lives restored, when they have been brought to the last gasp, and point of subjection. And therefore, if this truly be so of the former government, *stultum est eos invadere quos nequeant in officio retinere*, "it is a foolish thing to assault those whom we "cannot keep in subjection when overcome."

And a council indeed far out of course, which doth neither retain the mind, nor restrain the mighty. But he that governs by discourse of former times shall but take counsel of the dead; for the natures of all things under the sun are subject to change, but the nature of reason only. And it is certain, that in the times of alteration, the wisdom of nature is better than of books; prudence being a wise election of those things which never remain after one and the selfsame manner.

To reason by comparion, and to prove by the argument *a minori ad majus*, how much the trade of England may be endangered by the Netherlands; your majesty may please to remember, that Dunkirk is but a fishing town, a bad haven, and hath not above a dozen sail of small ships; before which port also there is continually maintained a strong fleet of Hollanders and Zealanders to restrain them so, as they can neither come forth nor pass in, but in a dark night, for fear of their enemies, and at a spring-tide for want of water; and it is true, that those few Dunkirkers have taken from the west country merchants, within two years only, above three thousand vessels, besides all that they have gotten from the rest of the ports of England, and

from the Netherlands; insomuch as they have so impoverished all those western merchants, as their trade, in effect, is utterly decayed; and those people which were wont to be set at work by them, and did live in good sort, do now live by alms and begging.

If then one poor town in Flanders, notwithstanding the impediments before rehearsed, hath so much impoverished your majesty's subjects, what can Holland and Zealand do, who are able to set out fifty sail of better ships than those of Dunkirk are? If it be asked, what would be the consequence, if they should join to your majesty's enemies; I shall answer as the marshal Biron did to the French king, *Vous le sçavez mieux que moy;* "Your majesty knows better than I."

Now as the Netherlands may be used to impoverish your majesty's dominions, by disturbing our trades; so shall they be in an estate to assist the Spanish king upon any invasion, and that so dangerously, as it can hardly be resisted: for if the king of Spain shall prepare a fleet in Spain, and therewith assail the western ports, and the Netherlands with their fleet and army of the Low Countries undertake the invading our eastern parts at the same time, the greatest fleets that England can make (if it be divided) will not be able to encounter either.

Furthermore, if the Netherlands be withheld from the Spanish obedience, your majesty hath but an enemy of Spain; if you break with Spain, the trade also is free and open to all parts of the east; but if Spain recover the Netherlands, and then quarrel with your majesty, you shall then find a strong war, and a strong restraint of trade on both sides.

To all this your majesty may justly say, that I speak upon suppositions only; and I confess it.

For first, it is not agreed on, that if your majesty leave the Low Country men, that then they will receive the Spanish king, or the archduke.

Secondly, though they do, that therefore it follows, that either of them will make war with your majesty.

What the Netherlands will do, they being rejected by England, I cannot determine; it were presumption to speak, but only mention what danger in likelihood may happen to England in the future.

For if the States do find that they cannot subsist of themselves, and that your majesty refuses to protect them, then it is undoubted, but that necessity (which enforceth all things) will also enforce them to choose a master; and a fit master cannot be found for them but in England or in France, unless they return to the old——

If they give themselves to France, it is worse for us, as I conceive.

If they submit themselves to the Spanish king, what he will do afterwards, is *occultius humana voluntate*, " is a " secret to us; and harder to discover than the intention of " a man in a matter, before occasion offered to determine " his resolution." It is known to God only.

What he may then do is that which I presume to remember your majesty of: and woe be to that prince, or state, who holds his quiet by the will of another.

I have heard that both the king and the archduke will offer to your majesty continuance of peace; and I know they have good cause to desire it: but, *unde hæc de illis tanta modestia nisi cognitione virium nostrarum et suarum*; " but from whence comes this great moderation and com- " pliance, but only from the knowledge of our strength, " and their own weakness." And I am persuaded, your majesty may have better conditions than ever king of England had.

But after the Spaniard shall have repaired his losses, I know not how your majesty may be assured of his amity: for the kings of Spain were not wont to keep either promises or oaths longer than they may prove profitable to themselves; *Cum principes utantur nomine pacis et fidei potius ad propriam commoditatem quam ad earum observationem*: " For princes make promises, and enter into leagues " chiefly for their own advantage; and longer than they

"tend to that, they do not hold themselves obliged to ob-
"serve them."

And especially the kings of Castile, who have followed Ferdinand (the first elector of that monarchy into greatness) both in condition and determination.

This Ferdinand, the better to effect what he aspired unto, did forbear to break neither oaths nor promises; respected neither alliance nor kindred: witness his treaties; and in them he folded up treasons against the Neapolitan prince his cousin, and to whom also he married his sister, and to whose defence he sent Gonsalvo with an army against the French, and with the same army set upon the king at Naples, overthrew him, and divided his kingdom (as your majesty best knows) with Lewis XII.

How he handled the French afterwards, and the Venetians; how he abused and betrayed his son-in-law, king Henry VIII. when he drew the English army into Biscay, with promise to join with the English to recover the duchy of Guienne, while himself did by that colour conquer Navarre; of the like practices of his successor Charles V. it were needless to repeat to your majesty; I have set it down at large, in *A Discourse how War may be made against Spain and the Indies;* which I will also present to your majesty, if you will vouchsafe the reading thereof. King Philip the last had the same intent the rest of his predecessors had; and if the revolt of the Low Countries had not been the impediment, and his fond enterprising of France and England at one time, he had put all Europe in great hazard ere this.

But it may be persuaded, that your majesty may relieve the Netherlands underhand, as the French do, or her majesty did in the beginning of their revolt, for which the king of Spain will not dare to quarrel for the present; for princes must sometimes look through their fingers as well as poor men. Maximilian, the king of the Romans, made a peace with Charles VIII. of France, notwithstanding he had taken from him the duchess of Britain, to whom he was

married by proxy, and rejected Maximilian's daughter; (a double and most intolerable injury;) but such a kind of peace, which is apparently dissembled, cannot last long; for as it was said by Annius, prætor of the Latins to the Romans, *Pacem si bonam dederitis et fidelem, sit perpetua, si malam, haud diuturna:* "A just and reasonable peace "may hold and continue; but one obtained through wicked "practices can never last long."

If a present parley be proposed, the question is, who shall receive the greatest profit by the cessation?

The king of Spain is now so poor, as he employed the Jesuits to beg for him at every church-door in Spain.

His revenues are mortgaged in such sort, as of twenty-five millions, he has but five millions free; his ships are worn out and consumed, and his people in general exceeding poor.

He hath of late received many affronts and losses; and in Peru many of the chiefest and best towns are recovered from him by the natives.

And commonly, when great monarchies begin once in the least to decline, their dissipation will soon follow after.

The Spanish empire hath been greatly shaken, and hath begun of late years to decline; and it is a principle in philosophy, that *omnis diminutio est preparatio ad corruptionem*, "that the least decay of any part is a forerunner of "the destruction of the whole."

And though it may be a while upheld, as the state of Rome was by Vespasian and Trajan; yet following the former declination, *retro statim sublapsa fertur usque dum plane subversa fuit*, "it presently fell back again, and "never left declining till the Roman state was utterly over-"thrown."

But if now the king of Spain can obtain peace upon any condition reasonable, so as he may fortify his weakness, both in Europe and the Indies, and gather again sufficient riches, putting the English from the exercise of war in those parts, and so make us to forget his Indies, till those be consumed that know them; he will soon grow to his former greatness

and pride: and then, if your majesty shall leave the Low Countries, and he find us by ourselves, it will not be long ere he remembers his old practices and attempts.

And your majesty having divers nations, and divers humours to content, he will not doubt to find a great advantage by our neglecting the reformed Netherlands abroad, and from the hardships the Roman catholics complain of at home.

Moreover, this advantage the Spanish king shall ever have; that whensoever they shall think fit to make a pretence, they may find a time, once a year, to stay, and confiscate a hundred sail of our merchants' best ships and goods in his own ports; and your majesty shall not find any of theirs in all England.

If then a peace give him time to repair and fortify himself, and increase his treasure, your majesty can have no assurance, but that when he is repaired, he may take your majesty at all advantages.

The king being a catholic, and a child of the pope's, he can never in any respect affect you, or any other prince or state of the reformed religion.

It is very considerable, whether the way of war or the way of peace were the way of safety, yea or no; especially as peace may be dangerous, and the war profitable.

But for my own opinion, (which is little worth,) I do consent, that the Netherlands will not be drawn, without a most forcible extremity, to yield themselves to the Spanish king.

The king of Spain takes himself to be their natural lord; the injury which he conceiveth hath been done him by the Netherlands is an unquenchable fire; for he hath been by them both wasted, prevented, and dishonoured, and therefore it will be hard to persuade these people to put their necks under the Spanish sword.

Marshal Montluc, speaking of the death of Castilian, useth these words; *Nous perdons l'entendement, ne songeans pas, que les roix ont plus de cœur que nous, et qu'ils oublient plutost les services que les offences:* "We must "excuse the inconsiderateness of those who do not think

"that princes have a greater heart and stomach than we, "and that they may forget a great many services, but never "one injury."

Francis the II. never forgot the tumult at Amboise.

Charles the IX. the enterprise at Meaux.

Richard the II. of England, the earl of Arundel, who forced him to take the Tower for refuge.

It is not very likely that a king of Spain will forget a rebellion of thirty years' continuance; in which he hath spent one hundred millions of ducats, lost so much honour, and so many worthy men; and if an accommodation were agreed on betwixt the Netherlands and Spain, yet I cannot believe that the Netherlands will think themselves secure upon any simple agreement, but that they will ever stand upon their guard.

And if the Spanish king should require their assistance (at any time after composition) against this kingdom, yet they would be well advised in this point, knowing right well that England is the rampire and defence of their estates, and cannot but believe, that although your majesty do not hastily enter into a war for them, yet your majesty will always have an eye to their subsistence.

Furthermore, it will be very fearful to both sides, how they may trust one another in joint forces; remembering this precept, *Non utatur dux militum opere nec persona offensi;* "That generals must not take into their service "the persons of those that are disgusted."

Again, the States, that have found the sweet of commanding, will not easily make themselves servants to the will of another. And an estate once established is not changed but by violence.

The States have moreover banished and put from them all their nobility, but very few poor ones, and have shared all their inheritance among them; therefore they know if they render themselves to the Spaniards, those great persons will be restored and revenged; besides, where the religion is in question, when the Spaniards will stand on so

many points of honour, and the Netherlands on so many conditions of safety, the dispute will not be ended in haste.

It is true, that the French are most observed to concern themselves, of all other, in this affair; for both count Maurice, and such of the nobility and gentry that remain, are most addicted that way.

France is already one of the greatest kingdoms in Europe, and our farthest friend.

They know your majesty's right to all, and to Normandy and Aquitaine without dispute.

Your majesty hath not now a duke of Burgundy, and of Britain, to assist you, as your predecessors had; France hath all yours, and the countries of Provence, Anjou, Burgundy itself, and a great part of Picardy also; and your majesty not so much as Calais, or any place of strength of your own, on that side, in your possession.

It may be said, that your majesty shall have the assistance of the numerous reformed French, if need require; who are supposed to be friends to England, because enemies to the Roman catholics: and it may be, to get themselves good conditions, these may move, they may agree for the beginning, but not for the end: Newhaven may put your majesty in mind what may be hoped from the French, of what religion soever.

The advantage which your majesty hath over the French is only in shipping. If the French get the Low Countries, that advantage is also lost.

And although it be probable that the Netherlands will remember Monsieur's attempts upon Antwerp, Dunkirk, and other places, after he was elected duke of Brabant; yet I hope I shall never live to see the day wherein the French shall be masters of the Netherlands, upon any conditions; for they may serve the French to infinite purposes, although they suffer them not to be absolute in their cities and fortified places.

For if the army of the States shall march on the one side,

and that of France on the other side, the archduke will soon be crushed between them; France having a good title to Flanders, Artois, &c.

And then your majesty finding how dangerous it will be for yourself to suffer France to be the master of the Netherlands, and so many ships, and to possess so many of the inland provinces withal, cannot, for your own safety's sake, assist the archduke; whereas by assisting the Netherlands, your majesty might have made the war profitable, and by their shipping commanded all the trade in the world.

Then your majesty, by taking part with the archduke, shall but waste yourself, and impoverish all your people and commonwealth.

But your majesty well knowing, that *consiliis nulla res tam inimica est quam celeritas*, "that nothing is so great "an enemy to counsel as too much haste," will, as I think, be first resolved, what the estates will contribute towards the war upon Spain and the Indies.

Secondly, in what places they will make the war in the Low Countries, in Flanders or Dunkirk; that your majesty may thereby have equal profit, and that your majesty's people be not spoiled as heretofore.

Thirdly, how your majesty shall be paid your great debts already owing.

And lastly, how your majesty shall be assured both of the cautionary towns, and of their assistance for the future, when your majesty shall further enable them; seeing, by your majesty's late goodness, they are already made so forcible, that as you are either driven to defend them or to fear them, so your majesty may in some part be assured of their dependance.

Your majesty will also understand how difficult a thing it is to be assured of the Spanish king and the archduke.

If you abandon the Netherlands, how to free your people from the inquisition of Spain, enlarge their trades, and be secured not to have your ships stayed in his ports at his pleasure.

There are many considerations which ought to forerun a

war: *Possunt arma facile sumi, sed, eis sumptis, eorum difficilis est depositio:* "It is an easy matter to take up arms "and go to war; but to carry it on with that vigour and "success as to obtain a happy conclusion is exceeding ha-"zardous and difficult."

Your majesty will further know the quantity of your treasure, and how a war may be as well supplied as begun: *Prudens militum præfectus bellum sine pecunia non constituat; quoniam ea, si defuerit, difficillimum est exercitum convenire, aut conventum conservare:* "A prudent prince "will consider his treasure and revenues before he goes to "war; for if money be wanting, it is impossible to get an "army together; or when they are so, to preserve them; "for money is the only cord and sinew that can draw men "into his service, or keep them fast when they are there: "for princes that think to be served for nought will have "their business come to nothing."

There are many other provisions to be made towards a safe and honourable management of a war, which are not so soon gathered together. It is in vain to expect to see a workman build a house before he hath materials; *Nullum movendum est bellum nisi ad illud paratis necessariis:* "Nobody will engage in a war, before all things necessary "to support and carry on that war be provided."

The affair is great which your majesty is at present to consider of, and the greatest that ever king of England had; for the branches are many, and most weighty; the eyes of all the world behold your majesty herein; and as your majesty shall deal like yourself, so shall your majesty be valued of all nations: if any persuade your majesty to pass it over slightly, he is ignorant, and understands it not.

If any persuade your majesty to a hasty conclusion for either part, I should suspect him to be more concerned for his own, or some others, than for your majesty's interest, and that he were partial to the one or the other; for in every particular that shall be handled, many mischiefs may be folded up, which will not appear at the first; and, on

the contrary, much honour and great assurance of advantage may be only visible; *Sed quod interius malum tegunt principia, posteriora produnt:* "But evil then does us the "most mischief, when it comes to us under the mask and "disguise of good; and the effects of a secret and un-"discovered danger are of all others the most fatal."

First, in the question of leaving or succouring the Netherlands; whether it shall be openly or underhand, if at all; what profit every way, and what assurance may be gotten to your majesty by aiding them, and what danger by leaving them.

If your majesty make peace with Spain, what the conditions shall be; and how your majesty shall be assured of their faithful performance of them.

And these fold up in them many considerations of no small consequence; and I hope your majesty's prudent determination for the advantage of England and Europe will make your wisdom so appear to the world, that it may be truly said, *Quam mirabilis sit copula sapientiæ cum potentia!* "How admirable is the conjunction of wisdom and "power!" And because it is also true, that *nulli unquam Deus omnia dedit,* "that God never endued any one man "with all things;" your majesty must ease yourself in some part by the help of council; for, *sapientiæ argumentum in principe nullum majus, quam sapientum virorum consilio uti:* "For a prince to adhere to the advice and "counsel of wise men, is the greatest argument of his own "wisdom."

For myself, because I have presumed thus far upon hope of your majesty's gracious pardon and favourable acceptance, being the meanest and unworthiest of all others, I can say but this; *Si le sel un conseil donne, je n'en fais refus pour personne;* "If a counsel appears good and season-"able, it will not be refused for his sake that gives it."

I dare not write all I desire, for I know not to whose hands these may come: this I beseech your majesty to know, that it proceedeth from an humble and faithful heart,

which your majesty cannot beat from the love of your royal person and good estate.

In this great business God direct your majesty's mind: *Agitur de imperio mundi*: "The dispute is no less than of "the government of the whole world, as to us." When the house is built, it is ill mending the foundation thereof.

God hath so blessed your majesty in the situation of your kingdoms, that the growth of any of your neighbouring states depends upon your majesty's election, whom you will aid and assist.

Your majesty may propound such necessary conditions, both to the States and the Spanish side, as you may break with either, upon the grounds both of honour and reason.

Now no man in this case can assure his council, or undertake to give judgment of the success; for, according to Aristotle, *Omnia quæ veniunt in consultationem talia sunt, qualia possint aliter accidere:* "Every thing that comes "under deliberation is of such an uncertain condition and "nature, that things may happen quite different from what "the wisest man could foresee."

But if your majesty be not affectionate to either party, then, no doubt, but your majesty will follow the way which appeareth to be most safe, most profitable, and most honourable.

And whosoever loveth your majesty will not only wish it, but withal present the little talent of his knowledge therein; for, *non tantum qui mutat locum, sed fugit qui se sub silentio abscondit;* "for he that will be silent when he "might declare and publish what may prove useful to your "majesty's government, does as much decline your service "as he that flies your kingdoms."

# A DISCOURSE

OF

## THE INVENTION OF SHIPS, ANCHORS, COMPASS, &c.

### THE FIRST NATURAL WAR, THE SEVERAL USES, DEFECTS, AND SUPPLIES OF SHIPPING; THE STRENGTH AND DEFECTS OF THE SEA-FORCES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, AND VENICE:

TOGETHER WITH

### THE FIVE MANIFEST CAUSES OF THE SUDDEN APPEARING OF THE HOLLANDERS.

THAT the ark of Noah was the first ship, because the invention of God himself, although some men have believed, yet it is certain that the world being planted before the flood the same could not be performed without some transporting vessels. It is true, and the success proves it, that there was not any so capacious, nor so strong to defend itself against so violent and so continued a pouring down of rain, as the ark of Noah, the invention of God himself; for of what fashion or fabric soever, the rest, with all mankind, perished, according to the ordinance of God. And probable it is, that the anchors, whereof Ovid made mention, found on high mountains, *Et inventa est in montibus anchora summis*, were remaining of ships wrecked at the general flood.

After the flood, it is said that Minos, who lived two descents before the war of Troy, sent out ships to free the Grecian seas of pirates; which shews that there had been either trade or war upon the waters before his time also.

The expedition of the Argonauts was after Minos*; and so was the plantation of Tyrene in Africa, by Battus, who

* Pindar.

was one of Jason's companions; and that the Tyrians had trade by sea before the war of Troy, Homer tells us.

Others give the first dominion upon the waters to Neptune[b], who, for the great exploits he did in the service of Saturn, was, by after ages, called the god of the seas. But the Corinthians ascribe the invention of rowing vessels to a citizen of their own called Amenocles; and that the first naval war was made between the Samians and Corcyrians[c].

Ithicus's History, changed into Latin by St. Hierome, affirms, that Griphon the Scythian was the inventor of long boats, or galleys, in the northern seas; and Strabo gives the invention of the anchor with two hooks to the Scythian Anacharsis, but the Greeks to Eupolemus.

It is also said, that Icarus invented the sail, and others other pieces and parts of the ships and boats, whereof the certain knowledge is of no great moment. This is certain, that the sons and nephews of Noah, who peopled the isles of the Gentiles, and gave their own names to many of them, had vessels to transport themselves long before the days of Minos; and for my own opinion, I do not think that any one nation (the Syrians excepted, to whom the knowledge of the ark came, as the story of the creation did soon after Moses) did find out, at once, the device either of ship or boat, in which they durst venture themselves upon the seas: but being forced by necessity to pass over rivers or lakes, they first bound together certain reeds or canes, by which they transported themselves. *Calamorum falces*, saith D. Siculus, *admodum ingentes inter se conjungunt.*

Others made rafts of wood, and other devised the boat of one tree called the canoe, which the Gauls upon the river of Roan used in assisting the transportation of Hannibal's army, in his enterprise of Italy. *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant arbores*[d], saith Livy; but Polydor Virgil[e] gives the invention of those canoes to the Germans inhabiting about the river of Danubius, which kind of hollow trees Isidor calls carabes.

[b] D. Sic. lib. 6.
[c] Lib. Ger. 1. cap. 1.
[d] Livy, 1. lib. dec.
[e] Polidor, lib. 3.

The Britains[f] had boats made of willow twigs, and covered on the outside with bullock-hides, and so had the Venetians; of which Lucan, *Primum cana salix, &c. malefacto, &c.;* and Julius Solinus, *Navigant autem Vimineis alveis quos circundant ambitione tergorum bubalorum.* The same kind of boats had the Germans[g], saith Isidor, who in his time committed many robberies in them. But whosoever devised the canoe among the Danubians, or among the Gauls, sure I am that the Indians of America never had any trade with either of these nations; and yet from Frobisher's straits to the straits of Magellan those boats are found, and in some parts of that length, as I have seen them rowed with twenty oars of a side.

The truth is, that all nations, how remote soever, being all reasonable creatures, and enjoying one and the same imagination and fantasy, have devised, according to their means and materials, the same things.

The eastern people, who have had from all antiquity the use of iron, have found out the saw, and with the saw they have sundered trees in boards and planks, and have joined them together with nails, and so made boats and galleys safe and portable; so have they built cities and towns of timber, and the like in all else.

On the contrary, the West Indies, and many nations of the Africans, wanting means and materials, have been taught by their own necessities to pass rivers in a boat of one tree, and to tie unsquared poles together on the top for their houses, which they cover with large leaves; yea, the same boats and the same buildings are found in countries two thousand miles distant, debarred from all commerce by unpassable mountains, lakes, and deserts. Nature hath taught them all to choose kings and captains for their leaders and judges. They all have lighted on the invention of bows and arrows; all have targets and wooden swords; all have instruments to encourage them to fight; all that have

[f] Such boats are now used for sporting in the fens.
[g] Isidor. Orig. 9. de Navig. cap. 1.

corn beat it in mortars and make cakes, baking them upon slate-stones; all devised laws without any grounds had from the scriptures, or from Aristotle's Politick, whereby they are governed; all that dwell near enemies impale their villages, to save themselves from surprise. Yea, besides the same inventions, all have the same natural impulsions; they follow nature in the choice of many wives; and there are every where among them which, out of a kind of wolfish ferocity, eat man's flesh; yea, most of them believe in a second life, and they are all of them idolaters in one kind or other.

For the northern parts of the world, it was long ere they grew to any perfection in shipping; for we read that Hengist and Horsa came over into this land in long boats, in which for the first time, being called in by the Britains, they transported five thousand soldiers: and that after, they came with a supply of ten thousand more, shipped in thirty vessels, which the Saxons call keels, and our old historians cogions. And in Cæsar's time, the French Britains, who were then esteemed the best seamen, had very untoward tubs, in which they made war against him: for they took the winds in sails of leather, heavy and unpliable, and they fasten their ships to the ground, and ride at anchor with cables of iron chains, having neither canvass nor cordage; insomuch as the best of them, which were Vannes, are described with high heads raised up deformedly above the rest of the buildings; to which kind of form that they were constrained, the reason is manifest; for had their cables of iron chains held any great length they had been unportable, and being short, the ships must have sunk at an anchor in any storm of weather or counter-tide. And such was their simplicity in those days, as instead of accommodating their furniture to their ships, they formed their ships to their furniture; not unlike the courtiers of this age, who fit their bodies and their feet to their doublets and shoes, and not their doublets and shoes to their bodies and feet.

The Pomerlanders inhabiting the south part of the Baltic, or eastland sea, used a kind of boat with the prow at both

ends, so as they need not wend or hold water, but went on and returned indifferently; of which Tacitus[h], *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent; forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium.* "Next are the cities of the Suiones, which "are mighty at sea, not only in men and arms, but in fleets. "The form of their vessels differs in this, that a prow at each "end enables them to row forward either way alike; nei-"ther use they sails, nor place their oars in order upon the "sides, but carrying the oar loose, they shift it hither and "thither at pleasure, as is the manner in some rivers." Yea, at this time both the Turks and Christians use these kind of boats upon the river of Danubius, and call them *nacerne*.

True it is, that before Cæsar's invading of this land, we do find that the Britains had not any shipping at all, other than their boats of twigs covered with hides as aforesaid.

The Saxons, when they were drawn in by the Britains, came hither by sea; and after that time, finding that without shipping they could neither defend themselves nor exercise any trade, they began to make some provision for a navy, such as it was, which being first considered of by Egbert, Alfred, Edgar, and Etheldred augmented it: and how true it is, I know not, but it is written of Edgar, that he increased the fleet he found to two thousand six hundred sail. After whom Etheldred made a law, that whosoever was lord of three hundred and ten hide of land, should build and furnish one ship for the defence of their country.

Notwithstanding all these provisions, the Danes invaded them, and having better ships than they had, made their way for a new conquest.

The Normans grew better shipwrights than either of both, and made the last conquest of this land; a land which can never be conquered whilst the kings thereof keep the dominion of the seas; which dominion I do not find that it

[h] Tacitus de moribus German.

was ever absolute till the time of Henry the Eighth; but that we fought sometimes with good, sometimes with ill success, as we shall shew hereafter more particularly.

But omitting the dispute of the first navigators, certain it is, that the invention of the compass was had from our northern nations, were it from the Germans, Norwegians, Britains, or Danes; for even to this day the old northern words are used for the division of winds upon the quarter of the compass, not only by the Danes, Germans, Swedes, Britains, and all in the ocean that understand the terms and names of the winds in their own language; but the French and Spanish call the sunrising winds east, and the sunsetting winds west, the rest north and south; and so, by the same terms, in all the divisions of south-east, north-east, south-west, north-west, and the rest.

And if we compare the marvellous great transportations of people by the Saxons, Angles, Danes, Goths, Swedes, Norwegians especially, and others; and how many fleets for supplies have been set out by them; with the swarms of Danes, as well in our seas as when they invaded and conquered Sicily, together with the colonies planted by the Tyrians in Africa as elsewhere, and of the Carthaginians, the sons of the Tyrians in Spain; it is hard to judge which of these nations have most commanded the seas, though, for priority, Tibullus and Ovid give it the Tyrians;

*Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros*[h].

And Ovid,

*Magna minorque feræ; quarum regis altera Graias,*
*Altera Sidonias, utraque sicca, rates.*

And it is true, that the first good ships were among the Tyrians[i], and they had good and great ships not long after the war of Troy; and in Solomon's time they were of that account, as Solomon invited Hiram king of Tyre to join with him in his journey into the East Indies; for the Israelites, till then, never traded by sea, and seldom, if ever, after it; and that the Tyrians were the chief in that enterprise it appears in that they were called *nautas peritos maris;* in

[h] Tibul. Eleg. [i] Strab. lib. 16.

the Hebrew, saith Junius, *homines navium*[k]; and in our English, *mariners*.

It is also written in the second of Chronicles, the eighth, that Hiram sent Solomon ships, *et servos peritos maris*, "and servants skilful of the sea;" whereby it is probable that the Tyrians had used the trade of East India before the days of Solomon, or before the reign of David, when themselves commanded the ports of the Red sea. But the Edumæans being beaten by David, and the port of Ezion-geber now subject to Solomon, the Tyrians were forced to make Solomon the chief of that expedition, and to join with him in the enterprise; for the Tyrians had no pass to the Red sea but through the territory of Solomon, and by his sufferance.

Whosoever were the inventors, we find that every age had added somewhat to ships, and to all things else; and in my own time the shape of our English ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the topmast (a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea and harbour) hath been devised, together with the chain-pump, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary did; we have lately added the bonnet and the drabler. To the courses we have devised studding-sails, top-gallant-sails, sprit-sails, top-sails; the weighing of anchors by the capstan is also new. We have fallen into consideration of the length of cables, and by it we resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow; witness our small Milbrook men of Cornwall, that rid it out at anchor, half-seas over between England and Ireland, all the winter quarter; and witness the Hollanders, that were wont to ride before Dunkirk with the wind at north-west, making a lee-shore in all weathers; for true it is, that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities; and the reason is, because it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship riding at that length is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretched. In extremity, we carry our ordnance better than we were wont, because our nether overloops are

[k] Junius, 1 King. cap. 9.

raised commonly from the water, to wit, between the lower part of the port and the sea.

In king Henry the Eighth's time, and in his presence, at Portsmouth, the Mary Rose, by a little sway of the ship in casting about, her ports being within sixteen inches of the water, was overset and lost, and in her that worthy knight sir George Carew, cousin-german to the lord Carew, and with him (besides many other gentlemen) the father of the late renowned sir Richard Greenvil.

We have also raised our second decks, and given more vent thereby to our ordnance, tying on our nether overloop.

We have added cross pillars in our royal ships to strengthen them, which being fastened from the kelson to the beams of the second deck, keep them from settling, or from giving way in all distresses.

We have given longer floors to our ships than in elder times, and better bearing under water, whereby they never fall into the sea, alter the head, and shake the whole body, nor sink astern, nor stoop upon a wind, by which the breaking loose of our ordnance, or the not use of them, with many other discommodities, are avoided.

And to say the truth, a miserable shame and dishonour it were for our shipwrights, if they did not exceed all other in the setting up of our royal ships, the errors of other nations being far more excusable than ours. For the kings of England have for many years been at the charge to build and furnish a navy of powerful ships for their own defence, and for the wars only; whereas the French, the Spaniards, the Portugals, and the Hollanders (till of late) have had no proper fleet belonging to their princes or states. Only the Venetians, for a long time, have maintained their arsenal of galleys, and the kings of Denmark and Sweden have had good ships for these last fifty years; I say, that the forenamed kings, especially the Spaniards and Portugals, have ships of great bulk, but fitter for the merchant than for the man of war, for burden than for battle. But as Popelinire well observeth, the forces of princes by sea are *marques de*

*grandeur d'estat*, "are marks of the greatness of an estate," for whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself. Yet can I not deny, but that the Spaniards, being afraid of their Indian fleets, have built some few very good ships, but he hath no ships in garrison as his majesty hath, and, to say the truth, no sure place to keep them in; but in all invasions he is driven to take up of all nations which comes into his ports for trade.

The Venetians, while they attended their fleets, and employed themselves in their eastern conquest, were great and powerful princes, and commanded the maritimate parts of Croatia, Dalmatia, Albania, and Epirus; were lords of Peloponnesus, and the islands adjoining, of Cyprus, Candia, and many other places; but after they sought to greaten themselves in Italy itself, using strangers for the commanders of their armies, the Turks, by degrees, beat them out of all their goodly countries, and have now confined them ([1] Candia excepted) to a few small Grecian islands, which with great difficulty they enjoy.

The first honour they obtained was by making war upon the Istrii by sea; and had they been true to their spouse, to wit, the seas, which once a year they marry, the Turks had never prevailed against them, nor ever been able to besiege any place of theirs to which he must have transported his armies by his galleys.

The Genoese were also exceeding powerful by sea, and held many places in the east, and contended often with the Venetians for superiority, destroying each other in a long continued sea war. Yea, the Genoese were the most famous mercenaries of all Europe, both by sea and land, for many years.

The French assisted themselves by land with the cross-bowers of Genoa against the English; namely, at the battle of Cressy the French had twelve thousand cross-bowers, Genoese. By sea, with their great ships called the caracks

[1] Candia is since lost.

of Genoa, they always strengthened their fleets against the English; but after Mahomet the Second had taken Constantinople, they lost Caffa, and all Taurica, Chersonesus, with the whole trade of the Euxine sea; and although they sent many supplies by the Hellespont, yet having often felt the smart of the Turk's cannon, they began to slack their succours, and were soon after supplanted. Yet do the Venetians to this day well maintain their estate by their sea forces; and a great loss it is to the Christian commonweal in general, that they are less than they were; and a precipitate counsel it was of those Christian kings their neighbours, when they joined in league against them, seeing they then were, and they yet are, the strongest rampires of Europe against the Turks.

But the Genoese have now but a few galleys, being altogether degenerate, and become merchants of money, and the Spanish king's bankers. But all the states and kingdoms of the world have changed form and policy.

The empire itself, which gave light to principalities, like a pharos, or high tower, to seamen, is now sunk down to the level of the soil. The greatness which it gave to the church of Rome, as before proved, was it which made itself little in haste; and therefore truly said, *Imperium amore religionis seipsum exhausisse*. The empire being also elective, and not successive, the emperors in being made profit of their own times, and sold from the empire many seigniories depending on it, and at so easy a rate, as Lucca freed itself for ten thousand crowns, and Florence for six thousand crowns; the rest the popes, then the Hanses, and lastly the Turks, have in effect ruined. And in which several inundations, many pieces have been recovered by other princes and states; as Basil, Zuric, and Berne, by the Switzers; (omitting many others,) Metz, Thoul, Verdun, by the French; Groign, Aix-la-Chapelle, Zutphen, Deventer, Nimeguen in Guelderland, Wesel, Antwerp, and many other places by the Spaniards and by the States; Dantzic, and other towns of importance, by the Polacs: insomuch as it is now become the most confused estate of the world, consist-

ing of an emperor in title without territory, who can ordain nothing of importance, but by a diet or assembly of the estates of many free princes, ecclesiastical and temporal; in effect, of equal force, diverse in religion and faction, and of free cities and Hanse Towns, whom the princes do not more desire to command, than they scorn to obey. Notwithstanding, being by far less than they were in number, and less in force and reputation, as they are not greatly able to offend others, so have they enough to do (being seated far asunder) to defend themselves; of whom hereafter more particularly.

The Castilians in the mean while are grown great, and by mistaking esteemed the greatest, having by marriage, conquest, practice [m], and purchase, devoured all kingdoms within Spain, with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Netherlands, and many places belonging to the empire and the princes thereof; besides the Indies East and West, the islands of the west ocean, and many places in Barbary, Guinea, Congo, and elsewhere.

France hath also enlarged itself by the one half, and reduced Normandy, Britain, and Aquitain, with all that the English had on that side the sea, together with Languedoc, Foix, Armignac, Berne, and Dauphiny.

For this kingdom of Great Britain, it hath had by his majesty a strong addition; the postern by which we were so often heretofore entered and surprised is now made up, and we shall not hereafter need the double face of Janus, to look north and south at once.

But there is no state grown in haste but that of the United Provinces, and especially in their sea-forces, and by a contrary way to that of France or Spain, the latter by invasion, the former by oppression; for I myself may remember when one ship of her majesty's would have made forty Hollander's strike sail, and to come to anchor. They did not then dispute *de mari libero*, but readily acknowledged the English to be *domini maris Britannici*. That we are less powerful than we were, I do hardly believe it; for

[m] Practice was in this age used for treachery.

although we have not at this time one hundred and thirty-five ships belonging to the subjects, of five hundred tons each ship, as it is said we had in the twenty-fourth year of queen Elizabeth; at which time also, upon a general view and muster, there were found in England, of all men fit to bear arms, eleven hundred and seventy-two thousand, yet are our merchants' ships now far more warlike and better appointed than they were, and the navy royal double as strong as then it was: for these were the ships of her majesty's navy at that time;

1. The Triumph.
2. The Eliz. Jonas.
3. The White Bear.
4. The Philip and Mary.
5. The Bonaventure.
6. The Golden Lion.
7. The Victory.
8. The Revenge.
9. The Hope.
10. The Mary Rose.
11. The Dreadnaught.
12. The Minion.
13. The Swiftsure.

To which there hath been added:

14. The Antelope.
15. The Foresight.
16. The Swallow.
17. The Handmaid.
18. The Gennet.
19. The Bark of Bullen.
20. The Aid.
21. The Achates.
22. The Falcon.
23. The Tiger.
24. The Bull.

We have not, therefore, less force than we had, the fashion and furnishing of our ships considered: for there are in England, at this time, four hundred sail of merchants fit for the wars, which the Spaniards would call galleons; to which we may add two hundred sail of crumsters, or hoys, of Newcastle, which each of them will bear six demi-culverins and four sakers, needing no other addition of building than a slight spar deck fore and aft, as the seamen call it, which is a slight deck throughout. These two hundred, which may be chosen out of four hundred, by reason of their ready staying and turning, by reason of their windwardness, and by reason of their drawing of little water; and they are of extreme vantage near the shore, and in all bays and rivers, to turn in and out; these, I say, alone,

well manned and well conducted, would trouble the greatest prince of Europe to encounter in our seas; for they stay and turn so readily, as, ordering them into small squadrons, three of them at once may give their broadsides upon any one great ship, or upon any angle or side of an enemy's fleet; they shall be able to continue a perpetual volley of demi-culverins without intermission, and either sink or slaughter the men, or utterly disorder any fleet of cross sails with which they encounter.

I say then, if a vanguard be ordained of these hoys, who will easily recover the wind of any other ships, with a battle of four hundred other warlike ships, and a rear of thirty of his majesty's ships to sustain, relieve, and countenance the rest, (if God beat them not,) I know not what strength can be gathered in all Europe to beat them. And if it be objected, that the States can furnish a far greater number, I answer, that his majesty's forty ships, added to six hundred before-named, are of incomparably greater force than all that Holland and Zealand can furnish for the wars. As also that a greater number would breed the same confusion that was found in Xerxes' land army of seventeen hundred thousand soldiers; for there is a certain proportion both by sea and land, beyond which the excess brings nothing but disorders and amazement.

Of those hoys, carvils, or crumsters, call them what you will, there was a notable experience made in the year 1574, in the river of Antwerp, near Romerswael, where the admiral Boyset, with his crumsters, overthrew the Spanish fleet of great ships conducted by Julian Romero; so contrary to the expectation of don Lewis, the great commander and lieutenant of the Netherlands for the king of Spain, as he came to the banks of Bergen to behold the slaughter of the Zealanders; but, contrary to his expectation, he beheld his armado, some of them sunk, some of them thrust on the shore, and most of the rest mastered and possessed by his enemies; insomuch as his great captain Romero, with great difficulty, some say in a skiff, some say by swimming, saved himself.

The like success had captain Werst of Zealand, against the fleet which transported the duke of Medini Cœli, who was sent out of Spain by sea to govern the Netherlands in place of the duke of Alva; for with twelve crumsters or hoys, of the first troop of twenty-one sail he took all but three, and he forced the second (being twelve great ships filled with two thousand soldiers) to run under the Ramakins, being then in the Spaniard's possession.

But whence comes this dispute? Not from the increase of numbers, not because our neighbours breed more mariners than we do, nor from the greatness of their trade in all parts of the world; for the French creep into all corners of America and Africa, as they do; and the Spaniards and Portugals employ more ships by many (fishing trades excepted) than the Netherlands do: but it comes from the detestable covetousness of such particular persons as have gotten licenses, and given way to the transporting of the English ordnance;

———*Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,*
*Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis.*

And that in so great abundance, as that not only our good friends the Hollanders and Zealanders have furnished themselves, and have them lying on their wharfs to sell to others; but all other nations have had from us, not only to furnish their fleets, but to garnish all their forts and other places, fortifying their coasts; without which the Spanish king durst not have dismounted so many pieces of brass in Naples and elsewhere, therewith to arm his great fleet in 88. But it was directly proved in the lower house of parliament, anno of queen Elizabeth, that there were landed in Naples above one hundred and forty culverins English; since which time also, and not long since, it is lamentable that so many have been transported into Spain. But those that belike then determined it, and the transporters, have now forsaken the country; and though the procurers remain, I am resolved that they also have forsaken the care of his majesty's estate, and the honour of this nation. I urge not this point as thinking it unfit to

furnish his majesty's good friends and allies, who have had with us one common enemy for many years; but all politic estates have well observed this precept, *Ut sit tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum futurum:* for what are all the ships in the world to be valued at, other than a company of floating tubs, were they not furnished with ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themselves? If a ship of a thousand tons had in her a thousand musketeers, and never a great gun, with one crumster, carrying ten or thirteen culverins, she may be beaten to pieces, and her men slaughtered. Certainly the advantage which the English had by their bows and arrows in former times, was never so great as we might now have had by our iron ordnance, if we had either kept it within the land, kept it from our enemies, or imparted it to our friends moderately; for as by the former we obtained many notable victories, and made ourselves masters of many parts of France, so by the latter we might have commanded the seas, and thereby the trade of the world itself. But we have now, to our future prejudice, and how far to our prejudice I know not, forged hammers, and delivered them out of our hands, to break our own bones withal.

For the conclusion of this dispute, there are five manifest causes of the upgrowing of the Hollanders and Zealanders.

1. The first is, the favour and assistance of queen Elizabeth, and the king's majesty, which the late worthy and famous prince of Orange did always acknowledge: and in the year 1582. when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the earl of Leicester into England, and Monsieur's arrival there, when he delivered me his letters to her majesty, he prayed me to say to the queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur;* for certainly they had withered in the bud, and sunk in the beginning of their navigation, had not her majesty assisted them.

2. The second cause was, the employing of their own people in their trades and fishings, and the entertaining of strangers to serve them in their armies by land.

3. The third is, the fidelity of the house of Nassau, and

their services done them, especially of that renowned prince Maurice, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the duke of Parma twice into France, while in his absence he recovered those strong places of Zealand and Frizeland, as Deventer, Zutphen, &c.

5. And the fifth, the embarging and confiscating of their ships in Spain, which constrained them, and gave them courage to trade by force into the East and West Indies, and in Africa, in which they employ one hundred and eighty ships, and eight thousand seven hundred mariners. The success of a counsel so contrary to their wisdom that gave it, as all the wit, and all the force the Spaniards have, will hardly, if ever, recover the damage thereby received.

For to repair that ruin of the Hollanders' trade into both Indies, the Spaniards did not only labour the truce, but the king was content to quit the sovereignty of the United Provinces, and to acknowledge them for free states, neither holding nor depending on the crown of Spain. But be their estates what it will, let not them deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves masters of the sea; for certainly the shipping of England, with the great squadron of his majesty's navy royal, are able, in despite of any prince or state in Europe, to command the great and large field of the ocean. But as I shall never think him a lover of this land or of the king, that shall persuade his majesty from embracing the amity of the states of the United Provinces; (for his majesty is no less safe by them, than they invincible by him;) so I would wish them (because after my duty to mine own sovereign, and the love of my country, I honour them most) that they remember and consider it, seeing that their passage and repassage lies through the British seas; that there is no port in France, from Calais to Flushing, that can receive their ships; that many times outward by westerly winds, and ordinarily homewards, not only from the East Indies, but from the straits, and from Spain, all southerly winds (the breezes of our climate) thrust them of necessity into the king's ports, how

much his majesty's favour doth concern them. For if (as themselves confess in their last treaty of truce with the Spaniards) they subsist by their trades, the disturbance of their trades (which England can only disturb) will also disturb their subsistence. The rest I will omit, because I can never doubt either their gratitudes or their wisdoms. For our Newcastle trade (from which I have digressed) I refer the reader to the author of the Trade's Increase, a gentleman to me unknown; but so far as I can judge, he hath many things very considerable in that short treatise of his, yea, both considerable and praiseworthy; and among the rest, the advice which he hath given for the maintenance of our hoys and carvils of Newcastle, which may serve us, besides the breeding of mariners, for good ships of war, and of exceeding advantage. And certainly I cannot but admire why the impositions of five shillings should any way dishearten them, seeing there is but one company in England upon whose trade any new payments are laid, but that they on whom it is laid raise profit by it. The silkmen, if they pay his majesty twelvepence upon a yard of satin, they not only raise that twelvepence, but they impose twelvepence or two shillings more upon the subject; so do they upon all they sell of what kind soever, as all other retailers do, of what quality or profession soever: and seeing all the maritimate provinces of France and Flanders, all Holland and Zealand, Embden and Bremen, &c. cannot want our Newcastle or our Welsh coals, the imposition cannot impoverish the transporter, but that the buyer must make payment accordingly: and if the impositions laid on these things, whereof this kingdom hath no necessary use, as upon silks, velvets, gold and silver lace, and cloaths of gold and silver, cut-works, cambrics, and a world of other trumperies, doth in nothing hinder their vent here, but that they are more used than ever they were, to the utter impoverishing of the land in general, and of those poppinjays that value themselves by their outsides and by their players' coats; certainly the imposing upon coals, which other nations cannot want, can be no hinderance at all to the New-

castlemen, but that they may raise it again upon the French and other nations, as those nations themselves do which fetch them from us with their own shipping.

For conclusion of this chapter, I say, that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any respect in the world, seeing the preservation of the state and monarchy doth surmount all other respects, that strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our own commodities and those of foreign nations: for it is no wonder we are overtopped in all the trades we have abroad, and far off, seeing we have the grass cut from under our feet in our fields and pastures.

# OBSERVATIONS

CONCERNING THE

## ROYAL NAVY AND SEA-SERVICE.

DEDICATED TO THE MOST NOBLE AND ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

HAVING formerly, most excellent prince, discoursed of a maritimal voyage, and the passages and incidents therein, I think it not impertinent, nor differing from my purpose, to second the same with some necessary relations concerning the royal navy, with the services and offices thereto belonging: for as the perfection and excellency of our shipping is great and remarkable, so the imperfections and defects of the same, by use and experience of late years, have been found to be divers and inconvenient; as it falls out many times in the circumstances of land-service by the change of arms, diversities of fortifications, and alteration of discipline. And therefore, for the due reformation, many things are necessarily and particularly to be spoken and considered of in their order. In regard whereof I will first begin with the officers, and therein crave pardon if (in speaking plainly and truly in a matter of so great importance) I do set aside all private respects and partiality; for in that which concerns the service and benefit of my prince and country, I will say with Cicero, *Nil mihi melius, nil mihi charius;* and therefore not justly to be taxed with any presumption for meddling with matters wherein I have no dealings nor charge. For that in the affairs of this nature every good subject is deeply interested, and bound in conscience and duty both to say and do his best.

*Of the officers of the navy.*

First, therefore, it were to be wished, that the chief officers under the lord admiral (as vice-admiral, treasurer, comptroller, surveyor, and the rest) should be men of the best experience in sea-service, as well as of judgment and practice in the utensils and necessaries belonging to shipping, even from the batt's end to the very kelson of a ship. And that no kind of people should be preferred to any of these offices, but such as have been throughly practised, and be very judicial in either kind of the above-named services. But we see it oftentimes to fall out otherwise: for sometimes, by the special favour of princes, (and many times by the mediation of great men for the preferment of their servants,) and now and then by virtue of the purse, and such like means, some people, very raw and ignorant, are very unworthily and unfitly nominated to those places, when men of desert and ability are held back and unpreferred, to the great hinderance of his majesty's service, to the prejudice of the navy, and to the no little discouragement of ancient and noble able servitors, when favour or partiality shall thus eat out knowledge and sufficiency in matters so nearly concerning the service and safety of the kingdom, wherein all private respects should be laid apart, and virtue truly regarded for itself.

*Of the building of ships.*

Secondly, it were no less behoveful for his majesty's service, and for the strength of the navy, that no ships should be built by the great; (as divers of them have been;) for by daily experience they are found to be the most weak, imperfect, and unserviceable ships of all the rest. And it is not otherwise to be presumed, but as the officers would be thought to be very frugal for his majesty in driving a bargain by the great at a near rate with the shipwright, so likewise the shipwright, on his part, will be as careful to gain by his labour, or at least to save himself harmless, and therefore suit his work slightly, according to a slight price;

out of the which present sparing and untimely thrift there grows many future inconveniences, and continual charge in repairing and reedifying such imperfect slight-built vessels. The proof and experience whereof hath been often found in new ships built at those rates, but so weakly, as that in their voyages they have been ready to founder in the seas with every extraordinary storm, and at their return been enforced to be new built: but seeing the officers of the admiralty do hold (by the grace of his majesty) places of so good credit and benefit, it is their parts therefore (being well waged and rewarded for the same) exactly to look into the sound building of ships, and to employ their care and travail, as well in the oversight thereof, as to provide that all things else belonging to the navy be good and well conditioned: for the strong and true building of a ship is not to be left barely to the fidelity of a merchantical artificer, (the chief end of whose work, in his own account, is his profit and gain,) but some superior officer ought to have a further regard in that business, if he be such a one as hath more judgment in the building and conditioning of a ship, than devotion to his own ease and profit.

Moreover, if any decayed ship be intended to be new made, it is more fit and profitable to make her a size less than she was, than bigger; for then her beams which were laid over-thwart from side to side will serve again, and most of her timbers and other parts will serve well to the building of a new ship: but if she should be made a size bigger, the timber of the old will be unprofitable for that purpose. We find by experience that the greatest ships are least serviceable, go very deep to water, and of marvellous charge and fearful cumber, our channels decaying every year: besides, they are less nimble, less mainable, and very seldom employed. *Grande navio, grande fatiga*, saith the Spaniard; a ship of six hundred tons will carry as good ordnance as a ship of twelve hundred tons; and though the greater have double her number, the lesser will turn her broadsides twice before the greater can wind once, and

so no advantage in that overplus of ordnance. And in the building of all ships these six things are principally required.

1. First, That she be strong built.

2. Secondly, That she be swift.

3. Thirdly, That she be stout-sided.

4. Fourthly, That she carry out her guns all weather.

5. Fifthly, That she hull and try well, which we call a good sea-ship.

6. Sixthly, That she stay well, when boarding and turning on a wind is required.

1. To make her strong consisteth in the truth of the workman and the care of the officers.

2. To make her sail well is to give a long run forward, and so afterward done by art and just proportion, as in laying out of her bows before and quarters behind she neither sink into nor hang in the water, but lie clear off and above it. And that the shipwrights be not deceived herein, (as for the most part they have ever been,) they must be sure that the ship sink no deeper into the water than they promise, for otherwise the bow and quarter will utterly spoil her sailing.

3. That she be stout, the same is provided and performed by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off above water, even from the lower edge of the ports.

4. To carry out her ordnance all weather, this long bearing floor, and sharing off from above the ports, is a chief cause; provided always that your lowest tire of ordnance must lie four foot clear above water when all loading is in, or else those your best pieces will be of small use at sea in any grown weather that makes the billows to rise; for then you shall be enforced to take in all your lower ports, or else hazard the ship. As befell to the Mary Rose, (a goodly vessel,) which in the days of king Henry VIII. being before the Isle of Wight with the rest of the royal navy, (to encounter the French fleet,) with a sudden puff of wind stooped her side, and took in water at her ports in such

abundance, as that she instantly sunk downright, and many gallant men in her. The captain of her was sir George Carew, knt. who also perished among the rest.

5. To make her a good sea-ship, that is, to hull and try well, there are two things specially to be observed; the one, that she have a good draught of water; the other, that she be not overcharged, which commonly the king's ships are; and therefore in them we are forced to lie at try with our main course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak she will perform.

6. The hinderance to stay well is the extreme length of a ship, especially if she be floaty, and want sharpness of way forward; and it is most true, that those over long ships are fitter for our seas than for the ocean: but one hundred foot long, and five and thirty foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ship.

It is a special observation, that all ships sharp before, that want a long floor, will fall roughly into the sea, and take in water over head and ears.

So will all narrow quartered ships sink after the tail. The high charging of ships it is that brings them all ill qualities, makes them extreme leeward, makes them sink deep into the water, makes them labour, and makes them overset.

Men may not expect the ease of many cabins and safety at once in sea-service. Two decks and a half is sufficient to yield shelter and lodging for men and mariners, and no more charging at all higher, but only one low cabin for the master. But our mariners will say, that a ship will bear more charging aloft for cabins; and that is true, if none but ordinary mariners were to serve in them, who are able to endure, and are used to the tumbling and rolling of ships from side to side when the sea is never so little grown; but men of better sort and better breeding would be glad to find more steadiness, and less tottering cage-work. And albeit the mariners do covet store of cabins, yet indeed they are but sluttish dens that breed sickness in peace, serving to

cover stealths, and in fight are dangerous to tear men with their splinters.

*Of harbouring and placing the navy.*

There are also many and great reasons why all his majesty's navy should not in such sort be penned up as they are in Rochester water, but only in respect of the ease and commodity of the officers, which is encountered with sundry inconveniences for the sea-service, the difficulty being very great to bring them in or out at times of need through so many flats and sands, if wind and weather be not very favourable. Besides, they must have sundry winds to bring them to the Land's End, and to put them to the seas, which oftentimes fails, and causeth delay when haste is most needful. For if any service be to be done upon the south parts of England, as the Wight, Portsmouth, the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, or westward towards Devonshire or Cornwall, or towards Wales or Ireland, it is so long ere his majesty's shipping can be brought about to recover any of these places, as much mischief may be done the while: for the same winds that bring in the enemy binds in our shipping in such sort, as that oftentimes in a month's space they are not able to recover the nearest of any of these above-named coasts. But how perilous a course it is, is easily discerned, and as easily remedied; seeing there are besides so many safe and good harbours to disperse and bestow some of the navy in, where they may ever lie fit for all services; as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth, Milford, and divers others, all of them being harbours very capable and convenient for shipping. But perhaps it will be alleged, that they cannot ride in any of these so safe from enemies as in Rochester water, because it reacheth far within the land, and is under the protection of some blockhouses. To which I answer thus, that with very easy care and provision, they may in most of these places ride sufficiently secure from any foreign practices. And I do not mean that all the whole navy should be subdivided into all these ports,

but that some half dozen or eight of the middling ships, and some pinnaces, should lie in the west; and yet not in any port so near the sea, as that in a dark night they may be endangered by enemies, with fire, or otherwise, but in some such places as Ashwater is by Plymouth, where an enemy must run up a fresh river a dozen miles after he hath passed the forts of the island, and the alarm given before he can come where they lie at anchor: in which river the greatest carack of Portugal may ride afloat ten miles within the forts. But if regard be only had of their safe keeping, and not also of their readiness and fitness for service, then let them never be sent abroad to be hazarded against the enemy's forces; for therein they shall be more subject to casualty and danger, than by lying in any of those harbours above specified. But certain it is, that these ships are purposely to serve his majesty, and to defend the kingdom from danger, and not to be so penned up from casualty, as that they should be the less able or serviceable in times of need; and therefore that objection savours not of good reason, but rather of self-respect in the officers, who are all, for the most part, well seated near about Rochester. But the service of his majesty and the safety of the realm (in my poor opinion) ought to prevail beyond all other respects whatsoever; and to him that casts those needless doubts it may well be said, *pereat qui timet umbras.*

*Of the needful expense in manning the navy, and other inconveniences, by placing all the fleet in Rochester water.*

In the service of the shipping lying for any of these places above-named, or for Spain, or for the islands, they are enforced of very necessity to press the best and greatest part of their men out of the west countries, which is no small charge in bringing them so far as between that and Rochester; and then when they are embarked at Rochester, their charge is again redoubled in their pay and expense of victuals before the ships can recover so far as Plymouth, which many times is long a doing; for they do ever usually touch at Plymouth in all southern voyages, for the furnish-

ing many sea necessaries which that country doth afford: and, therefore, for so many ships as should be there resident, the charges of conduct-money for mariners, of wages and of victuals, would be well saved for all that time which is spent betwixt Rochester and Plymouth. Besides, it were to be presumed, that enemies would not be so troublesome to the western coasts, nor that country itself would be so often dismayed with alarms as they have of late years been, if some of his majesty's good ships were resident in those parts. If therefore (in his majesty's wisdom) it should appear fit to bestow some of his shipping in any of these harbours afore-named, it shall be very needful likewise that there be a magazine of all manner of necessary provisions and munitions in the same places, according to the proportion of the shipping that there shall be resident, whereby such defects as by accident may fall out, shall, upon any occasion, be readily supplied, without delays or hinderance of service. And that withal, in the same places, some officers belonging to the admiralty be there always attendant, otherwise it would be found very inconvenient to be enforced ever to attend such helps and supplies as must come so far off as London, when it may more easily, and with less charge, be effected in places where they ride.

*Of great ordnance.*

It were also very behoveful that his majesty's ships were not so over-pestered and clogged with great ordnance as they are, whereof there is such superfluity, as that much of it serves to no better use but only to labour and overcharge the ships' sides in any grown seas and foul weather. Besides, many of the ships that are allowed but twenty gunners have forty piece of brass pieces, whereas every piece at least requires four gunners to attend it, and so that proportion of ordnance to so few gunners is very preposterous; for when a ship reels or rolls in foul weather, the breaking loose of ordnance is a thing very dangerous, which the gunners can hardly prevent or well look into, they being so few, the guns so many; withal we do see, that twenty or

thirty good brass pieces, as cannon, demi-cannon, culverin, and demi-culverin, is a royal battery for a prince to bring before any town or strong fortress. And why should not we as well think the same to be a very large proportion for one ship to batter another withal? which if it be, then may his majesty rateably save a great part of the ordnance throughout every ship, and make the navy the more sufficient and serviceable, and thereby also save a great deal of needless expense in superfluous powder and shot, that is now pretended to be delivered out according to this huge and excessive proportion of artillery; whereof if many had not been stricken down into holt in many voyages, (and especially in this last journey to the islands,) divers of the ships, weight, heaft, and charge thereof, would have foundered in the sea; wherein I report me to such as have served in them, and saw the proof thereof. For this journey to the islands did, most of all others, discover unto us these experiences and trials in the royal navy; for that it was the longest navigation that ever was made out of our realm with so many of the prince's ships, and tarrying out so late in the year, whereby both the winds and seas had power and time throughly to search and examine them. Besides, many times there is no proportion of shot and powder allowed rateably, by that quantity of the great ordnance, as was seen in the sea battle with the Spaniards in the year 88, when it so nearly concerned the defence and preservation of the kingdom. So as then many of those great guns wanting powder and shot, stood but as ciphers and scarecrows, not unlike to the easterling hulks, who were wont to plant great red port-holes in their broadsides, where they carried no ordnance at all.

*Of caulking and sheathing his majesty's ships.*

There is a great error committed in the manner of caulking his majesty's ships, which being done with rotten oakum is the cause they are leaky; and the reason is this, for that they make their oakum, wherewith they caulk the seams of the ships, of old seer and weather-beaten ropes, when they

are overspent and grown so rotten as they serve for no other use but to make rotten oakum, which moulders and washes away with every sea, as the ships labour and are tossed; whereas, indeed, of all other things, the most special and best choice should be made of that stuff, to have it both new and good; for that sparing, to employ old rotten ropes, is a great defect, either in building of new ships or repairing of old, and is the cause why after every journey they must be new caulked. And therefore it were much to be wished, (as a thing fit for his majesty's service, profitable for the navy, and happy for those that shall serve in them,) that the whole navy throughout were all sheathed, as some of them are. The benefit and good whereof for sea-service is manifold, and no less frugal for his majesty, in making his ships as strong and lasting thereby, as they are otherwise good of sail: and then shall they never need (scarcely once in ten years) this new caulking and repairing, which now almost every year they have. And hereof let the censure be taken of the best seamen of England, and they will not vary from this opinion.

*Of victualling.*

As his majesty's due allowance for victualling of ships is very large and honourable, and would be greatly to the encouragement and strengthening of the mariners and soldiers that serve in them, if it were faithfully distributed, the sea-service indeed being very miserable and painful; so again, as it is abused and purloined, it is very scant and dishonourable, to the great slander of the navy, to the discouragement of all them that are pressed thereunto, and to the hinderance of his majesty's service. For that many times they go with a great grudging to serve in his majesty's ships, as if it were to be slaves in the galleys, so much do they stand in fear of penury and hunger, the case being clean contrary in all merchants' ships; and therefore the purveyors and victuallers are much to be condemned, as not a little faulty in that behalf, who make no little profit of those peelings, which is cause very lamentable, that such as sit in

ease at home should so raise a benefit out of their hunger and thirst that serve their prince and country painfully abroad, whereof there hath a long time been great complaining, but small reformation.

*Of beer-casks.*

There is also daily proof made what great inconveniences grow by the bad cask which is used in his majesty's ships, being commonly so ill seasoned and conditioned, as that a great part of the beer is ever lost and cast away, or (if for necessity it be used) it breeds infection, and corrupts all those that drink thereof; for the victuallers, for cheapness, will buy stale cask that hath been used for herrings, train-oil, fish, and other such unsavoury things, and thereinto fill the beer that is provided for the king's ships. Besides, the cask is commonly so ill hooped, as that there is waste and leaking made of the fourth part of all the drink, were it never so good; which is a great expense to his majesty, a hinderance of service, and a hazard of men's lives, when the provision fails so much, and answers not the account. The which might easily be redressed, if the cask for his majesty's shipping were purposely hooped in such sort as wine cask is, or else hooped with iron, which would ever serve, and save that continual provision of new cask which now falls out every voyage. But this course were more profitable for his majesty than for his officers, and therefore unpleasing to be spoken of; but yet such as serve in the ships have good cause to wish the reformation thereof.

*Of the cook-rooms in his majesty's ships.*

And whereas now the cook-rooms in all of his majesty's ships are made below in hold in the waste, the inconveniences thereof are found many ways by daily use and experience. For first, it is a great spoil and annoyance to all the drink and victuals which are bestowed in the hold, by the heat that comes from the cook-room: besides, it is very dangerous for fire, and very offensive with the smoke and unsavoury smells which it sends from thence. More-

over, it is a great weakening to a ship to have so much weight and charge at both the ends, and nothing in the midship, which causeth them to warp, and (in the sea phrase with mariners) is termed camberkeeled: whereas, if the cook-rooms were made in the forecastle, (as very fitly they might be,) all those inconveniences above specified would be avoided, and then also would there be more room for stowage of victuals, or any other necessary provisions, whereof there is now daily found great want. And the commodity of this new cook-room the merchants have found to be so great, as that in all their ships (for the most part) the cook-rooms are built in their forecastles, contrary to that which hath been anciently used. In which change, notwithstanding, they have found no inconvenience to their dressing of meat in foul weather, but rather a great ease; howbeit their ships go as long voyages as any, and are, for their burdens, as well manned. For if any storms arise, or the sea grow so high as that the kettle cannot boil in the forecastles, yet having with their beer and biscuit, butter and cheese, and with their pickled herrings, oil, vinegar, and onions, or with their red herrings and dry sprats, oil and mustard, and other like provisions that needs no fire, these supply and varieties of victuals will very sufficiently content (and nourish) men for a time, until the storm be overblown that kept the kettle from boiling.

*Of mustering and pressing able mariners.*

As concerning the musters and presses for sufficient mariners to serve in his majesty's ships, either the care therein is very little, or the bribery very great; so that of all other shipping his majesty's are ever the worst manned, and at such times as the commissioners' commissions come out for the pressing of mariners, the officers do set out the most needy and unable men, and (for considerations to themselves best known) do discharge the better sort, a matter so commonly used, as that it is grown into a proverb amongst the sailors, that the muster-masters do carry the best and ablest men in their pockets, a custom very evil and dangerous,

where the service and use of men should come in trial. For many of these poor fishermen and idlers, that are commonly presented to his majesty's ships, are so ignorant in sea-service, as that they know not the name of a rope, and therefore insufficient for such labour. The which might easily be redressed, if the vice-admiral of the shire where men are mustered, and two justices, had directions given to join with the muster-masters for the pressing of the best men, whom they well know, and would not suffer the service of their prince and country to be bought and sold, as a private muster-master would do. Besides, the captains themselves of the ships, if they be bare and needy, (though pity it were that men of such condition should have such charge committed unto them,) will oftentimes for commodity chop and change away their good men; and therefore it were fitly provided to bridle such odd captains, that neither they themselves, nor any of their men, should receive his majesty's pay but by the pole, and according as they were set down in the officers' books when they were delivered, without changing of any names, except to supply such men as are wanting by death or sickness, upon good testimony under the hands of the master, the boatswain, the master-gunner, the purser, and other officers of the ship. For it nearly concerns them to look well thereunto, having daily use of them.

*Of arms and munition.*

It were a course very comfortable, defensive, and honourable, that there were for all his majesty's ships a proportion of swords, targets of proof, morions, and curats of proof, allowed and set down for every ship, according to his burden, as a thing both warlike, and used in the king of Spain's ships; the want whereof, as it is a great discouragement to men, if they come to any near fight or landing, so would the use thereof be a great annoyance and terrifying to the enemy. And herein should his majesty need to be at no extraordinary expense; for the abating of the superfluous great pieces in every ship, with their allowance

for powder, match, and shot, would supply the cost of this provision in very ample manner.

*Of captains to serve in his majesty's ships.*

At all such times as his majesty's ships are employed in service, it were very convenient that such gentlemen as are his majesty's own sworn servants should be preferred to the charge of his majesty's ships, choice being made of men of valour and capacity, rather than to employ other men's men; and that other of his majesty's servants should be dispersed privately in those services to gain experience, and to make themselves able to take charge. By the which means his majesty should ever have gentlemen of good account his own servants, captains of his own ships, instead of petty companions and other men's servants, who are often employed, being, indeed, a great indignity to his majesty, to his shipping, and to his own gentlemen. For that in times past, it hath been reputed a great grace to any man of the best sort to have the charge of the prince's ship committed unto him; and by this means there would ever be true report made unto the prince what proceedings are used in the service, which these meaner sort of captains dare not do, for fear of displeasing the lords their masters by whom they are preferred, or being of an inferior quality have no good access to the presence of the prince, whereby to have fit opportunity to make relation accordingly.

But now, forasmuch as I doubt not but that some contrary spirits may, or will, object this as a sufficient reason to infirm all those points that I have formerly spoken of, and say unto me, why should his majesty and the state be troubled with this needless charge of keeping and maintaining so great a navy in such exquisite perfection and readiness, the times being now peaceable, and little use of arms or ships of war, either at home or abroad, but all safe and secure, as well by the uniting of the two nations, as by the peace which we hold with Spain, and all other Christian princes? To this I answer, that this, indeed, may stand

(at the first sight) for a pretty superficial argument to blear our eyes, and lull us asleep in security, and make us negligent and careless of those causes from whence the effects of peace grow, and by the virtue whereof it must be maintained. But we must not flatter and deceive ourselves, to think that this calm and concord proceeds either from a settled immutable tranquillity in the world, (which is full of alterations and various humours,) or from the good affections of our late enemies, who have tasted too many disgraces, repulses, and losses, by our forces and shipping, to wish our state so much felicity as a happy and peaceable government, if otherwise they had power to hinder it: and therefore though the sword be put into the sheath, we must not suffer it there to rust, or stick so fast, as that we shall not be able to draw it readily, when need requires. For albeit our enemies have of late years sought peace with us, yet hath it proceeded out of the former trial of our forces in times of war and enmity; and therefore we may well say of them, as Annæus, prætor of the Latins, said of the Roman ambassadors, who seemed curious and careful to have the league maintained between them, (which the Roman estate was not accustomed to seek at their neighbours' hands;) and thereupon saith this Annæus, *Unde hæc illis tanta modestia, nisi ex cognitione virum et nostrarum et suarum?* for with the like consideration and respect have our late enemies sought to renew the ancient friendship and peace with us. And well we may be assured, that if those powerful means, whereby we reduced them to that modesty and courtesy as to seek us, were utterly laid aside and neglected, so as we could not again, upon occasion, readily assume the use and benefit of them as we have done; those proud mastering spirits, finding us at such advantage, would be more ready and willing to shake us by the ears as enemies, than to take us by the hands as friends: and therefore far be it from our hearts to trust more to that friendship of strangers, that is but dissembled upon policy and necessity, than to the strength of our own forces, which hath been experienced with so happy success. I confess,

that peace is a great blessing of God, and blessed are the peacemakers; and therefore, doubtless, blessed are those means whereby peace is gained and maintained. For well we know, that God worketh all things here amongst us mediately by a secondary means, the which means of our defence and safety being shipping and sea-forces are to be esteemed as his gifts, and then only available and beneficial when he withal vouchsafeth his grace to use them aright.

# OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

## TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH THE HOLLANDER, AND OTHER NATIONS;

PRESENTED TO KING JAMES.

WHEREIN IS PROVED THAT OUR SEA AND LAND COMMODITIES SERVE TO ENRICH AND STRENGTHEN OTHER COUNTRIES AGAINST OUR OWN.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

ACCORDING to my duty, I am emboldened to put your majesty in mind, that about fourteen or fifteen years past, I presented you a book of extraordinary importance for the honour and profit of your majesty and posterity; and doubting that it hath been laid aside, and not considered of, I am encouraged (under your majesty's pardon) to present unto you one more, consisting of five propositions: neither are they grounded upon vain or idle grounds, but upon the fruition of those wonderful blessings wherewith God hath endued your majesty's sea and land; by which means you may not only enrich and fill your coffers, but also increase such might and strength, (as shall appear, if it may stand with your majesty's good liking to put the same in execution in the true and right form,) so that there is no doubt but it will make you in short time a prince of such power, so great, as shall make all the princes your neighbours as well glad of your friendship, as fearful to offend you. That this is so, I humbly desire that your majesty will vouchsafe to peruse this advertisement with that care and judgment which God hath given you.

Most humbly praying your majesty, that whereas I presented these five propositions together, as in their own natures jointly depending one of another, and so linked together, as the distraction of any one will be an apparent maim and disabling to the rest; that your majesty would be pleased that they may not be separated, but all handled together jointly and severally, by commissioners, with as much speed and secrecy as can be, and made fit to be reported to your majesty, whereby I may be the better able

to perform to your highness that which I have promised, and will perform upon my life, if I be not prevented by some that may seek to hinder the honour and profit of your majesty for their own private ends.

The true ground, course, and form, herein mentioned, shall appear how other countries make themselves powerful and rich in all kinds, by merchandise, manufactory, and fulness of trade, having no commodities in their own country growing to do it withal.

And herein likewise shall appear how easy it is to draw the wealth and strength of other countries to your kingdom, and what royal, rich, and plentiful means God hath given this land to do it (which cannot be denied) for support of traffick, and continual employment of your people, for replenishing of your majesty's coffers.

And if I were not fully assured to improve your native commodities, with other traffick, three millions of pounds more yearly than now they are, and to bring not only to your majesty's coffers, within the space of two or three years, near two millions of pounds, but to increase your revenues many thousands yearly, and to please and greatly profit your people, I would not have undertaken so great a work: all which will grow by advancement of all kind of merchandising to the uttermost, thereby to bring manufactory into the kingdom, and to set on work all sorts of people in the realm, as other nations do, which raise their greatness by the abundance of your native commodities, whilst we are parling and disputing whether it be good for us or not.

# OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

# TRADE AND COMMERCE, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

I HAVE diligently, in my travels, observed how the countries herein mentioned do grow potent with abundance of all things to serve themselves and other nations, where nothing groweth; and that their never-dried fountains of wealth, by which they raise their estate to such an admirable height as that they are at this day even a wonder to the world, proceedeth from your majesty's seas and lands.

I, thus moved, began to dive into the depth of their policies and circumventing practices, whereby they drain, and still covet to exhaust, the wealth and coin of this kingdom, and so with our own commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of trading in other countries. I found that they more fully obtained these their purposes by their convenient privileges and settled constitutions, than England with all the laws and superabundance of homebred commodities which God hath vouchsafed your sea and land: and these, and other mentioned in this book, are the urgent causes that provoked me, in my love and bounden duty to your majesty and my country, to address my former books to your princely hands and consideration.

By which privileges they draw multitudes of merchants to trade with them, and many other nations to inhabit amongst them, which makes them populous, and there they make storehouses of all foreign commodities, wherewith, upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth, they are able to furnish foreign countries with plenty of those commodities, which be-

fore in time of plenty they engrossed and brought home from the same places; which doth greatly augment power, treasure to their state, besides the common good in setting their poor and people on work.

To which privileges they add smallness of custom and liberty of trade, which maketh them flourish, and their country so plentiful of all kind of coin and commodities where little or nothing groweth; and their merchants so flourish, that when a loss cometh they scarce feel it.

To bring this to pass, they have many advantages of us; the one is, by their fashioned ships called boyers, hoybarks, hoys, and others that are made to hold great bulk of merchandise, and to sail with a few men for profit. For example; though an English ship of two hundred tons, and a Holland ship, or any other of the petty States of the same burden be at Dantzic, or any other place beyond the seas, or in England, they do serve the merchant better cheap by one hundred pounds in his freight than we can, by reason he hath but nine or ten mariners, and we near thirty; thus he saveth twenty men's meat and wages in a voyage; and so in all other their ships according to their burden, by which means they are freighted, wheresoever they come, to great profit, whilst our ships lie still and decay, or go to Newcastle for coals.

Of this their smallness of custom, inwards and outwards, we have daily experience; for if two English ships, or two of any other nations be at Bourdeaux, both laden with wine of three hundred tons apiece, the one bound for Holland, or any other petty States, the other for England, the merchant shall pay about nine hundred pounds custom here, and other duties, when the other in Holland, or any other petty States, shall be cleared for less than fifty pounds, and so in all other wares and merchandises accordingly, which draws all nations to traffick with them; and although it seems but small duties which they receive, yet the multitudes of all kind of commodities and coin that is brought in by themselves and others, and carried out by themselves and others, is so great, that they receive more custom and duties to the

state by the greatness of their commerce in one year, than England doth in two years; for the one hundredth part of commodities are not spent in Holland, but vended into other countries, which maketh all the country merchants to buy and sell, and increase ships and mariners to transport them.

My travels and meaning is not to diminish (neither hath been) your majesty's revenues, but exceedingly to increase them, as shall appear, and yet please the people, as in other parts they do.

Notwithstanding their excises bring them in great revenues, yet whosoever will adventure to Bourdeaux but for six tons of wine, shall be free of excise in his own house all the year long; and this is done of purpose to animate and increase merchants in their country.

And if it happen that a trade be stopped by any foreign nation, which they heretofore usually had, or hear of any good trading which they never had, they will hinder others, and seek, either by favour, money, or force, to open the gap of traffick, for advancement of trade amongst themselves, and employment of their people.

And when there is a new course or trade erected, they give free custom inwards and outwards, for the better maintenance of navigation, and encouragement of the people to that business.

Thus they and others glean the wealth and strength from us to themselves; and these reasons following procure them this advantage of us.

1. The merchant staplers which maketh all things in abundance, by reason of their storehouses continually replenished with all kind of commodities.

2. The liberty of free traffick for strangers to buy and sell in Holland, and other countries and states, as if they were freeborn, maketh great intercourse.

3. The small duties levied upon merchants draws all nations to trade with them.

4. Their fashioned ships continually freighted before

ours, by reason of their few mariners and great bulk, serving the merchant cheap.

5. Their forwardness to further all manner of trading.

6. Their wonderful employment of their busses for fishing, and the great returns they make.

7. Their giving free custom, inwards and outwards, for any new-erected trade; by means whereof they have gotten already almost the sole trade into their hands.

All nations may buy and sell freely in France, and there is free custom outwards twice or thrice in a year, at which time our merchants themselves do make their great sales of English commodities, and do buy and lade their great bulk of French commodities to serve for the whole year; and in Rochelle in France and in Britain, free custom all the year long, except some small toll, which makes great traffick, and maketh them flourish.

In Denmark, to encourage and enrich the merchants, and to increase ships and mariners, there is free custom all the year long for their own merchants, except one month between Bartholomew-tide and Michaelmas.

The Hanse Towns have advantage of us, as Holland and other petty States have, and in most things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentiful of all kind of commodities and coin, and so strong in ships and mariners, that some of their towns have near one thousand sail of ships.

The merchandises of France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, East and West Indies, are transported most by the Hollanders, and other petty States, into the east and north-east kingdoms of Pomerland, Spruceland, Poland, Denmark, Sweedland, Leifland, and Germany, and the merchandises brought from the last-mentioned kingdoms, being wonderful many, are likewise by the Hollanders and other petty States most transported into the southern and western dominions, and yet the situation of England lieth far better for a storehouse to serve the south-east and north-

east regions than theirs doth, and hath far better means to do it, if we will bend our course for it.

No sooner a dearth of fish, wine, or corn here, and other merchandise, but forthwith the Embdeners, Hamburghers, and Hollanders, out of their storehouses, lade fifty or one hundred ships, or more, dispersing themselves round about this kingdom, and carry away great store of coin and wealth for little commodity in those times of dearth; by which means they suck our commonwealth of her riches, cut down our merchants, and decay our navigation; not with their natural commodities, which grow in their own countries, but the merchandises of other countries and kingdoms.

Therefore it is far more easy to serve ourselves, hold up our merchants, and increase our ships and mariners, and strengthen the kingdom; and not only keep our money in our own realm, which other nations still rob us of, but bring in theirs who carry ours away, and make the bank of coin and storehouse to serve other nations as well, and far better cheap than they.

Amsterdam is never without seven hundred thousand quarters of corn, besides the plenty they daily vend, and none of this groweth in their own country: a dearth in England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and other places, is truly observed to enrich Holland seven years after, and likewise the petty States.

For example; the last dearth, six years past, the Hamburghers, Embdeners, and Hollanders, out of their storehouses, furnished this kingdom; and from Southampton, Exeter, and Bristol, in a year and a half, they carried away near two hundred thousand pounds from these parts only: then what great quantity of coin was transported round about your kingdom from every port-town, and from your city of London and other cities, cannot be esteemed so little as two millions, to the great decay of your kingdom and impoverishing your people. Discredit to the company of merchants, and dishonour to the land, that any nation, that have no corn in their own country growing, should serve

this famous kingdom, which God hath so enabled within itself!

They have a continual trade into this kingdom with five or six hundred ships yearly, with merchandises of other countries and kingdoms, and store them up in storehouses here, until the prices rise to their minds; and we trade not with fifty ships into their country in a year, and the said number are about this realm every eastern wind, for the most part to lade coals and other merchandise.

Unless there be a scarcity, or dearth, or high prices, all merchants do forbear that place where great impositions are laid upon the merchandise, and those places slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear rates, and oftentimes in scarcity, and want employment for the people; and those petty States finding truly by experience, that small duties imposed upon merchandise draw all traffick unto them, and free liberty for strangers to buy and sell doth make continual mart; therefore, whatever excises or impositions are laid upon the common people, yet they still ease, uphold, and maintain the merchants by all possible means, of purpose to draw the wealth and strength of Christendom to themselves; whereby it appeareth, though the duties be but small, yet the customs for going out and coming in do so abound, that they increase their revenues greatly, and make profit, plenty, and employment of all sorts by sea and land, to serve themselves and other nations, as is admirable to behold: and likewise the great commerce which groweth by the same means, enableth the common people to bear their burden laid upon them; and yet they grow rich by reason of the great commerce and trade occasioned by their convenient privileges and commodious constitutions.

There was an intercourse of traffick in Genoa, and there was the flower of commerce, as appeareth by their ancient records, and their sumptuous buildings; for all nations traded with merchandise to them, and there was the storehouse of all Italy, and other places; but after they had set a great custom of 16 per cent. all nations left trading with

them, which made them give themselves wholly to usury; and at this day we have not three ships go there in a year: but to the contrary, the duke of Florence builded Leghorn, and set small custom upon merchandise, and gave them great and pleasing privileges, which hath made a rich and strong city, with a flourishing state.

Furthermore, touching some particulars needful to be considered of, the mighty huge fishing that ever could be heard of in the world, is upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; but the great fishery is in the Low Countries and other petty States, wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom, as shall appear.

In four towns in the east kingdoms within the Sound, Quinsbrough, [Konigsburgh], Elbing, Statten, and Dantzic, there are carried and vended in a year between thirty and forty thousand lasts of herrings, sold but at fifteen or sixteen pounds the last, is about six hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and we none.

Besides, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Leifland, Rie, Nevill, the Narve, and other port-towns within the Sound, there is carried and vended above ten thousand lasts of herrings, sold at fifteen or sixteen pounds the last, is one hundred and seventy thousand pounds more yearly: in such request are our herrings there, that they are oftentimes sold for twenty, twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-six pounds the last, and we send not one barrel into all those east countries.

The Hollanders sent into Russia near fifteen hundred lasts of herrings, sold about thirty shillings the barrel, amounteth to twenty-seven thousand pounds, and we but about twenty or thirty lasts.

To Stade, Hamborough, Bremen, and Embden, upon the rivers of Elbe, Weser, and Embs, are carried and vended of fish and herrings about six thousand lasts, sold about fifteen or sixteen pounds the last, is one hundred thousand pounds, and we none.

Cleaveland, Gulickland, up the river of Rhine to Cullen, Francfort on the Main, and so over all Germany, is car-

ried and vended fish and herrings near twenty-two thousand last, sold at twenty pounds the last, is four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and we none.

Up the river of Maiz, Leigh, Mæstrich, Venlow, Zutphen, Deventer, Campen, Swoole, and all over Lukeland, is carried and vended seven thousand lasts of herrings, sold at twenty pounds the last, is one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and we none.

To Guelderland, Artois, Hainault, Brabant, Flanders, up the river of Antwerp, all over the archduke's countries, are carried and vended between eight or nine thousand lasts, sold at eighteen pounds the last, is one hundred and seventy one thousand pounds, and we none.

The Hollanders and others carried of all sorts of herrings to Roan only in one year, besides all other parts of France, fifty thousand lasts of herrings, sold at twenty pounds the last, is ten hundred thousand pounds, and we not one hundred lasts thither: they are sold oftentimes there for twenty, and four and twenty, and thirty pounds the last.

Between Christmas and Lent, the duties for fish and herrings came to fifteen thousand crowns at Roan only, that year the queen deceased; sir Thomas Parry was agent there then, and S. Savors his man knows it to be true, who handled the business for pulling down the impositions. Then what great sums of money came to all in the port-towns, to enrich the French king's coffers, and to all the kings and states throughout Christendom, to enrich their coffers; besides the great quantity vended to the Straits, and the multitude spent in the Low Countries, where there is likewise sold for many a hundred thousand pounds more yearly, is necessary to be remembered; and the stream to be turned to the good of this kingdom, to whose sea-coasts God only hath sent and given these great blessings, and multitude of riches for us to take, howsoever it hath been neglected, to the hurt of this kingdom, that any nation should carry away out of this kingdom yearly great mass of money for fish taken in our seas, and sold again by them to us, which must needs

be a great dishonour to our nation, and hinderance to this realm.

From any port-town of any kingdom within Christendom, the bridge-master, or wharf-master, for twenty shillings a year, will deliver a true note of the number of lasts of herrings brought to their wharfs, and their prices commonly they are sold at; but the number brought to Dantzic, Cullen, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen is so great, as it will cost three, four, or five pounds for a true note.

The abundance of corn groweth in the east kingdoms, but the great storehouses for grain to serve Christendom and the heathen countries in the time of dearth is in the Low Countries, wherewith, upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth, they do enrich themselves seven years after, employ their people, and get great freights for their ships in other countries, and we not one in that course.

The mighty vineyards and store of salt is in France and Spain; but the great vintage and staple of salt is in the Low Countries; and they send near one thousand sail of ships with salt and wine only into the east kingdoms yearly, besides other places, and we not one in that course.

The exceeding groves of wood are in the east kingdoms, but the huge piles of wainscot, clapboard, fir-deal, masts, and timber, is in the Low Countries, where none grow, wherewith they serve themselves and other parts, and this kingdom, with those commodities; they have five or six hundred great long ships continually using that trade, and we none in that course.

The wool, cloth, lead, tin, and divers other commodities, are in England; but by means of our wool and cloth going out rough, undressed, and undyed, there is an exceeding manufactory and drapery in the Low Countries, wherewith they serve themselves and other nations, and advance greatly the employment of their people at home and traffick abroad, and put down ours in foreign parts, where our merchants trade unto, with our own commodities.

We send into the east kingdoms yearly but one hundred ships, and our trade chiefly dependeth upon three

towns, Elbing, Kingsborough, and Dantzic, for making our sails and buying their commodities sent into this realm at dear rates, which this kingdom bears the burden of.

The Low Countries send into the east kingdoms yearly about three thousand ships, trading into every city and port-town, taking the advantage, and vending their commodities to exceeding profit, and buying and lading their ships with plenty of those commodities, which they have from every of those towns 20 per cent. cheaper than we, by reason of the difference of the coin, and their fish yields ready money, which greatly advanceth their traffick and decayeth ours.

They send into France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, from the east kingdoms that passeth through the Sound, and through your narrow seas, yearly, of the east country commodities, about two thousand ships, and we none in that course.

They trade into all cities and port-towns in France, and we chiefly to five or six.

They traffick into every city and port-town round about this land, with five or six hundred ships yearly, and we chiefly but to three towns in their country, and but with forty ships.

Notwithstanding the Low Countries have as many ships and vessels as eleven kingdoms of Christendom have, let England be one, and build every year near one thousand ships, and not a timber-tree growing in their own country, and that also all their homebred commodities that grow in their land in a year, less than one hundred good ships are able to carry them away at one time; yet they handle the matter so for setting them all on work, that their traffick with the Hanse Towns exceeds in shipping all Christendom.

We have all things of our own in superabundance to increase traffick, and timber to build ships, and commodities of our own to lade about one thousand ships and vessels at one time, (besides the great fishing,) and as fast as they have made their voyages might relade again, and so year after year all the year long to continue; yet our ships and mariners decline, and traffick and merchants daily decay.

The main bulk and mass of herrings from whence they

raise so many millions yearly, that enrich other kingdoms, kings, and states coffers, and likewise their own people, proceedeth from your seas and lands, and the return of the commodities and coin they bring home in exchange of fish and other commodities are so huge, as would require a large discourse apart: all the amends they make us is, they beat us out of trade in all parts with our own commodities.

For instance, we had a great trade in Russia seventy years, and about fourteen years past we sent store of goodly ships to trade in those parts, and three years past we set out but four, and this last year two or three; but to the contrary, the Hollanders about twenty years since traded thither with two ships only, yet now they are increased to about thirty or forty, and one of their ships is as great as two of ours, and at the same time (in their troubles there) that we decreased, they increased; and the chief commodities they carry with them thither is English cloth, herrings taken in our seas, English lead and pewter made of our tin, besides other commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it be a cheap country, and the trade very gainful, yet we have almost brought it to nought, by disorderly trading, joint-stock, and the merchants banding themselves one against another.

And so likewise we used to have eight or nine great ships to go continually a fishing to Wardhouse, and this year but one; and so, *pro rato*, they outgo us in all kind of fishing and merchandising in all countries, by reason they spare no cost, nor deny no privileges, that may encourage advancement of trade and manufactory.

Now if it please, and with your majesty's good liking stand, to take notice of these things, which I conceive to be fit for your majesty's consideration, which in all humbleness (as duty bindeth me) I do tender unto your majesty for the unfeigned zeal I bear to the advancement of your honour and profit, and the general good of your subjects; it being apparent, that no three kingdoms in Christendom can compare with your majesty for support of traffick, and continual employment of your people within themselves, having so many

great means, both by sea and land, to enrich your coffers, multiply your navy, enlarge your traffick, make your kingdoms powerful, and your people rich; yet, through idleness, they are poor, wanting employment, many of your land and coast-towns much ruinated, and your kingdom in need of coin, your shipping, traffick, and mariners decayed, whilst your majesty's neighbour princes, without these means, abound in wealth, enlarge their towns, increase their shipping, traffick, and mariners, and find out such employment for their people, that they are all advantageous to their commonwealth, only by ordaining commodious constitutions in merchandising, and fulness of trade and manufactory.

God hath blessed your majesty with incomparable benefits; as with copper, lead, iron, tin, allum, copperas, saffron, fells, and divers other native commodities, to the number of about one hundred, and other manufactories vendible, to the number of about one thousand, (as shall appear,) besides corn, whereof great quantity of beer is made, and most transported by strangers; as also wool, whereof much is shipped forth unwrought into cloth or stuffs, and cloth transported undressed and undyed, which doth employ and maintain near fifty thousand people in foreign parts, your majesty's people wanting the employment in England, many of them being enforced to live in great want, and seek it beyond the seas.

Coals, which do employ hundreds of strangers' ships yearly to transport them out of this kingdom, whilst we do not employ twenty ships in that course.

Iron ordnance, which is a jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reason that no other country could ever attain unto it, although they have assayed with great charge.

Your majesty hath timber of your own for building of ships, and commodities plenty to lade them, which commodities other nations want, yet your majesty's people decline in shipping, traffick, and mariners.

These inconveniences happen by three causes especially:

1. The unprofitable course of merchandising.

2. The want of course of full manufactory of our home-bred commodities.

3. The undervaluing of our coins, contrary to the rules of other nations.

For instance. The merchant adventurers by overtrading upon credit, or with money taken up upon exchange, whereby they lose usually ten or twelve, and sometimes fifteen or sixteen per cent. are enforced to make sale of their cloths at under rates, or keep their credit, whereby cloth, being the jewel of the land, is undervalued, and the merchant in short time eaten out.

The merchants of Ipswich, whose trade for Elbing is chiefly for fine cloths, all dyed and dressed within our land, do, for the most part, buy their fine cloths upon time; and by reason they go so much upon credit, they are enforced (not being able to stand upon their markets) to sell, giving fifteen or eighteen months day of payment for their cloths, and having sold them, they then presently sell their bills so taken for cloth, allowing after the rate of fourteen or fifteen, and sometimes twenty per cent. which money they employ forthwith in wares at excessive prices, and lose as much more that way by that time their wares be sold at home: thus by overrunning themselves upon credit, they disable themselves and others, enhancing the prices of foreign commodities, and pulling down the rates of our own.

The west-country merchants, that trade with cloths into France or Spain, do usually employ their servants, (young men of small experience,) who, by cunning combining of the French and Spanish merchants, are so entrapped, that when all customs and charges be accounted, their masters shall hardly receive their principal monies. As for returns out of France, their silver and gold is so highly rated, that our merchants cannot bring it home, but to great loss; therefore the French merchants set higher rates upon their commodities, which we must either buy dear, or let our monies lie dead there a long time, until we can conveniently employ the same.

The northern merchants of York, Hull, and Newcastle,

trade only in white kerseys and coloured dozens; and every merchant, be his adventure never so small, doth, for the most part, send over an unexperienced youth, unfit for merchandising, which bringeth to the stranger great advantage, but to his master and commonwealth great hinderance; for they, before their goods be landed, go to the stranger, and buy such quantities of iron, flax, corn, and other commodities, as they are bound to lade their ships withal, which ships they engage themselves to relade within three weeks or a month, and do give the price the merchant stranger asketh, because he gives them credit, and lets them ship away their iron, flax, and other commodities; before they have sold their kerseys, and other commodities: by which means extraordinary dear commodities are returned into this realm, and the servant also enforced to sell his cloths under foot, and oftentimes to loss, to keep his credit, and to make payment for the goods before shipped home, having some twenty days or a month's respite to sell the cloths, and to give the merchant satisfaction for his iron, flax, and other wares; by which extremities our home-bred commodities are abased.

*Touching manufactory.*

There have been about fourscore thousand undressed and undyed cloths yearly transported.

It is therefore evident, that the kingdom hath been yearly deprived of about four hundred thousand pounds within these five and fifty years, which is near twenty millions that would have been gained by the labour of poor workmen in that time, with the merchants' gains for bringing in dying stuffs, and return of cloths dressed and dyed, with other benefits to the realm, besides exceeding enlarging of traffick, and increase of ships and mariners.

There would have been gained in that time about three millions, by increase of custom upon commodities returned for cloths dressed and dyed, and for dying stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and used for the same.

There hath been also transported in that time yearly by

bays, northern and Devonshire kerseys, white, about fifty thousand cloths, counting three kerseys to a cloth, whereby hath been lost about five millions by those sorts of cloths in that time, which would have come to poor workmen for their labour, with the customs for dying stuffs, and the people's profit for bringing them in, with returns of other commodities, and freights for shipping.

Bays are transported white into Amsterdam, and there being dressed and dyed are shipped into Spain, Portugal, and other kingdoms, where they are sold in the name of Flemish bays, setting their own town-seal upon them; so that we lose the very name of our homebred commodities, and other countries get the reputation and profit thereof. Lamentable it is, that this land should be deprived of so many above-mentioned millions, and that our native commodities of cloth, ordained by God for the natural subjects, being so royal and rich in itself, should be driven to so small advantage of reputation and profit to your majesty and people, and so much improved and intercepted by strangers, considering that God hath enabled and given your majesty power to advance dressing and dying, and transporting of all your cloths within a year or two; I speak it knowingly, to shew how it may be done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feasible, and profitable.

All the companies of your land transport their cloths dressed and dyed, to the good of your kingdom, except the merchant adventurers, whereby the Eastland and Turkey merchants, with other companies, do increase your majesty's customs, by bringing in, and spending dying stuffs, and setting your people on work, by dressing before they transport them; and they might increase far more custom to your majesty, and make much more profit to themselves and this realm, and set many thousands of poor people more on work for dressing and dying, and likewise employ more ships and mariners for bringing in dying stuffs, were it not for the merchant adventurers, who transport their cloths white, rough, undressed, and undyed, into the Low Countries, where they sell them to the strangers, who afterwards

dress, dye, and stretch them to such unreasonable lengths, contrary to our law, that they prevent and forestall our markets, and cross the just prohibitions of our state and realm, by their agents and factors lying in divers places with our own cloths, to the great decay of this kingdom in general, and discredit of our cloths in particular.

If the account were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear profit only by cloth transported rough, undressed, and undyed, sixty thousand pounds a year; but it is most apparent your majesty in your customs, your merchants in their sales and prices, your subjects in their labours, for lack of not dressing and dying, your ships and mariners, in not bringing in of dying stuffs, and spending of alum, is hindered yearly near a million of pounds; so that trade is driven to the great hinderance of your majesty and people, by permitting your native commodities to pass rough, undressed, and undyed, by the merchant adventurer.

*Touching fishing.*

The great sea-business of fishing doth employ near twenty thousand ships and vessels, and four hundred thousand people are employed yearly upon your coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with sixty ships of war, which may prove dangerous.

The Hollanders only have about three thousand ships to fish withal, and fifty thousand people are employed yearly by them upon your majesty's coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

These three thousand fishing ships and vessels of the Hollanders do employ near nine thousand other ships and vessels, and one hundred and fifty thousand persons more by sea and land to make provision to dress and transport the fish they take, and return commodities, whereby they are enabled and do build yearly one thousand ships and vessels, having not one timber tree growing in their own country, nor homebred commodities to lade one hundred ships, and yet they have twenty thousand ships and vessels, and all employed.

King Henry the Seventh, desirous to make his kingdoms powerful and rich, by increase of ships and mariners, and employment of his people, sent unto his sea-coast towns, moving them to set up the great and rich fishing, with promise to give them needful privileges, and to furnish them with loans of money, if need were, to encourage them; yet his people were slack. Now since I have traced this business, and made mine endeavours known unto your majesty, your noblemen, able merchants, and others, (who, having set down under their hands for more assurance,) promised to disburse large sums of money for the building up of this great and rich large sea-city, which will increase more strength to your land, give more comfort, and do more good to all your cities and towns, than all the companies of your kingdom, having fit and needful privileges for the upholding and strengthening of so weighty and needful a business.

For example; twenty busses built and put into a sea-coast town where there is not one ship before, there must be to carry, recarry, transport, and make provision for one buss, three ships; likewise every ship setting on work thirty several trades and occupations, and four hundred thousand persons by sea and land, insomuch as three hundred persons are not able to make one fleet of nets in four months for one buss; which is no small employment.

Thus by twenty busses are set on work near eight thousand persons by sea and land, and an increase of above one thousand mariners, and a fleet of eighty sail of ships to belong to one town, where none were before, to take the wealth out of the sea, to enrich and strengthen the land, only by raising of twenty busses.

Then what good one thousand or two thousand will do, I leave to your majesty's consideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how necessary fishermen are to the commonwealth, and how needful to be advanced and cherished, &c.

1. For taking God's blessing out of the sea to enrich the realm, which otherwise we lose.

2. For setting the people on work.

3. For making plenty and cheapness in the realm.

4. For increasing of shipping to make the land powerful.

5. For a continual nursery for breeding and increasing our mariners.

6. For making employment of all sorts of people, as blind, lame, and others, by sea and land, from ten or twelve years and upwards.

7. For enriching your majesty's coffers, by merchandises returned from other countries for fish and herrings.

8. For the increase and enabling of merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

*Touching the coin.*

For the most part all monarchies and free states, both heathen and Christian, as Turkey, Barbary, France, Poland, and others, do hold for a rule of never-failing profit, to keep their coin at higher rates within their own territories than it is in other kingdoms.

*The causes.*

1. To preserve the coin within their own territories.

2. To bring unto themselves the coin of foreign princes.

3. To enforce merchant strangers to take their commodities at high rates, which this kingdom bears the burden of.

*For instance.*

The king of Barbary perceiving the trade of Christian merchants to increase in his kingdom, and that the returns out of his kingdoms were most in gold, whereby it was much enhanced, raised his ducat (being then current for three ounces) to four, five, and six ounces; nevertheless it was no more worth in England, being so raised, than when it went for three ounces.

This ducat, current for three ounces in Barbary, was then worth in England seven shillings and sixpence, and no more worth, being raised to six ounces; since which time (adding to it a small piece of gold) he hath raised it to

eight, and lastly to ten ounces; yet at this day it is worth but ten shillings and one penny, notwithstanding your majesty's late raising of your gold.

Having thus raised his gold, he then devised to have plenty of silver brought into his kingdom, raised the royal of eight, being but two ounces, to three and threepence halfpenny, which caused great plenty of silver to be brought in, and to continue in his kingdom.

*France.*

The English Jacobus goeth for three and twenty shillings in merchandising.

The French crown for seven shillings and sixpence.

Also the king hath raised his silver four sous in the crown.

*North Holland.*

The double Jacobus goeth for three and twenty shillings sterling.

The English shilling is there eleven stivers, which is two shillings over in the pound.

*Poland.*

The king of Poland raised his Hungary ducat from fifty-six to seventy-seven and an half Polish groshes, and the rix-dollar from thirty-six to forty-seven and an half groshes; the rix-dollar, worth in Poland forty-seven and an half groshes, is, by account, valued at six shillings and fourpence sterling, and here in England is worth but four shillings and sevenpence; the Hungary ducat, seventy-seven, is worth, by account, in Poland ten shillings and fourpence, and in England is worth but seven shillings and tenpence; the Jacobus of England, here current for twenty-two shillings, in Poland twenty-four shillings, at the rate of seven shillings and tenpence for the Hungary ducat.

Now to turn the stream and riches raised by your majesty's native commodities into the natural channel, from whence it hath been a long time diverted, may it please your majesty to consider these points following:

1. Whether it be not fit that a state-merchant be settled within your dominions, which may both dispose more profitably of the riches thereof, and encounter policies of merchant strangers, who now go beyond us in all kind of profitable merchandising?

2. Whether it be not necessary that your native commodities should receive their full manufactory by your subjects within your dominions?

3. Whether it be not fit the coals should yield your majesty and subjects a better value, by permitting them to pass out of the land, and that they be in your subjects' shipping only transported?

4. Whether it be not fit your majesty presently raise your coin to as high rates as it is in the parts beyond the seas?

5. Whether it be not necessary that the great sea-business of fishing be forthwith set forward?

If it please your majesty to approve of these considerations, and accordingly to put them in a right course of execution, I assure myself (by God's help) in short time your majesty's customs, and the continual comings into your coffers, will be exceedingly increased, your ships and mariners trebled, your land and waste towns (which are now run out of gates) better replenished, and your people employed, to the great enriching and honour of your kingdom, with the applause, and to the comfort of all your loyal subjects.

*May it please your majesty,*

I have the rather undergone the pains to look into their policies, because I have heard them profess they hoped to get the whole trade and shipping of Christendom into their own hands, as well for transportation, as otherwise, for the command and mastery of the seas; to which end I find that they do daily increase their traffick, augmenting their shipping, multiplying their mariners' strength and wealth in all kinds, whereat I have grieved the more, when I considered how God hath endued this kingdom, above any three kingdoms in Christendom, with divers varieties of homebred commodities, which others have not, and cannot want, and

endowed us with sundry other means to continue and maintain trade of merchandising and fishing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the deceivers, engross the commodities of the engrossers, enrich ourselves, and increase our navigation, shipping, and mariners, so as it would make all nations to vail the bonnet to England, if we would not be still wanting to ourselves in employment of our people.

Which people being divided into three parts, two parts of them are mere spenders and consumers of a commonwealth, therefore I aim at these points following:

To allure and encourage the people for their private gain, to be all workers and erectors of a commonwealth.

To enrich and fill your majesty's coffers by a continual coming in, and making your people wealthy, by means of their great and profitable trading and employment.

To vend our homebred commodities to far more reputation, and much more profit to the king, the merchant, and the kingdom.

To return the merchandises of other countries at far cheaper rates than now they are, to the great good of the realm in general.

To make the land powerful by increasing of ships and mariners.

To make your people's takings in general to be much more every day than now they are, which, by God's help, will grow continually more and more, by the great concourse and commerce that will come by settled constitutions and convenient privileges, as in other parts they do by this their great freedom of trade.

All this, and much more, is done in other countries where nothing groweth; so that of nothing they make great things.

Then how much more mighty things might we make, where so great abundance and variety of homebred commodities and rich materials grow for your people to work upon, and other plentiful means to do that withal, which other nations neither have nor cannot want, but of necessity must be furnished from hence? and now, whereas our

merchandising is wild, utterly confused, and out of frame, as at large appeareth, a state-merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the premises to pass, fill your havens with ships, those ships with mariners, your kingdom full of merchants, their houses full of outlandish commodities, and your coffers full of coin, as in other places they do, and your people shall have just cause to hold in happy memory, that your majesty was the beginner of so profitable, praiseworthy, and renowned a work, being the true philosopher's stone to make your majesty a rich and potent king, and your subjects happy people, only by settling of a state-merchant, whereby your people may have fulness of trade and manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable government, without breaking of companies.

And for that in the settling of so weighty a business, many things of great consequence must necessarily fall into consideration, I humbly pray that your majesty may be pleased (for the bringing of this great service to light) to give me leave to nominate the commissioners, and your majesty to give them power to call before them such men as they shall think fit to confer with upon oath, or otherwise, as occasion shall offer; that the said commissioners, with all speed, for the better advancement of this honourable and profitable work, may prepare and report the same unto your majesty.

Your majesty's most loyal and true-hearted subject,

W. RALEGH.

A

# VOYAGE

FOR THE

# DISCOVERY OF GUIANA.

TO

THE RIGHT HON. MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD AND KINSMAN,

# CHARLES HOWARD,

KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, BARON AND COUNSELLOR, AND OF THE ADMIRALS OF ENGLAND THE MOST RENOWNED.

AND TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

# SIR ROBERT CECIL, KNT.

COUNSELLOR IN HER HIGHNESS'S PRIVY-COUNCILS.

FOR your Honour's many honourable and friendly parts, I have hitherto only returned promises; and now, for answer of both your adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers which I have divided between your lordship and sir Robert Cecil, in these two respects chiefly: first, for that it is reason that wasteful factors, when they have consumed such stocks as they had in trust, do yield some colour for the same in their account. Secondly, for that I am assured that whatsoever shall be done or written by me shall need a double protection and defence. The trial that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all, but of malice and revenge, makes me still presume that you will be pleased (knowing what little power I had to perform ought, and the great advantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shall but object out of malice. In my more happy times, as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loves sought me out in the darkest shadow of adversity, and that the same affection

which accompanied my better fortune, soared not away from me in my many miseries; all which though I cannot requite, yet I shall ever acknowledge; and the great debt which I have no power to pay, I can do no more, for a time, but confess to be due. It is true, that as my errors were great, so they have yielded very grievous effects, and if ought might have been deserved in former times to have counterpoised any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stock only remained. I did therefore, even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels, fitter for bodies less blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater ability, and for minds of better encouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excess, and the least taste of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had known other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what further means I might yet use, but even to appease so powerful a displeasure, I would not doubt but for one year more to hold fast my soul in my teeth till it were performed. Of that little remain I had, I have wasted, in effect, all herein; I have undergone many constructions, I have been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril: it appeareth, notwithstanding, that I made no other bravado of going to the sea than was meant, and that I was neither hidden in Cornwall or elsewhere, as was supposed. They have grossly belied me that forejudged that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king, than return; and the rest were much mistaken, who would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travel. But if what I have done receive the gracious construction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest many miseries: but if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the

future, do all, by one grain of gall, continue in an eternal distaste, I do not then know whether I should bewail myself either for my too much travel and expense, or condemn myself for doing less than that which can deserve nothing. From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I am returned a beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor estate, it shall appear by the following Discourse, if I had not only respected her majesty's future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived, to go journeys of picory; and it had sorted ill with the offices of honour, which, by her majesty's grace, I hold this day in England, to run from cape to cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes. Many years since I had knowledge, by relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana, and of that great and golden city which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa; which city was conquered, reedified, and enlarged by a younger son of Guainacapa, emperor of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pazaro and others conquered the said empire from his two elder brethren Guascar and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being favoured by the Orciones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caximalca. I sent my servant, Jacob Whiddon, the year before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from captain Parker, sometime my servant, and now attending on your lordship, that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, or Guanipa; but I found that it was six hundred miles further off than they supposed, and many other impediments to them unknown and unheard. After I had displanted don Antonio de Berreo, who was upon the same enterprise, leaving my ships at Trinedado, at the port called Curiapan, I wandered four hundred miles into the said country by land and river; the particulars I will leave to the following Discourse. The country hath more quantity of gold, by ma-

nifold, than the best parts of the Indies or Peru; all or most of the kings of the borders are already become her majesty's vassals, and seem to desire nothing more than her majesty's protection, and the return of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory than the voyages of the West Indies, and an easier way to invade the best parts thereof than by the common course. The king of Spain is not so impoverished by taking three or four port-towns in America as we suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueva Espania, so left by the sea-side, as it can be easily washed away with a great flood, or spring-tide, or left dry upon the sands on a low ebb. The port-towns are few, and poor in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are only rich when the fleets are to receive the treasure for Spain; and we might think the Spaniards very simple, having so many horses and slaves, if they could not, upon two days' warning, carry all the gold they have into the land, and far enough from the reach of our footmen, especially the Indies, being (as it is for the most part) so mountainous, so full of woods, rivers, and marshes. In the port-towns of the province of Vensuello, as Cumana, Coro, and S. Jago, (whereof Coro and S. Jago were taken by captain Preston, and Cumana and S. Josephus by us,) we found not the value of one rial of plate in either; but the cities of Barquisimeta, Valentia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Alleguna, Marecabo, and Truxillo, are not so easily invaded; neither doth the burning of those on the coast impoverish the king of Spain any one ducat; and if we sack the river of Hache, S. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the ports of Nuevo Reyno and Popayan; there are besides within the land, which are indeed rich and populous, the towns and cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophero, the great cities of Pampelone, S. Fe de Bogota, Tunia, and Mozo, where the emeralds are found, the towns and cities of Moriquito, Velis, la Villa de

Leùa, Palma, Unda, Angustura, the great city of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Juago, the great city of Popayan itself, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the ports and villages within the bay of Vraba, in the kingdom or rivers of Dariena and Caribana, the cities and towns of S. Juan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Auserma, have gold enough to pay the king part, and are not easily invaded by the way of the ocean; or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken, in the province of Castillo de Oro, and the villages upon the rivers of Cenu and Chagre. Peru hath besides those, and besides the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima, so many islands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader; of all which, because I have written a particular treatise of the West Indies, I will omit their repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomized the rest of the sea-towns, as well of Nicaragna, Jucata, Nueva Espanna, and the islands, as those of the inland, and by what means they may be best invaded, as far as my mean judgment can comprehend. But I hope it shall appear that there is a way found to answer every man's longing, a better Indies for her majesty than the king of Spain hath any; which, if it shall please her highness to undertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my days in following the same. If it be left to the spoil and sackage of common persons; if the love and service of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mighty an empire refused, I hope her majesty will yet take my humble desire, and my labour therein, in gracious part, which if it had not been in respect of her highness's future honour and riches, I could have laid hands and ransomed many of the kings and cassiqui of the country, and have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption; but I have chosen rather to bear the burden of poverty than reproach; and rather to endure a second

travel, and the chances thereof, than to have defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, until I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royal heart, either to follow or foreslow the same. I will therefore leave it to His ordinance that hath only power in all things, and do humbly pray that your honours will excuse such errors as, without the defence of art, overrun in every part the following Discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, form, nor fashion; and that you will be pleased to esteem me as your own, (though overdearly bought,) and I shall ever remain ready to do you all honour and service.

W. R.

TO

# THE READER.

BECAUSE there have been divers opinions conceived of the gold ore brought from Guiana, and for that an alderman of London, and an officer of her majesty's mint, hath given out that the same is of no price; I have thought good by the addition of these lines to give answer as well to the said malicious slander as to other objections. It is true, that while we abode at the island of Trinedado, I was informed by an Indian, that not far from the port where we anchored there were found certain mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto persuaded the rather, for that they had seen both English and Frenchmen gather and embark some quantities thereof. Upon this likelihood I sent forty men, and gave order that each one should bring a stone of that mine, to make trial of the goodness; which being performed, I assured them at their return that the same was marcasite, and of no riches or value: notwithstanding, divers, trusting more to their own sense than to my opinion, kept of the said marcasite, and have tried thereof, since my return, in divers places. In Guiana itself I never saw marcasite, but all the rocks, mountains, all stones in the plains, in woods, and by the rivers' sides, are in effect thorough shining, and appear marvellous rich; which being tried to be no marcasite, are the true signs of rich minerals, but are no other than *el madre del oro*, (as the Spaniards term them,) which is the mother of gold, or, as it is said by others, the scum of gold: of divers sorts of these many of my company brought also into England, every one taking the fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not countermand any man's desire or opinion; and I could have afforded them little, if I should have denied them the pleasing of

their own fancies therein; but I was resolved that gold must be found, either in grains separate from the stone, (as it is in most of all the rivers in Guiana,) or else in a kind of hard stone, which we call the white spar, of which I saw divers hills, and in sundry places, but had neither time, nor men, nor instruments fit to labour. Near unto one of the rivers I found of the said white spar, or flint, a very great lidge, or bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the means I could, because there appeared on the outside some small grains of gold; but finding no means to work the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rock, I found a clift in the same, from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some small quantity thereof; of which kind of white stone (wherein gold is engendered) we saw divers hills and rocks in every part of Guiana wherein we travelled. Of this there hath been made many trials; and in London it was first assayed by master Westwood, a refiner dwelling in Wood-street, and it held after the rate of 12,000 or 13,000 pounds a ton. Another sort was afterward tried by master Bulmar and master Dimoke, assay-master, and it held after the rate of 23,000 pounds a ton. There was some of it again tried by master Palmer, comptroller of the mint, and master Dimoke in Goldsmith's hall, and it held after the rate of 26,900 pounds a ton. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons, a trial made of the dust of the said mine, which held eight pounds six ounces weight of gold in the hundred; there was likewise, at the same time, a trial made of an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part gold, besides divers trials made in the country, and by others in London: but because there came of ill with the good, and belike the said alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandal all the rest, and to deface the enterprise as much as in him lieth. It hath also been concluded by divers, that if there had been any such ore in Guiana, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater quantity thereof. First, I was not bound to satisfy any man of

the quantity but such only as adventured, if any store had been returned thereof; but it is very true, that, had all their mountains been of massy gold, it was impossible for us to have made any longer stay to have wrought the same: and whosoever hath seen with what strength of stone the best gold ore is environed, he will not think it easy to be had out in heaps, and especially by us, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to perform the same. There were on this discovery no less than one hundred persons, who can all witness, that when we passed any branch of the river to view the land within, and stayed from our boats but six hours, we were driven to wade to the eyes at our return; and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to ford it or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftness, and also for that the borders were so pestered with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place either to land or to embark; for in June, July, August, and September, it is impossible to navigate any of those rivers, for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods overflown, as if any boat but touch upon any tree or stake, it is impossible to save any one person therein: and ere we departed the land it ran with that swiftness, as we drove down, most commonly against the wind, little less than one hundred miles a day. Besides, our vessels were no other than wherries, one little barge, a small cock-boat, and a bad galliota, which we framed in haste for that purpose at Trinedado, and those little boats had nine or ten men apiece, with all their victuals and arms. It is further true, that we were about four hundred miles from our ships, and had been a month from them; which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our return in fifteen days. Others have devised, that the same ore was had from Barbary, and that we carried it with us into Guiana: surely the singularity of that device I do not well comprehend; for mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise thereby to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill sa-

vours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sustain the care and labour of such an enterprise, except the same had more comfort than the fetching of marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold ore in Barbary. But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion. I have herein consumed much time and many crowns, and I had no other respect or desire than to serve her majesty and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had been of like belief to these detractors, we should little have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatened: but if we now consider of the actions both of Charles the Fifth, who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affairs of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath endangered, how many armies, garrisons, and navies he hath and doth maintain; the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88 above one hundred sail of great ships, with their artillery, and that no year is less unfortunate, but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured; and yet, notwithstanding, he beginneth again, like a storm, to threaten shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks and Seville oranges, nor from ought else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: it is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe; it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into councils, and setteth bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keep us from foreign enterprises, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere, he hath then brought the work of our peril in great forwardness. Those princes which abound in treasure have great advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them to a defensive war, where they are driven once a year, or oftener, to cast lots for their own garments; and from such shall all trades and intercourse be taken

away, to the general loss and impoverishment of the kingdom and commonweal so reduced. Besides, when men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same hope as when they are pressed and encouraged by the desire of spoil and riches. Further, it is to be doubted how those, that in time of victory seem to affect their neighbouring nations, will remain after the first view of misfortunes, or ill success; to trust also to the doubtfulness of a battle is but a fearful and uncertain adventure, seeing therein fortune is as likely to prevail as virtue. It shall not be necessary to allege all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude: that whatsoever kingdom shall be enforced to defend itself may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground, and be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power and persuasion, to advance all those attempts that might either promise return of profit to ourselves, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who, in my weak judgment, by such a war were as easily endangered and brought from his powerfulness as any prince in Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdoms and nations his revenues are gathered, and those so weak in their own beings, and so far severed from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in haste, and that the time which our enemies embrace cannot be had again to advantage, I will hope that these provinces, and that empire now by me discovered, shall suffice to enable her majesty, and the whole kingdom, with no less quantities of treasure than the king of Spain hath in all the Indies, East and West, which he possesseth; which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards reinforce the same, and if her majesty will undertake it, I will be contented to lose her highness's favour and good opinion for ever, and my life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceed than to equal whatsoever is in this Discourse promised or declared. I will now refer the

reader to the following Discourse, with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labours and endeavours of such as thereby seek the profit and honour of her majesty and the English nation, shall by men of quality and virtue receive such construction and good acceptance, as themselves would look to be rewarded withal in the like.

W. R.

THE

# DISCOVERY OF GUIANA.

ON Thursday the sixth of February, in the year 1595, we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the north cape of Spain, the wind for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the Burlings and the rock, and so onwards for the Canaries, and fell in with Fuerte Ventura the seventeenth of the same month, where we spent two or three days, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Gran Canaria, and so to Teneriffe, and stayed there for the Lyon's Whelp, your lordship's ship, and for captain Amys Preston, and the rest: but, when after seven or eight days we found them not, we departed, and directed our course for Trinedado with mine own ship, and a small bark of captain Cross's only; (for we had before lost sight of a small gallego on the coast of Spain, which came with us from Plymouth.) We arrived at Trinedado the twenty-second of March, casting anchor at point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call Punto de Gallo, which is situate in eight degrees, or thereabouts: we abode there four or five days, and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coast we saw a fire as we sailed from the point Carao towards Curiapan, but for fear of the Spaniards none durst come to speak with us: I myself coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while the ships kept the channel. From Curiapan, after a few days, we turned up north-east, to recover that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Hispanioles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia; and as before, (revictualling my barge,) I left the ships, and kept by the shore, the better to come to speech with some of the in-

habitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering-places, and ports of the island, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your lordship after a few days. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh-water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea. In the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted: all their oysters grow upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground; the like is commonly seen in the West Indies, and elsewhere. This tree is described by Andrew Thevet in his French Antartic, and the form figured in his book as a plant very strange, and by Pliny in his twelfth book of his Natural History; but in this island, as also in Guiana, there are very many of them.

At this point, called Tierra de Brea, or Piche, there is that abundance of stone pitch that all the ships of the world may be therewith loaden from thence; and we made trial of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ships trading to the south parts very profitable. From thence we went to the mountain foot called Annaperima, and so passing the river Carone, on which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, or Conquerabia.

This island of Trinedado hath the form of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow; the north part is very mountainous, the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl: it hath also for bread sufficient mais, cassavi, and of those roots and fruits which are common every where in the West Indies. It hath divers beasts which the Indies have not. The Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers, but they, having a purpose to enter Guiana, (the magazine of all rich metals,) cared not to spend time in the

search thereof any further. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations; those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punto Carao are of the Arwacas, and between Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvaios; between Carao and Punto Galera are the Nepoios, and those about the Spanish city term themselves Carinepagotos. Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers, I leave to speak here, being impertinent to my purpose, and mean to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the island, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, the better to set it down right.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a sign of peace, I sent captain Whiddon to speak with them, whom afterward, to my great grief, I left buried in the said island, after my return from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into terms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength than for ought else; and in the end, upon pledge, some of them came aboard: the same evening there stole also aboard us, in a small canoe, two Indians, the one of them being a cassique, or lord of people called Cantyman, who had the year before been with captain Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman we understood what strength the Spaniards had, how far it was to their city, and of don Antonio de Berreo the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Hispanioles some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly, and feasted after our manner; by means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for those poor soldiers having been many years without wine, a few draughts made them merry; in which

mood they vaunted of Guiana, and of the riches thereof, and all what they knew of the ways and passages, myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the entrance or discovery thereof; but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the relief of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruit was come among them, which I had performed in my return, if extremity of weather had not forced me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be revenged of Berreo, who the year before betrayed eight of captain Whiddon's men, and took them while he departed from them to seek the E. Bonaventure, which arrived at Trinedado the day before from the East Indies; in whose absence Berreo sent a canoe aboard the pinnace, only with Indians and dogs, inviting the company to go with them into the woods to kill a deer, who, like wise men in the absence of their captain, followed the Indians; but were no sooner one harquebuss shot from the shore, but Berreo's soldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had given his word to captain Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely: the other cause of my stay was, for that, by discourse with the Spaniards, I daily learned more and more of Guiana, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what means or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time, I was assured by another cassique of the north side of the island, that Berreo had sent to Marguerita and to Cumana for soldiers, meaning to have given me a cassado at parting, if it had been possible: for although he had given order through all the island, that no Indian should come aboard to trade with me, upon pain of hanging and quartering, (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards found,) yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty; how he had divided the island, and given to every soldier a part; that he made the ancient cassiqui, which were lords of the country, to be their slaves; that he kept them in chains, and dropped their naked bodies with burn-

ing bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true; for in the city, after I entered the same, there were five of the lords or little kings (which they call cassiqui in the West Indies) in one chain, almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their own language *acarewana*, and now of late, since English, French, and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves *capitains*, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five capitains in the chain were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Alterima*. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart four hundred or five hundred miles from my ships, and to leave a garrison in my back interessed in the same enterprise, who also daily expected supplies out of Spain, I should have savoured very much of the ass; and therefore, taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the *corps du guard* in the evening, and, having put them to the sword, sent captain Calfield onwards with sixty soldiers, and myself followed with forty more, and so took their new city, which they called S. Joseph, by break of day: they abode not any fight after a few shot, and all being dismissed, but only Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and, at the instance of the Indians, I set their new city of S. Joseph on fire.

The same day arrived captain George Gifford with your lordship's ship, and captain Keymis, whom I lost on the coast of Spain, with the gallego, and in them divers gentlemen and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed discovery; and first I called all the captains of the island together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I carried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a queen, who was the great cassique of the north, and a

virgin, and had more cassiqui under her than there were trees in their island; that she was an enemy to the Castellans in respect of their tyranny and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her as were by them oppressed; and, having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude, had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them her majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations, both in my passage to Guiana, and to those of the borders; so as in that part of the world her majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Elizabeta cassipuna aquerewana*, which is as much as, Elizabeth the great princess, or greatest commander. This done, we left Puerto de los Hispanioles, and returned to Curiapan, and having Berreo my prisoner, I gathered from him as much of Guiana as he knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman well descended, and had long served the Spanish king in Milan, Naples, the Low Countries, and elsewhere; very valiant and liberal, and a gentleman of great assuredness, and of a great heart. I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small means I had.

I sent captain Whiddon the year before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my journey at this time was to discover and enter the same; but my intelligence was far from truth, for the country is situate above six hundred English miles further from the sea than I was made believe it had been; which afterwards understanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would never have been brought to attempt the same; of which six hundred miles I passed four hundred, leaving my ships so far from me at anchor in the sea, which was more of desire to perform that discovery, than of reason, especially having such poor and weak vessels to transport ourselves in; for in the bottom of an old gallego,

which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship-boat of the Lyon's Whelp, we carried one hundred persons, and their victuals for a month, in the same, being all driven to lie in the rain and weather, in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon the hard boards, and to dress our meat, and to carry all manner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury, that what with victuals, being most fish, with the wet clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any prison in England that could be found more unsavoury and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in a sort far differing.

If captain Preston had not been persuaded that he should have come too late to Trinedado to have found us there, (for the month was expired which I promised to tarry for him there, ere he could recover the coast of Spain,) but that it had pleased God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the country but some ten days sooner, ere the rivers were overflown, we had adventured either to have gone to the great city of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other cities and towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal return: but it pleased not God so much to favour me at this time. If it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perform more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortes, or in Peru by Pacaro, whereof the one conquered the empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar and Atabalipa; and whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold, and of a more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of Spain or the great Turk.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures; I thought good to make it known, that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose

large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches, Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others, have written large discourses; for when Francisco Pacaro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa; which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to be slain; one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called Oreiones, and with those, and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great rivers of Amazones and Baraquan, otherwise called Oroonoko and Maranion.

The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru towards the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many, or more great cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government as was used in Peru, not differing in any part; and, as I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded upon a lake of salt water of two hundred leagues long, like unto Mare Caspium; and if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez, and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120th chapter of Lopez, in his general History of the Indies, wherein he describeth the court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestor to the emperor of Guiana, whose very words are these: *Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano*

*de quantos animales, aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin, no avia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuviesse de oro contrahecha; y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yvan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissimia cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espanioles se lo tomavan, y embiavan a Espania;* that is, "All the vessels "of his house, table, and kitchen were of gold and silver, "and the meanest of silver and copper, for strength and "hardness of the metal. He had in his wardrobe hollow "statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in "proportion and bigness of all the beasts, birds, trees, and "herbs that the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes "that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had "also ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of gold and silver, "heaps of billets of gold that seemed wood marked out to "burn. Finally, there was nothing in his country where-"of he had not the counterfeit in gold. Yea, and they say "the Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an island near Puna, "where they went to recreate themselves when they would "take the air of the sea, which had all kind of garden "herbs, flowers, and trees, of gold and silver, an invention "and magnificence till then never seen. Besides all this, "he had an infinite quantity of silver and gold unwrought "in Cuzco, which was lost by the death of Guascar; for "the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it and "sent it into Spain."

And in the 117th chapter, Francisco Picaro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weighed, after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth down in these words following:

*Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro;* which is, "They found fifty-two thousand marks "of good silver, and one million three hundred twenty and "six thousand and five hundred pesoes of gold."

Now although these reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of Peru into Spain, we may easily believe the same; for we find that by the abundant treasure of that country, the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become in a few years, from a poor king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase, if other princes foreslow the good occasion offered, and suffer him to add this empire to the rest, which by far exceedeth all the rest; if his gold now endanger us, he will then be unresistible. Such of the Spaniards, as afterward endeavoured the conquest thereof, (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter,) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperor now living is descended) took his way by the river of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene; for by that way followed Oreliano, (by the commandment of the marquis Pacarro, in the year 1542,) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Maragnon, although Andrew Thevet doth affirm, that between Maragnon and Amazones there are one hundred and twenty leagues; but sure it is, that those rivers have one head and beginning, and that Maragnon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazones, or Oreliano, of which I will speak more in another place. It was also attempted by Diego Ordace, but whether before Oreliano or after, I know not; but it is now little less than seventy years since that Ordace, a knight of the order of St. Jago, attempted the same; and it was in the year 1542 that Oreliano discovered the river of Amazones; but the first that ever saw Manoa was Johannes Martines, master of the munition to Ordace. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth, at this day, a great anchor of Ordace's ship; and this port is some three

hundred miles within the land, upon the great river of Oroonoko.

I rested at this port four days, twenty days after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martines, (who was the first that discovered Manoa,) his success, and end, is to be seen in the chancery of Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest encouragement as well to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Oreliano, after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the said river of Amazones, passed into Spain, and there obtained a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the islands, and his fleet being severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordace followed the enterprise, and departed Spain with six hundred soldiers and thirty horse, who arriving on the coast of Guiana was slain in a mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part; insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned; neither was it certainly known what became of the said Ordace, until Berreo found the anchor of his ship in the river of Oroonoko; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversely conceived and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entered so far within the land, and arrived at that city of Inga the emperor; for it chanced that while Ordace with his army rested at the port of Morequito, (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana,) by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire, and Martines having the chief charge was condemned by the general Ordace to be executed forthwith. Martines, being much favoured by the soldiers, had all the means possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other sort than this; that he should be set into a canoe alone, without any victuals, only with his arms, and so turned loose into the great river. But it pleased God that the canoe was carried down the stream, and that certain of the Guianians met it the same evening, and having

not at any time seen any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they carried Martines into the land, to be wondered at, and so from town to town, until he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperor. The emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian, (for it was not long before that his brethren, Guascar and Atabalipa, were vanquished by the Spaniards, in Peru,) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well entertained. He lived seven months in Manoa, but not suffered to wander into the country any where; he was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, until he came to the entrance of Manoa itself, and was fourteen or fifteen days in the passage. He avowed at his death, that he entered the city at noon, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled all that day, till night, through the city, and the next day, from sunrising to sunsetting, ere he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martines had lived seven months in Manoa, and began to understand the language of the country, Inga asked him whether he desired to return into his own country, or would willingly abide with him; but Martines, not desirous to stay, obtained the favour of Inga to depart, with whom he sent divers Guianians, to conduct him to the river of Oroonoko, all loaden with as much gold as they could carry, which he gave to Martines at his departure; but when he was arrived near the river's side, the borderers, which are called Oroonokoponi, robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure, (the borderers being at that time at war with Inga, and not conquered,) save only of two great bottles of gords, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those Oroonokoponi thought had been no other thing than his drink, or meat, or grain for food, with which Martines had liberty to pass; and so in canoes he fell down by the river of Oroonoko to Trinedado, and from thence to Marguerita, and so to Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, where remaining a long time for a passage into Spain, he died. In the time of his extreme sickness, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the sacrament at the hands of his confessor, he de-

livered these things, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his calabaza, or gords of the gold beads, which he gave to the church and friars, to be prayed for. This Martines was he that christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and, as Berreo informed me, upon this occasion. Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I have seen, are marvellous great drunkards, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them; and at the times of their solemn feasts, when the emperor carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governors, the manner is thus: all those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsamum, by them called curcai, of which there is great plenty, and yet very dear amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof we have had good experience; when they are anointed all over, certain servants of the emperor having prepared gold made into fine powder, blow it through hollow canes upon their naked bodies, until they be all shining from the foot to the head; and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness sometimes six or seven days together: the same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spain, which was intercepted, which master Robert Dudley told me he had seen. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they use in the wars, he called it El Dorado. After Oreliano, who was employed by Pacaro, afterwards marquis Pacaro, conqueror and governor of Peru, and the death of Ordace and Martines, one Pedro de Osua, a knight of Navarre, attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigantines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the southward of Quito, and is very great: this river falleth into Amazones, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylones: and it seemeth to me that this empire is reserved for her majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards

found in attempting the same, whereof I will speak briefly, though impertinent, in some sort, to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troops a Biscayan called Agiri, a man meanly born, and bare no other office than a sergeant, or alferez; but after certain months, when the soldiers were grieved with travels and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which he made himself the head, and so prevailed, as he put Osua to the sword and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandment, with a purpose, not only to make himself emperor of Guiana, but also of Peru, and of all that side of the West Indies. He had of his party seven hundred soldiers, and of those, many promised to draw in other captains and companies to deliver up towns and forts in Peru; but neither finding by the said river any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to return towards Peru by the same Amazones, by reason that the descent of the river made so great a current, he was enforced to disembogue at the mouth of the said Amazones, which cannot be less than a thousand leagues from the place where they embarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Marguerita, to the north of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Juan de Villa Andreda, governor of Marguerita, who was father to Don Juan Sermiento, governor of Marguerita, when sir John Burgh landed there, and attempted the island. Agiri put to the sword all others in the island that refused to be of his party, and took with him certain Cemerones and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the governor, and dealt in all as at Marguerita: he spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the province of Vensuello, and of Rio de Hache, and, as I remember, it was the same year that sir John Hawkins sailed to Saint Juan de Lua, in the Jesus of Lubeck; for himself told me that he met with such a one upon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed down all the river of Amazones. Agiri, from hence, landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also,

putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to invade Nuevo Reygno de Granado, and to sack Pampelone, Merida, Lagrita, Tunia, and the rest of the cities of Nuevo Reygno, and from thence again to enter Peru; but in a fight in the said Nuevo Reygno he was overthrown, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children, foretelling them, that they should not live to be defamed or upbraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitor or tyrant, and that since he could not make them princes, he would yet deliver them from shame and reproach. These were the ends and tragedies of Oreliano, Ordace, Osua, Martines, and Agiri.

After these, followed Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa, with one hundred and thirty soldiers, who, failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, and peopled about S. Miguel de Neueri. It was then attempted by don Pedro de Sylva, a Portuguese of the family of Rigomes de Sylva, and by the favour which Rigomes had with the king he was set out; but he also shot wide of the mark; for being departed from Spain with his fleet, he entered by Maragnon, or Amazones, where, by the nations of the river, and by the Amazones, he was utterly overthrown, and himself and all his army defeated, only seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumana in the West Indies, taking his journey by land towards Oroonoko, which may be some hundred and twenty leagues; but ere he came to the borders of the said river he was set upon by a nation of Indians called Wikiri, and overthrown in such sort, that of three hundred soldiers, horsemen, many Indians and negroes, there returned but eighteen: others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first civil town of the empire, called Macureguarai. Captain Preston in taking S. Jago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great town, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that

was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spaniard was brought aboard me by captain Preston, who told me, in the hearing of himself and divers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreo's camp-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of gold curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlaid with gold, feathers garnished with gold, and divers rarities which he carried to the Spanish king.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was undertaken by the adelantado, don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nuevo Reygno, whose daughter and heir don Antonio de Berreo married. Gonzales sought the passage also by the river called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, and runneth south-east one hundred leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the loss of much labour and cost: I took one captain George, a Spaniard, that followed Gonzales in this enterprise. Gonzales gave his daughter to Berreo, taking his oath and honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworn to me, hath spent three hundred thousand ducats in the same, and yet never could enter so far into the land as myself, with that poor troop, or rather a handful of men, being in all about one hundred, gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boys, and of all sorts; neither could any of the forepast undertakers, nor Berreo himself, discover the country, till now lately, by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof; for Berreo came above fifteen hundred miles, ere he understood ought, or could find any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of all these forenamed, and divers others, and was persuaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the river Cassanar, which falleth into a great river called Pato, Pato

falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Oroonoko.

He took his journey from Nuevo Reygno de Granada, where he dwelt, having the inheritance of Gonzales Cemenes in those parts: he was followed with seven hundred horse; he drove with him a thousand head of cattle; he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers cross and encounter, how the country lieth and is bordered, the passage of Cemenes and of Berreo, mine own discovery, and the way that I entered, with all the rest of the nations and rivers, your lordship shall receive in a large chart, or map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to pass your own hands; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations: for I know it is this very year sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I fear it not much. It was also told me, ere I departed England, that Villiers the admiral was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned much gold and other rarities. I spake with a captain of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth the same year that my ships came first from Virginia.

There was another this year in Helford, that also came from thence, and had been fourteen months at an anchor in Amazones, which were both very rich. Although, as I am persuaded, Guiana cannot be entered that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazones, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself; for those Indians of Trinedado have plates of gold from Guiana, and those cannibals of Dominica which dwell in the islands by which our ships pass yearly to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria through the province of Vensuello, and in Maracapana, and the cannibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest, (all

which shall be described in my description as they are situate,) have plates of gold of Guiana. And upon the river of Amazones, Thevet writeth, that the people wear croissants of gold, for of that form the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazones, which is above two hundred and fifty leagues, all the chief Indians in all parts wear of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade with the Amazones return much gold, which (as is aforesaid) cometh by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a river that falleth from the country into Amazones; and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the rivers between Oroonoko and Amazones, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is believed, of others not: and though I digress from my purpose, yet I will set down what hath been delivered me for truth of those women, and I spake with a casique or lord of the people, that told me he had been in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the river in the provinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retreats are in the islands situate on the south side of the entrance, some sixty leagues within the mouth of the said river. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in Africa as in Asia: in Africa those that had Medusa for queen: others in Scythia near the rivers of Tanais and Thermadon: we find also that Lampedo and Marthesia were queens of the Amazones: in many histories they are verified to have been, and in divers ages and provinces: but they which are not far from Guiana do accompany with men but once in a year, and for the time of one month, which I gather by their relation to be in April. At that time all the kings of the borders assemble, and the queens of the Amazones; and after the queens have chosen, the rest cast lots for their valentines. This one month they feast, dance, and drink of their wines in abundance, and, the moon being down,

they all depart to their own provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a son, they return him to the father; if of a daughter, they nourish it and retain it, and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present, all being desirous to increase their own sex and kind; but that they cut off the right dug of the breast I do not find to be true. It was further told me, that if in the wars they took any prisoners, that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end, for certain, they put them to death: for they are said to be very cruel and blood-thirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazones have likewise great store of these plates of gold, which they recover by exchange, chiefly for a kind of green stones which the Spaniards call *piedras hijadas*, and we use for spleen stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteem them: of these I saw divers in Guiana, and commonly every king, or casique, hath one, which their wives for the most part wear, and they esteem them as great jewels.

But to return to the enterprise of Berreo, who (as I have said) departed from Nuevo Reygno with 700 horse, besides the provisions above rehearsed; he descended by the river Cassanar, which riseth in Nuevo Reygno out of the mountains by the city of Tuvia, from which mountain also springeth Pato, both which fall into the great river of Meta, and Meta riseth from a mountain joining to Pampelone in the same Nuevo Reygno de Granada: these, as also Guaire, which issueth out of the mountains by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads, for at their coming together they lose their names, and Baraquan further down is also rebaptized by the name of Oroonoko. On the other side of the city and hills of Timana riseth Rio Grande, which falleth into the sea by Sancta Marta. By Cassonar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the country served them for to march, and where otherwise he was driven to embark them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current down the river of Meta, and so into Baraquan.

After he entered that great and mighty river, he began daily to lose of his companies both men and horse, for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers islands sharp-pointed with rocks: but after one whole year, journeying for the most part by river and the rest by land, he grew daily to fewer numbers, for both by sickness and by encountering with the people of those regions, through which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by divers encounters with the Amapaiens: and in all this time he never could learn of any passage into Guiana, nor any news or fame thereof, until he came to the further border of the said Amapaia eight days journey from the river Caroli, which was the furthest river that we entered. Among those of Amapaia Guiana was famous; but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellous rich in gold, (as both Berreo confessed, and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference,) and is situate upon Oroonoko also. In this country Berreo lost sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former year's travel: but in the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace, and they presented Berreo with ten images of fine gold among divers other plates and croissants, which, as he swore to me and divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seen the like either in Italy, Spain, or the Low Countries: and he was assured that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his camp-master, they would appear very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no iron instrument at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to work withal. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gave him these pieces are called Anebas, and the river of Oroonoko at that place is above twelve English miles broad, which may be from his outfall into the sea seven hundred or eight hundred miles.

This province of Amapaia is a very low and a marish

ground near the river, and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches through the fenny and boggy ground, there breed divers poisonful worms and serpents, and the Spaniards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses poisoned therewith; insomuch as at the end of the six months that they abode there, of all their troops there were not left above 120 soldiers, and neither horse nor cattle. For Berreo hoped to have found Guiana by 1000 miles nearer than it fell out to be in the end, by means whereof they sustained much want and much hunger, oppressed with grievous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had travelled Amapaia, how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither, and they told me, that after the sun was near the middle of the sky they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water; but either before that time, or towards the setting of the sun, it was dangerous to drink of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them which were also (while the sun was in the meridian) very safe to drink, and in the morning, evening, and night, wonderful dangerous and infective. From this province Berreo hasted away as soon as the spring and beginning of summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Oroonoko on the south side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountains, as he was not able by any means to march over them, continuing from the east sea, into which Oroonoko falleth, even to Quito in Peru; neither had he means to carry victual or munition over those craggy, high, and vast hills, being all woody, and those so thick and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briars, as it is impossible to creep through them; he had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to persuade or treat with them; and more to his disadvantage, the casiqui and kings of Amapaia had given knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sack and conquer the empire for the

hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold: he passed by the mouths of many great rivers, which fell into Oroonoko both from the north and south, which I forbear to name for tediousness, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred rivers into Oroonoko from the north and south, whereof the least was as big as Rio Grande, that passeth between Popayan and Nuevo Reygno de Granada; (Rio Grande being esteemed one of the most renowned rivers in all the West Indies, and numbered among the great rivers of the world;) but he knew not the names of any of these but Caroli only, neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time; neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own travel, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdoms from the east sea to the borders of Peru, and from Oroonoko southward as far as Amazones or Maragnon, and the regions of Maria Tamball, and of all the kings of provinces, and captains of towns and villages, how they stood in times of peace or war, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere: for by the dissension between Guascar and Atabalipa, Paçaro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Traxcallians bare to Montezuma Cortez was victorious over Mexico, without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they attained unto.

Now Berreo began to grow into despair, and looked for no other success than his predecessors in this enterprise,

until such time as he arrived at the province of Emeria, towards the east sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the country full of all manner of victual. The king of this land is called *carapana;* a man very wise, subtle, and of great experience, being little less than a hundred years old: in his youth he was sent by his father into the island of Trinedado, by reason of civil war among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island called Parico. At that place, in his youth, he had seen many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of Trinedado to Marguerita and Cumana in the West Indies; (for both those places have ever been relieved with victual from Trinedado;) by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and arms of his country with those of the Christians, and ever after temporised so, as whosoever else did amiss, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himself and his country in quiet and plenty: he also held peace with caribas, or cannibals, his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever else had war.

Berreo sojourned and rested his weak troop in the town of Carapana six weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof: but, being then utterly unable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another year, when he had renewed his provisions and regathered more force, which he hoped for as well out of Spain as from Nuevo Reygno, where he had left his son don Anthonio Xemenes, to second him upon the first notice given of his entrance; and so for the present embarked himself in canoes, and by the branches of Oroonoko arrived at Trinedado, having from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinedado he coasted Paria, and so recovered Marguerita; and having made relation to don Juan Sermiento the governor, of his proceeding, and persuaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obtained from thence fifty soldiers, promising presently to return to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing less at that

time, for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore, departing from Marguerita, seated himself in Trinedado, and from thence sent his camp-master and his sergeant-major back to the borders to discover the nearest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love, without which he knew he could neither pass safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victuals or ought else. Carapana directed this company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five days' journey from Macureguari, the first civil town of Guiana.

Now your lordship shall understand that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three years before been at Cumana, and at Marguerita in the West Indies, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his own country, and was daily feasted, and presented by the governors of those places, and held amongst them some two months; in which time one Vides, governor of Cumana, won him to be his conductor into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado; whereupon Vides sent into Spain for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreo's patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides understood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturb Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his seigniory nor any of his companies, neither to victual, nor guide them in any sort; for Vides, governor of Cumana, and Berreo were become mortal enemies, as well for that Berreo had gotten Trinedado into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the journey of Guiana itself: howsoever it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his

disposition, suffered Spaniards and a friar (which Berreo had sent to discover Manoa) to travel through his country, gave them a guide for Macureguarai, the first town of civil and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa, the great city of Inga: and, being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleven days arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certain; although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the province of Morequito, for he told me that they got all the gold they had in other towns on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and, as he said, built like the towns of Christians, with many rooms.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Arromaia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the river, and took from them to the value of 40,000 pesoes of gold; and, as it is written in the story of Job, one only lived to bring the news to Berreo, that both his nine soldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province. I myself spake with the captains of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo, enraged herewithal, sent all the strength he could make into Arromaia, to be revenged of him, his people, and country: but Morequito suspecting the same fled over Oroonoko, and through the territories of the Saima and Wikiri recovered Cumana, where he thought himself very safe with Vides the governor: but Berreo sending for him in the king's name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden, ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, Vides durst not deny him, as well to avoid the suspicion of the practice, as also for that an holy father was slain by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in gold to let him escape, but the poor Guianian, betrayed of all sides, was delivered to the camp-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

After the death of this Morequito the soldiers of Berreo spoiled his territory, and took divers prisoners; among others they took the uncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Arromaia, (whose son I brought with me into England,) and is a man of great understanding and policy: he is above one hundred years old, and yet of a very able body: the Spaniards led him in a chain seventeen days, and made him their guide from place to place between his country and Emeria, the province of Carapana aforesaid, and was at last redeemed for one hundred plates of gold, and divers stones called *piedras hijadas*, or spleen stones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoils, and slaughters done in Arromaia, hath lost the love of the Oroonokoponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any further into the land than to Carapana, which he calleth the port of Guiana: but from thence by the help of Carapana he had trade further into the country, and always appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapana's town, by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the country thereabouts as well for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

They have also gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they have christened and named don Juan, of whom they have great hope, endeavouring by all means to establish him in the said province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used in canoes to pass to the rivers of Barema, Pawroma, and Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Oroonoko, and there buy women and children from the cannibals; which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four hatchets sell the sons and daughters of their own brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more, even their own daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit; for buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at Marguerita in the West Indies for fifty and one hundred pesoes, which is so many crowns.

The master of my ship, Jo. Douglas, took one of the

canoes which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought there was one as well-favoured and as well-shaped as ever I saw any in England; and afterward I saw many of them, which, but for their tawny colour, may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of Cassaui, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Marguerita for ten pesoes. They also recover great store of cotton, Brazil-wood, and those beds which they call *hamacas*, or Brazil-beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards used to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourselves, while we were there: by means of which trades, for ransom of divers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, Berreo recovered some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and images of men and divers birds, and despatched his camp-master for Spain with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy soldiers, and by the show thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise; and having sent divers images, as well of men as beasts, birds, and fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, doubted not but to persuade the king to yield to him some further help, especially for that this land hath never been sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labour and charge: he also despatched messengers to his son in Nuevo Reygno, to levy all the forces he could, and to come down the river of Oroonoko to Emeria, the province of Carapana, to meet him: he had also sent to Sant Jago de Leon, on the coast of the Caraccas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my coming to Trinedado; as it was indeed; (and for that purpose I sent Ja. Whiddon the year before, to get intelligence, with whom Berreo himself had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitive Ja. Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the country of Guiana;) Berreo was stricken

into a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded: and first he delivered, that I could not enter any of the rivers with any bark or pinnace, nor hardly with any ship's boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes, which drew but twelve inches water: he further said, that none of the country would come to speak with us, but would all fly; and if we followed them to their dwellings they would burn their own towns; and, besides, that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victual for half the time; and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders, and of Guiana, had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true; but yet I resolving to make trial of all, whatsoever happened, directed captain George Gifford, my vice-admiral, to take the Lion's Whelp, and captain Calfield his bark, to turn to the eastward, against the breeze what they could possible, to recover the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captain Whiddon and Jo. Douglas the master, to discover; who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water; to whom I had given instructions that they should anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over; which shoal John Douglas buoyed, and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vain, for neither could they turn it up altogether so [illegible] to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but [illegible] 'ell ere they could have passed the [illegible] by second experience: so as now [illegible] :r our enterprise, or leaving our

ships at adventure four hundred miles behind us, to run up in our ships' boats, one barge, and two wherries; but being doubtful how to carry victuals for so long a time in such baubles, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his son must be by that time come down with many soldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lion's Whelp, with his ship's boat, to try another branch of a river in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prove if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter: but when he came to the mouth of Amana he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the cannibals of Guanipa would assail them with many canoes, and that they shot poisoned arrows, so as if he hasted not back, they should all be lost.

In the meantime, fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had to cut down a gallego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the bar of Capuri at low water: and doubting of King's return, I sent Jo. Douglas again in my long barge, as well to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that bay: for it hath been held for infallible, that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein can never disembogue again, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the breeze and easterly wind bloweth directly into the same; of which opinion I have heard John Hampton of Plymouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others besides, that have traded to Trinedado.

I sent with John Douglas an old cassique of Trinedado for a pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the bay or gulf, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so return in four days: John Douglas searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the Thames at

Woolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoal, and but six foot water; so as we were now without hope of any ship or bark to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottom of the gallego, in which we thrust sixty men; in the Lion's Whelp's boat and wherry we carried twenty; captain Calfield in his wherry carried ten more; and in my barge other ten; which made up a hundred. We had no other means but to carry victual for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat. Captain Gifford had with him master Edw. Porter, captain Eynos, and eight more in his wherry, with all their victual, weapons, and provisions: captain Calfield had with him my cousin Butshead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers, myself had captain Thyn, my cousin John Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, captain Whiddon, captain Keymis, Edw. Hancocke, captain Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Tho. Upton, captain Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Antho. Wells, Wil. Connock, and about fifty more. We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so far to the windward, as it was impossible for us to recover; for we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong, so as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which Jo. Douglas had last discovered; and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Oroonoko, between that and Amazones, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema, laden with Cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita: this Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Oroonoko; but indeed of that which we entered he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve years before, at which time he was very young, and of no judgment; and if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found any way either out or in, especially after we were past the ebbing and

flowing, which was in four days: for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and also fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any further than the breadth of the river, or length of the breach. But thus it chanced, that entering into a river (which, because it had no name, we called the river of the Red Cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein) the 22d of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars) I overtook, ere they could cross the river. The rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befall those three which we had taken; but when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to shew themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffick with us for such things as they had; and as we drew near they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs go ashore to their village, to fetch some fruits, and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place, and to know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his, which he had with him in the journey. When they came to the village of these people, the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both; yielding for reason, that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoil and destroy them; but the pilot being quick, and of a disposed body, slipped their fingers, and ran into the woods; and his brother, being the better footman of the

two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain. With that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again we would presently cut off his head. This old man, being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer dogs, and with so main a cry, that all the woods echoed with the shout they made; but at last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and, as we were coasting, leaped down, and swam to the barge half dead with fear; but our good hap was, that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted, to redeem our pilot withal; for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could; and indeed but for this chance I think we had never found the way either to Guiana or back to our ships; for Ferdinando, after a few days, knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn, yea and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tivitivas: there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

The great river of Oroonoko, or Baraquan, hath nine branches, which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth; on the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea; so it disembogueth by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground; but the is landsare very great, many of them as big as the Isle of Wight and bigger, and many less. From the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at least 100 leagues, so as the river's mouth is no less than 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of Amazones: all those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these Tivitivas, of which there are two chief lords, which have continual wars one with the other.

The islands which lie on the right hand are called Pallamos, and the land on the left Hororotomaka; and the river, by which John Douglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people, and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places; in the winter they dwell upon the trees; where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the lowlands near the gulf of Uraba: for between May and September the river of Oroonoko riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sown; and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of ought but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks for the rest of their sustenance; they have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, forasmuch as I have either seen or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of Oroonoko, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes; for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinedado for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer, to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people, or a more manly. They were wont to make war upon all na-

tions, and especially on the cannibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those rivers; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation; and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcass again, and hang it in the casiqui's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the south of Oroonoko, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was,) are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb; and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left sixty of our men to have inhabited, like rooks upon trees, with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on: at four days' end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other: but soon after, the flood of the sea left us, and we enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out. We had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days' work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east, into Amana; but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone, our companies began to despair, the weather being

extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other: but we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach; but so long we laboured as many days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for we were now in five degrees.

The further we went on, (our victual decreasing, and the air breeding great faintness,) we grew weaker and weaker, when we had most need of strength and ability; for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of captain Gifford and captain Calfield had spent all their provisions, so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land, where we should be relieved of all we wanted; and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals. We relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish: we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other sorts, both simple and mixed; as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces, without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Ferdinando) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and

wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas, where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine, and persuaded us, that departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge, with eight musketeers, captain Gifford's wherry, with himself and four musketeers, and captain Calfield with his wherry and as many, and so we entered the mouth of this river; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours, we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was; he told us a little further. After three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinedado, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more: when we had rowed four and four we saw no sign, and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot, and, if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone; but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace; but whether it was best to return or go on we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more; but the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little further, and but this one turning and that turning; and at last, about one o'clock after mid-

night, we saw a light, and rowing towards it we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed, we found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above four hundred miles off, upon a journey towards the head of Oroonoko, to trade for gold, and to buy women of the cannibals, who afterward unfortunately passed by us, as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito, in the dark of night, and yet came so near us, as his canoes grated against our barges. He left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts: we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness; but for lagartos it exceeded; for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the river of Lagartos, in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, that, leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those legartos. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost, (for we promised to return before night,) and sent the Lion's Whelp's ship's boat with captain Whiddon to follow us up the river; but the next day, after we had rowed up

and down some fourscore miles, we returned, and went on our way up the great river, and, when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, captain Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river, and with no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods; the two other lesser got away while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither: those canoes that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for Marguerita in the West Indies, which those Indians, called Arwacas, purposed to carry thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinedado, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes: one of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us, next unto gold, than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes; for now our men cried, Let us go on, we care not how far. After that captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley, I took my barge, and went to the bank's side with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out captain Gifford and captain Thyn on one hand, and captain Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods; and as I was creeping through the bushes I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket; for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined; but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed; but our labours were in vain in

that behalf; for they put themselves into one of the small canoes, and so, while the greater canoes were in taking, they escaped: but seeking after the Spaniards we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes: of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and carried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all: for when the springs began to break, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine; especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the *white spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a work; I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest, if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost by those that only respect present profit; and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity, (which I hear hath been often objected,) whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a month and odd days, as we were, from hearing ought from our ships, leaving them meanly manned above four hundred miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold, or rich stones: and, to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Oroonoko were raised with such speed, as, if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day; and to stay to dig out gold with our nails had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii:* such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made,

and that could have been the best profit of further search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste; and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot, with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death; for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana, or in Guiana itself, might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters, and cannibals: but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength. But I protest before the majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women; and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit stark naked.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage; for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a *pina*, or a potatoe root, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course, so contrary to the Spaniards, (who tyrannise over them in all things,) drew them to admire her majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing, when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to know of the loss or wrong done; and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the

party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinedado; for they were before resolved, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots, which were excellent meat, I gave one of the canoes to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the captain, (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin,) I sent back in the same canoe the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victual to carry them back; and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on with my new hired pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away with all our victual and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps; but we fastened an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off; and so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana, to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slant of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river of Oroonoko, out of which the river descended wherein we were: we descried afar off three other canoes as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries; but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered up the great river, on the right hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upwards to Gui-

ana, the people in those parts being all their enemies; and those in the canoes thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from Trinedado, and had escaped killing: and when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were; wherewith they came back willingly aboard us: and of such fish and tortoises' eggs as they had gathered they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers, (the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of Oroonoko, which crossed from the west, and ran to sea towards the east,) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortoises' eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring; so as our men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the fare and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border, called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could, at least he drank good Spanish wine, (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles,) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant; for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs, and fruits digested and purged: they keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to his town we found two cassiques, whereof one of them was a stranger, that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people,

and wife encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country, a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotton hamaca, which we call Brazil beds, and two women attending them with six cups, and a little ladle, to fill them out of an earthen pitcher of wine; and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other; and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That cassique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we anchored; and in all my life I have seldom seen a better favoured woman: she was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots; and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest; for she spake and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own comeliness, and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in England so like her, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens, a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowocai; the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew the river most perfectly both by day and night; and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a pilot; for it is four, five, and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies and strong currents, many great islands and divers shoals, and many dangerous rocks; and besides, upon any increase of wind, so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great

peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore but when it was very fair.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for after we entered Oroonoko, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than one thousand miles, and from the place where we entered it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo Reygno de Granada, and of Popayan; and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island, which they call Assapana, which may contain some five and twenty miles in length, and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island: beyond that middle branch there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight; and beyond it, and between it and the main of Guiana, runneth a third branch of Oroonoko, called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it; for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of this island, called Assapana, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river; and beyond it, on the same side, we anchored for that night by another island six miles long and two miles broad, which they call Ocaywita: from hence in the morning we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you have heard before) Berreo put to death; but his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that

night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, overagainst which island was a very high mountain called Œcope: we coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river than by the main, because of the tortoises' eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains which border this river in many places.

The next morning, towards nine of the clock, we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and after a while, opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks shewed very perfect red: I therefore sent two of the little barges with captain Gifford, and with him captain Thyn, captain Calfield, my cousin Greenvile, my nephew Jo. Gilbert, captain Eynus, master Edw. Porter, and my cousin Butshead Gorges, with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land, and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side; who at their return found it all a plain level, as far as they went, or could discern from the highest tree they could get upon: and my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the cassique Toparimaca, told me, that those were called the plains of the Sayma, and that the same level reached to Cumana and Carracas in the West Indies, which are an hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was overthrown, as he passed with three hundred horse from Cumana towards Oroonoko, in his enterprise of Guiana; the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair; and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dan-

gerous of all nations; of which poison I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned arrows; for, besides the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot endureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying stark mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discoloured as black as pitch, and so unsavoury, as no man can endure to cure or to attend them: and it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment, that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called *tupera:* the same also quencheth marvellously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veins that bleed within the body. But I was more beholden to the Guianians than any other, for Antonio de Berreo told me that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as well thereof as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have been cured in ordinary wounds of the common poisoned arrows with the juice of garlic: but this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will return again to our journey, which for this third day we finished, and cast anchor again near the continent, on the left hand between two mountains, the one

called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourly lest any rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any further up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong breeze, and easterly wind. I deferred the search of the country on Guiana side, till my return down the river. The next day we sailed by a great island, in the middle of the river, called Manoripano; and as we walked a while on the island, while the galley got ahead of us, there came after us from the main a small canoe with seven or eight Guianians, to invite us to anchor at their port; but I deferred it till my return: it was that cassique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with us from the town of Toparimaca; and so the fifth day we reached as high up as the province of Arromaia, the country of Morequito, whom Berreo executed, and anchored to the west of an island called Murrecotima, ten miles long and five broad; and that night the cassique Aramiari (to whose town we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana) passed by us.

The next day we arrived at the port of Morequito, and anchored there, sending away one of our pilots to seek the king of Arromaia, uncle to Morequito, slain by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following, before noon, he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles, (himself being 110 years old,) and returned on foot the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits and roots, and great abundance of pines, the princess of fruits that grow under the sun, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of paraquitos, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great: one of them gave me a beast, called by the Spaniards *armadilla*, which they call *cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates, somewhat like to a rhinoceros,

with a white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they use to wind instead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness.

After this old king had rested a while in a little tent that I caused to be set up, I began by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessor, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any further I made him know the cause of my coming thither, whose servant I was, and that the queen's pleasure was I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinedado) her majesty's greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive; all which being with great admiration attentively heard and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, how far it extended, and what nations were friends or enemies adjoining; and, finally, of the distance and way to enter the same: he told me that himself and his people, with all those down the river towards the sea, as far as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Oroonokoponi, because they bordered the great river of Oroonoko, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountains of Wacarima there was a large plain, (which after I discovered in my return,) called the valley of Amariocapana; in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians. I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the further side of those mountains beyond the valley of Amariocapana; he answered with a great sigh, (as a man which had inward feeling of the loss of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest son was slain in a battle on that side of the mountains, whom he most entirely loved,)

that he remembered in his father's lifetime, when he was very old, and himself a young man, that there came down into that large valley of Guiana a nation from so far off as the sun slept, (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted; and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed by shewing a piece of red wood wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Oreiones, and Epurimei, those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had now made themselves lords of all, even to that mountain foot called Curaa, saving only of two nations, the one called Iwarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos; and that in the last battle fought between the Epuremei and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aid of the Iwarawaqueri a great troop of the Oroonokoponi, and was there slain, with all his people and friends; and that he had now remaining but one son: and further told me, that those Epuremei had built a great town called Macureguarai, at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guiana, which have no end: and that their houses have many rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great king of the Oreiones and Epuremei kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them: but that of late years, since the Christians offered to invade his territories and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving only the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemy.

After he had answered thus far, he desired leave to depart, saying that he had far to go; that he was old and weak, and was every day called for by death, which was also his own phrase: I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not entreat him; but he told me that at my return from the country above he would again come to us, and, in the mean time, provide for us the best he

could of all that his country yielded: the same night he returned to Orocotona, his own town; so as he went that day twenty-eight miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate between four and five degrees of the equinoctial. This Topiawari is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Oroonokoponi; and so he behaved himself towards me in all his answers at my return, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward up the river, to view the famous river called Caroli, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers that were enemies to the Epuromei, which are subjects to Inga, emperor of Guiana and Manoa; and that night we anchored at another island called Caiama, of some five or six miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as low or further down as the port of Morequito, we heard the great roar and fall of the river, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, we were not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's cast in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the river, so as we encamped upon the banks adjoining, and sent off our Oroonokopone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the river of our being there, and that we desired to see the lords of Canuria which dwelt within the province upon that river, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards; (for it was on this river's side that Morequito slew the friar, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the city of Inga, and took from them 40,000 pesoes of gold;) so as the next day there came down a lord, or cassique, called Wanuretona, with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming known to Topiawari, so did I ac-

quaint this cassique therewith, and how I was sent by her majesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana: and I found that those also of Caroli were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in gold; and by this Wanuretona I had knowledge that on the head of this river were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos; and that all those, either against the Spaniards or the Epuremei, would join with us; and that, if we entered the land over the mountains of Curaa, we should satisfy ourselves with gold and all other good things: he told us further of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken of, that held daily war with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the emperor.

Upon this river one captain George, that I took with Berreo, told me there was a great silver mine, and that it was near the banks of the said river. But by this time as well Oroonoko, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers, were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible, by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream. I therefore sent captain Thyn, captain Greenville, my nephew John Gylbert, my cousin Butshead Gorges, captain Clarke, and some thirty shot more, to coast the river by land, and to go to a town some twenty miles over the valley called Amnatapoi; and if they found guides there, to go further towards the mountain foot to another great town, called Capurepana, belonging to a cassique called Haaracoa, (that was a nephew to old Topiawari, king of Arromaia, our chiefest friend,) because this town and province of Capurepana adjoined to Macureguarai, which was the frontier town of the empire: and the meanwhile myself, with captain Gifford, captain Calfield, Edw. Hancock, and some half a dozen shot, marched over land to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far off, and also to see the

plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of Canuri: I sent also captain Whiddon, W. Connoke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone along the river's side. When we run to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli: and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts above twenty miles off; and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain: and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand, easy to march on either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stopped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion. Your lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun; and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite, save only our desires, and good-will to have performed more, if it had pleased God. To be short; when both our companies returned, each of them brought

also several sorts of stones that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them; yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich, because of the lustre, and brought of those and of marquesite withal from Trinedado, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told me that it was El Madre deloro, and that the mine was further in the ground. But it shall be found a weak policy in me, either to betray myself or my country with imaginations; neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain Whiddon, and our chirurgeon Nich. Millechap, brought me a kind of stones like sapphires; what they may prove I know not; I shewed them to some of the Oroonokoponi, and they promised to bring me to a mountain that had of them very large pieces growing diamondwise: whether it be crystal of the mountain, Bristol diamond, or sapphire, I do not yet know; but I hope the best; sure I am, that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height, or very near. On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri, before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it, adjoining to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I further understood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one day's journey for one of their canoes to cross, which may be some forty miles; and that therein fall divers rivers; and that great store of grains of gold are found in the summer time, when the lake falleth by the banks in

those branches. There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli, which is called Arvi, which also runneth through the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Oroonoko further west, making all that land between Caroli and Arvi an island, which is likewise a most beautiful country. Next unto Arvi there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora are a nation of people, whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which, though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirm the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders. The son of Topiarwari, which I brought with me into England, told me, that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of Guiana or of the Oroonokoponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri took a prisoner of them the year before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of Arromaia, his father's country: and further, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them; but that they were as great a nation, and as common, as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours. But it was not my chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me, to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Maundeville, whose reports were held for fables many years; and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine own part I saw them not, but I am resolved, that so many people did not all combine, or forethink, to make the report.

When I came to Cumana, in the West Indies, after-

wards, by chance I spoke with a Spaniard dwelling not far from thence, a man of great travel; and after he knew that I had been in Guiana, and so far directly west as Caroli, the first question he asked me was, whether I had seen any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, told me, that he had seen many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage; but he is well known to monsieur Mucheron's sons of London, and to Peter Mucheron, merchant, of the Flemish ship that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people. The fourth river to the west of Caroli is Casnero, which falleth into Oroonoko on this side of Amapaia, and that river is greater than Danubius, or any of Europe; it riseth on the south of Guiana from the mountains which divide Guiana from Amazones; and I think it to be navigable many hundred miles: but we had no time, means, nor season of the year to search those rivers for the causes aforesaid, the winter being come upon us, although the winter and summer, as touching cold and heat, differ not, neither do the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both blossoms, leaves, ripe fruit, and green, at one time: but their winter only consisteth of terrible rains and overflowings of the rivers, with many great storms and gusts, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned. On the north side, the first river that falleth into Oroonoko is Cari; beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo; between these two is a great nation of cannibals, and their chief town beareth the name of the river, and is called Acamacari: as this town is a continual market of women for three or four hatchets apiece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the west of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri, which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nuevo Reygno de Granada. To the westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many

of his people poisoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Above Amapaia, toward Nuevo Reygno, fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar: to the west of these, towards the provinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios, are the rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Ubarrow; and towards the frontier of Peru are the provinces of Thomebamba and Caximalta: adjoining to Quito, in the north of Peru, are the rivers of Guiacar and Goavar: and on the other side of the said mountains the river of Papamene, which descendeth into Maragnon, or Amazones, passing through the province of the Mutylones, where don Pedro de Osua, who was slain by the traitor Agiri, before rehearsed, built his brigantines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones. Between Dawney and Beta lieth a famous island in Oroonoko, now called Baraquan, (for above Meta it is not known by the name of Oroonoko,) which is called Athule; beyond which ships of burden cannot pass by reason of a most forcible overfall and current of waters; but in the eddy all smaller vessels may be drawn even to Peru itself: but to speak of more of these rivers, without the description, were but tedious; and therefore I will leave the rest to the description. This river of Oroonoko is navigable for ships little less than one thousand miles, and for lesser vessels near two thousand. By it (as aforesaid) Peru, Nuevo Reygno, and Popaian, may be invaded: it also leadeth to that great empire of Inga, and to the provinces of Amapaia and Anebas, which abound in gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora, descend from the middle-land and valley, which lieth between the eastern province of Peru and Guiana; and it falls into the sea between Maragnon and Trinedado, in two degrees and a half: all which your honours shall better perceive in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo Reygno, the kingdom of Popayan, and Roidas, with the province of Vensuello, to the bay of Uraba, behind Cartagena, westward; and to Amazones southward. While we lay at anchor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people which were enemies

to the Epuremei and the new conquerors; I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Oroonoko began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return; for no half day passed, but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the rains came down in terrible showers, and gusts in great abundance; and, withal, our men began to cry out for want of shift; for no man had place to bestow any other apparel than that which he wore on his back, and that was thoroughly washed on his body, for the most part, ten times in one day: and we had now been well near a month, every day passing to the westward, further and further from our ships. We therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most material. The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived again at the port of Morequito, where we were before; (for passing down the stream we went without labour, and against the wind, little less than one hundred miles a day;) as soon as I came to anchor, I sent away one for old Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have further conference; and also to deal with him for some one of his country to bring with us into England, as well to learn the language, as to confer withal by the way, (the time being now spent of any longer stay there.) Within three hours after my messenger came to him he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one laden with somewhat, as if it had been a great market or fair in England: and our hungry companies clustered thick and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but ourselves and my interpreter; and told him, that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country, and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and that the other sought to regain the same from them both: and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civil towns and apparelled

people of Inga. He gave me an answer to this effect: first, that he did not perceive that I meant to go onward towards the city of Manoa; for neither the time of the year served, neither could he perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprise; and, if I did, I was sure with all my company to be buried there; for that the emperor was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few: besides, he gave me this good counsel, and advised me to hold it in mind, (as for himself, he knew he could not live till my return,) that I should not offer by any means hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana, without the help of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible, without those, either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have ought carried with us, our people not being able to endure the march in so great heat and travel, unless the borderers gave them help, to carry with them both their meat and furniture: for he remembered, that in the plains of Macureguarai three hundred Spaniards were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friends; but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed of all sides, and the people setting the long dry grass on fire, smothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke. He told me further, that four days' journey from his town was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subjects of Inga and of the Epuremei, and the first town of apparelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers, and carried to other nations far and near, came from the said Macureguarai, and were there made; but that those of the land within were far finer, and were fashioned after the image of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me were sufficient to take that town or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to join with us? He answered, that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the

rivers did remain fordable; upon this condition, that I would leave with him till my return again fifty soldiers, which he undertook to victual: I answered, that I had not above fifty good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers; and that I had no provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparel, or ought else; and that without those things necessary for their defence they should be in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knew would use the same measure towards mine that I offered them at Trinedado: and although, upon the motion, captain Calfeilde, captain Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, and divers others, were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needs have perished; for Berreo expected daily a supply out of Spain, and looked also hourly for his son to come down from Nuevo Reygno de Granada, with many horse and foot; and had also in Valentia in the Caraccas two hundred horse ready to march; and I could not have spared above forty, and had not any store at all of powder, lead, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pickaxe, or ought else to have fortified withal. When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a company, he then desired me to forbear him and his country for that time; for he assured me that I should be no sooner three days from the coast, but those Epuremei would invade him, and destroy all the remains of his people and friends, if he should any way either guide us, or assist us against them. He further alleged that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murdered his nephew Morequito, lord of that province, so they had him seventeen days in a chain before he was king of the country, and led him like a dog from place to place, until he had paid one hundred plates of gold and divers chains of spleen stones for his ransom; and now, since he became owner of that province, that they had many times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now more vehement, when they should understand of his conference with the English; and because, said he, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay hands on me, they

have gotten a nephew of mine, called Eparacano, whom they have christened Don Iuan, and his son Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seek to make a party against me in mine own country: he also hath taken to wife one Loviana, of a strong family, which are my borderers and neighbours; and myself being now old, and in the hands of death, am not able to travel nor to shift, as when I was of younger years: he therefore prayed us to defer it till the next year, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would be more seasonable to travel; for at this time of the year we should not be able to pass any river, the waters were and would be so grown ere our return. He further told me, that I could not desire so much to invade Macureguari and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement than I; for he yielded for a chief cause, that in the wars with the Epuremei, they were spoiled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them; so as for their own parts they desired nothing of the gold or treasure for their labours, but only to recover women from the Epuremei: for he further complained very sadly, (as if it had been a matter of great consequence,) that whereas they were wont to have ten or twelve wives, they were now enforced to content themselves with three or four, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or one hundred. And in truth they were more for women then either for gold or dominion: for the lords of countries desire many children of their own bodies, to increase their races and kindreds; for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of his followers afterwards desired me to make haste again, that they might sack the Epuremei; and I asked them of what? they answered, Of their women for us, and their gold for you: for the hope of many of those women they more desire the war, than either for gold or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what between the subjects of Inga and the Spaniards those frontiers are grown thin of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations further off, for fear of the

Spaniards. After I received this answer of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had been of better advice to have entered Macureguarai, and to have begun a war upon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the year and all things else had sorted. For mine own part (as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships) I thought it very evil counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answer many objections: but it would have been in mine opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprise, if the same should be hereafter by her majesty attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards, and were sent by her majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the Spaniards at our return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errand; and that both sought but to sack and spoil them: but as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion is not known unto those of the empire: and it is likely, that if her majesty undertake the enterprise, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted: and therefore, till I had known her majesty's pleasure, I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns, (although they might have been very profitable,) than to have defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great, good, and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now that they will all die, even to the last man, against the Spaniards, in hope of our succour and return: whereas otherwise, if I had either laid hands on the borderers, or ransomed the lords as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inga, I know all had been lost for hereafter. After that I had resolved Topiawari, lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprise against the Epuremei till the next year, he freely gave me his only son to

take with me into England; and hoped, that though he himself had but a short time to live, yet that by our means his son should be established after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a servant of captain Gifford, (who was desirous to tarry, and could describe a country with his pen,) and a boy of mine, called Hugh Goodwin, to learn the language. I after asked the manner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of gold, and how they could melt it out of the stone; he told me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not severed from the stone; but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, and in pieces as big as small stones; and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it, and that they used a great earthen pot with holes round about it; and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran; and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent your honours of two sorts, such as I could by chance recover, more to shew the manner of them, than for the value: for I did not in any sort make my desire of gold known, because I had neither time nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them many more pieces of gold than I received, of the new money of twenty shillings, with her majesty's picture, to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thenceforth.

I have also sent your honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yieldeth any; of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, bars, sledges, nor wedges of iron, to break the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but we saw all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marquesite; and therefore such as the Spaniards call *el madre del oro*, which is an undoubted assurance of the ge-

neral abundance; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the white spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those more than I will speak of.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithful promise of the principalest of those provinces to become servants to her majesty, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri; I then parted from old Topiawari, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left with him two of ours, as aforesaid: to Francis Sparrow I gave instructions to travel to Macureguarai, with such merchandises as I left with him, thereby to learn the place, and if it were possible to go on to the great city of Manoa: which being done, we weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana side, because we came up on the north side, by the lawns of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with us from Aromaia a cassique called Putyma, that commanded the province of Warapana, (which Putyma slew the nine Spaniards upon Caroli before spoken of,) who desired us to rest at the port of his country, promising to bring us to a mountain adjoining to his town that had stones of the colour of gold; which he performed: and after we had rested there one night, I went myself in the morning, with most of the gentlemen of my company, over land, towards the said mountain, marching by a river's side called Mana, leaving on the right hand a town called Tuteritona, standing in the province of Tarracoa, of which Wariaaremagoto is principal: beyond it lieth another town, towards the south, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the said valley, whose plains stretch themselves some sixty miles in length, east and west, as fair ground and as beautiful fields as any man hath ever seen, with divers copses scattered here and there by the river's side, and all as full of deer as any forest or park in England; and in every lake and river the like abundance of fish and fowl, of which Irraparragota is lord.

From the river of Mana we crossed another river in the said beautiful valley, called Oiana, and rested ourselves by a clear lake which lay in the middle of the said Oiana; and one of our guides kindling us fire with two sticks, we stayed a while to dry our shirts, which with the heat hung very wet and heavy on our shoulders. Afterwards we sought the ford, to pass over towards the mountain called Iconuri, where Putyma foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a winepipe, which they call *manati*, and is most excellent and wholesome meat. But after I perceived that to pass the said river would require half a day's march more, I was not able myself to endure it; and therefore I sent captain Keymis, with six shot, to go on, and gave him order not to return to the port of Putyma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march down the said valley as far as a river called Cumaca, where I promised to meet him again, (Putyma himself promising also to be his guide;) and as they marched they left the towns of Emparepana and Capurepana on the right hand, and marched from Putyma's house down the said valley of Amariocapana; and we returning the same day to the river's side, saw by the way many rocks, like unto gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain, which consisted of mineral stone.

From hence we rowed down the stream, coasting the province of Parino; as for the branches of rivers which I overpass in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description, with the mountains of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the provinces of Parino and Carricurina. When we were come as far down as the land called Arriacoa, (where Oroonoko divideth itself into three great branches, each of them being most goodly rivers,) I sent away captain Henry Thyn and captain Greenville with the galley the nearest way, and took with me captain Gifford, captain Calfeild, Edward Porter, and captain Eynos, with mine own barge and the two wherries, and went down that branch of Oroonoko which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria, the province of Carapana, and to-

wards the east sea, as well to find out captain Keymis, whom I had sent over land, as also to acquaint myself with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Oroonokoponi: and when we came to the river of Cumaca, (to which Putyma promised to conduct captain Keymis,) I left captain Eynos and master Porter in the said river, to expect his coming, and the rest of us rowed down the stream towards Emeria.

In this branch, called Cararoopana, were also many goodly islands, some of six miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunset, we entered a branch of a river that fell into Oroonoko, called Winicapora, where I was informed of the mountain of crystal; to which, in truth, for the length of the way, and the evil season of the year, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the journey: we saw it afar off, and it appeared like a white church tower of an exceeding height: there falleth over it a mighty river which toucheth no part of the side of the mountain, but rusheth over the top of it, and falleth to the ground with a terrible noise and clamour, as if a thousand great bells were knocked one against another: I think there is not in the world so strange an overfall, nor so wonderful to behold. Berreo told me that it hath diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very far off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the said mountain, those people adjoining being his enemies, (as they were,) and the way to it so impassable.

Upon this river of Winecapora we rested a while, and from thence marched into the country to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the chief was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct me to the top of the said mountain, called Wacarima: but when we came in first to the house of the said Timitwara, being upon one of their feast-days, we found them all as drunk as beggars, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we, that were weary and hot with marching, were glad of the plenty,

though a small quantity satisfied us, their drink being very strong and heady, and so rested ourselves a while: after we had fed, we drew ourselves back to our boats upon the river; and there came to us all the lords of the country, with all such kind of victual as the place yielded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens and other provisions, and of those stones which we call *spleen-stones*. We understood by these chieftains of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, and that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoining to the mountains of Guiana, over the valley called Amariocapana; being persuaded by those ten Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him and his country.

But after these cassiqui of Winicapora and Saporatona, his followers, perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards only, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no, though we found them to be of the Spaniards' own servants, they assured us that Carapana would be as ready to serve us as any of the lords of the provinces which we had passed; and that he durst do no other till this day but entertain the Spaniards, his country lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they further assured us, that it was not for fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of those Spaniards, or any other that should come hereafter; for the province of Cairoma is situate at the mountain foot, which divideth the plains of Guiana from the countries of the Oroonokoponi: by means whereof, if any should come in our absence into his towns, he would slip over the mountains into the plains of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure myself, that Carapana (being a notable, wise, and subtle fellow, a man of one hundred years of age, and therefore of great experience) is

removed to look on, and if he find that we return strong, he will be ours, if not, he will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootless to row so far down the stream, or to seek any further for this old fox: and therefore from the river of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we turned again, and left to the eastward those four rivers which fall from out the mountains of Emeria into Oroonoko, which are Waracapari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those four are also these branches and mouths of Oroonoko, which fall into the east sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fifth Moroca, the sixth Paroma, the last Wymi: beyond them there fall out of the land between Oroonoko and Amazones fourteen rivers, which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and cannibals.

It is now time to return towards the north; and we found it a wearisome way back, from the borders of Emeria, to recover up again to the head of the river Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entered first.

All the night it was stormy and dark, and full of thunder and great showers, so as we were driven to keep close by the banks in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible current of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of Cumaca, where we left captain Eynus and Edward Porter to attend the coming of captain Keymis over land: but when we entered the same, they had heard no news of his arrival, which bred in us a great doubt what might be become of him: I rowed up a league or two further into the river, shooting off pieces all the way, that he might know of our being there; and the next morning we heard them answer us also with a piece: we took them aboard us, and took our leave of Putyma their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his son with us into England, if we could have stayed till he had sent back to his town: but

our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Oroonoko, and therefore departed, and turned toward the west, till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesaid, that we might put down the stream after the galley.

The next day we landed on the island of Assapana, (which divideth the river from that branch by which we went down to Emeria,) and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called *armadilla*, presented unto us before at Winicapora; and the day following we recovered the galley at anchor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same evening departed with very foul weather and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far: the best was, we went no less than one hundred miles a day down the river, but by the way we entered it was impossible to return; for that the river of Amana, being in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sailed back by any means, both the breeze and current of the sea were so forcible; and therefore we followed a branch of Oroonoko, called Capuri, which entered into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might bear with them before the wind; and it was not without need, for we had by that way as much to cross of the main sea, after we came to the river's mouth, as between Gravelin and Dover, in such boats as your honours have heard.

To speak of what passed homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, islands, or villages of the Tivitivas, which dwell on trees; we will leave all those to the general map: and, to be short, when we were arrived at the sea-side then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepast; for I protest before God that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the galley as near as we could, but she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her

sinking, and all those in her: for mine own part, I confess I was very doubtful which way to take, either to go over in the pestered galley, there being but six foot water over the sands for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, and she drew five; or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather, to cross the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was; and therefore I took captain Gifford, captain Calfeild, and my cousin Greenville into my barge, and after it cleared up, about midnight, we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by daylight: and so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day, about nine of the clock, we descried the island of Trinedado, and, steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send us safe to our ships, it is time to leave Guiana to the sun, whom they worship, and steer away towards the north: I will therefore in a few words finish the discovery thereof. Of the several nations which we found upon this discovery I will once again make repetition, and how they are affected. At our first entrance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Oroonoko, we left on the right hand of us in the bottom of the bay, lying directly against Trinedado, a nation of inhuman cannibals, which inhabit the rivers of Guanipa and Berreese; in the same bay there is also a third river, which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumana, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chief town upon the said river is Sayma: in this bay there are no more rivers but these three before rehearsed, and the four branches of Amana; all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards Guiana (that is, in all those lands which the eight branches of Oroonoko fashion into islands) there are but one sort of

people, called Tivitivas, but of two casts, as they term them, the one called Ciawari, the other Waraweeti, and those war one with the other.

On the hithermost part of Oroonoko, as at Toparimaca and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, lord of Emeria. Between Winicapora and the port of Morequito, which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Oroonokoponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman, (who is inheretrix of that province,) who came far off to see our nation, and asked me divers questions of her majesty, being much delighted with the discourse of her majesty's greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of her highness's many virtues. And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong nations of the Cassipagotos. Right south into the land are the Capurepani and Emparepani, and beyond those, adjoining to Macureguarai, (the first city of Inga,) are the Iwarawakeri: all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the west of Caroli are divers nations of cannibals, and of those Ewaipanoma, without heads. Directly west are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marvellous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the north of Oroonoko, between it and the West Indies, are the Wikiri, Sami, and the rest before spoken of, all mortal enemies to the Spaniards. On the south side of the main mouth of Oroonoko are the Arwacas, and beyond them the cannibals; and to the south of them the Amazons.

To make mention of the several beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gums, sweet woods, and of their several religions and customs, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, emperors of Peru, used, which may be read in Cieca, and other Spanish stories; how they believe the immortality

of the soul, worship the sun, and bury with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure, as they likewise do in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Oroonokoponi bury not their wives with them, but their jewels, hoping to enjoy them again. The Arwacas dry the bones of their lords, and their wives and friends drink them in powder. In the graves of the Peruvians, the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in every province. They have all many wives, and the lords fivefold to the common sort: their wives never eat with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meals, and afterwards feed by themselves. Those that are past their younger years make all their bread and drink, and work their cotton beds, and do all else of service and labour; for the men do nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drink, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no further into discourse of their manners, laws, and customs: and because I have not myself seen the cities of Inga, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely that the emperor Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rareness most marvellous, and exceeding all in Europe, and, I think, of the world, China excepted; which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be of truth, as also the nations of the borderers, who, being but salvaios to those of the inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them; for I was informed of one of the cassiqui, of the valley of Amariocapana, which had buried with him, a little before our arrival, a chair of gold most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguari adjoining, or in Manoa: but if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all: and therefore I held my first resolution, that her majesty should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many

heaps of gold, whereof those Ingas were princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in Manoa hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of gold within his territory than all Peru and the West Indies.

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow, and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches leading to several countries and provinces, above two thousand miles east and west, and eight hundred miles south and north; and of these, the most either rich in gold or in other merchandises. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself, instead of pence, with plates of half a foot broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other wars for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance shall find there more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizarro in Peru; and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far extended beams of the Spanish nation. There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, than Guiana doth. It hath so many plains, clear rivers, abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and all other fowl; deer of all sorts, porkers, hares, lions, tigers, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, either for chase or food. It hath a kind of beast called *cama*, or *anta*, as big as an English beef, and in great plenty.

To speak of the several sorts of every kind, I fear would be troublesome to the reader; and therefore I will omit them, and conclude, that both for health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any region either in the east or west. Moreover, the country is so healthful, as one hundred persons, and more, (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost

melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet again with great showers, and did eat of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meals of fresh fish without seasoning, of tortugas, of lagartos, and of all sorts, good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open air every night,) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any callentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so near the equinoctial line.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needless to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the south part of the river great quantities of Brazil wood, and of divers berries that die a most perfect crimson and carnation: and for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yield none such; for the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, even those brown and tawny women spot themselves, and colour their cheeks. All places yield abundance of cotton, of silk, of balsamum, and of those kinds most excellent, and never known in Europe; of all sorts of gums, of Indian pepper, and what else the countries may afford within the land we know not, neither had we time to abide the trial and search. The soil besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carry sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities which the West Indies hath.

The navigation is short; for it may be sailed with an ordinary wind in six weeks, and in the like time back again, and by the way neither lee-shore, enemy's coast, rocks, nor sands; all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places, we are subject unto; as the channel of Bahama, coming from the West Indies, cannot be passed in the winter; and when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearful place: the rest of the Indies, for calms and diseases, very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms.

This very year there were seventeen sail of Spanish ships lost in the channel of Bahama, and the great Philip, like to have sunk at the Bermudas, was put back to Saint Juan de

Puerto Rico. And so it falleth out in that navigation every year for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared; for the time of the year to leave England is best in July; and the summer in Guiana is in October, November, December, January, February, and March; and then the ships may depart thence in April, and so return again into England in June, so as they shall never be subject to winter weather, either coming, going, or staying there; which, for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, having (as I have done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calms, so much heat, such outrageous gusts, foul weather, and contrary winds.

To conclude; Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought; the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manurance, the graves have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince. It is besides so defensible, that, if two forts be built in one of the provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank, where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: which two forts will be a sufficient guard both to the empire of Inga, and to an hundred other several kingdoms, lying within the said river, even to the city of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference between the easiness of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it have that) for any vessels of burden; so as whosoever shall first possess it, it shall be found unaccessible for any enemy, except he come in wherries, barges, or canoes, or else in flat-bottomed boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thick, two hundred miles together upon the rivers of such

entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the bank. By land it is more impossible to approach; for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sun, and is so environed with impassable mountains on every side, as it is impossible to victual any company in the passage; which hath been well proved by the Spanish nation; who, since the conquest of Peru, have never left five years free from attempting this empire, or discovering some way into it; and yet of twenty-three several gentlemen, knights, and noblemen, there was never any that knew which way to lead an army by land, or to conduct ships by sea, any thing near the said country. Oreliano, of which the river of Amazones taketh name, was the first, and Don Anthonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much whether he himself, or any of his, yet know the best way into the said empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set down, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or galleys built and furnished upon the river within: the West Indies hath many ports, watering-places, and landings; and nearer than three hundred miles to Guiana no man can harbour a ship, except he know one only place, which is not learnt in haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides, by keeping one good fort, or building one town of strength, the whole empire is guarded; and whatsoever companies shall be afterwards planted within the land, although in twenty several provinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselves upon any occasion, either by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bog, or mountain: whereas in the West Indies there are few towns or provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, either by land or sea: by land, the countries are either desert, mountainous, or strong enemies; by sea, if any man invade to the eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turn against the breeze and easterly wind; besides, the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are

nowhere strong, but in Nueva Hispania only; the sharp mountains, the thorns, and poisoned prickles, the sandy and deep ways in the valleys, the smothering heat and air, and want of water in other places, are their only and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to friend adjoining) do serve them instead of good arms and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her majesty's grandfather by Columbus, a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit; and besides, it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This empire is made known to her majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject; so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received, to abuse her highness either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered, many nations won to her majesty's love and obedience; and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her majesty may, in this enterprise, employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second year, I doubt not but to see in London a contractation house of more receipt for Guiana, than there is now in Seville for the West Indies.

And I am resolved, that if there were but a small army afoot in Guiana, marching towards Manoa, the chief city of Inga, he would yield her majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expenses at home; and that he would besides pay a garrison of three thousand or four thousand soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations; for he cannot but know how his predecessors, yea how his own great uncles, Guascar and Atibalipa, sons to Guanacapa,

emperor of Peru, were (while they contended for the empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years, and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country; and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects, no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness; if not, he hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I further remember, that Berreo confessed to me and others, (which I protest before the majesty of God to be true,) that there was found among prophecies in Peru, (at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience,) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the loss of the said empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be again in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said country, so her majesty will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empress of the same: for whatsoever prince shall possess it shall be greatest; and if the king of Spain enjoy it, he will become unresistible. Her majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of Guiana reacheth to the dominion and empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin, which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great empires, and so far removed.

To speak more at this time, I fear would be but troublesome: I trust in God this, being true, will suffice, and that he which is *King of all kings and Lord of lords* will put it into her heart which is lady of ladies to possess it; if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof that, by her grace and leave, will undertake it of themselves.

# AN ABSTRACT

TAKEN OUT OF CERTAIN SPANIARDS' LETTERS CONCERNING GUIANA AND THE COUNTRIES LYING UPON THE GREAT RIVER OF OROONOKO: WITH CERTAIN REPORTS ALSO TOUCHING THE SAME.

*An Advertisement to the Reader.*

THOSE letters, out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spain, in the year 1594, by captain George Popham; who the next year, and the same that sir Walter Ralegh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learnt also the reports annexed. All which, at his return, being two months after sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former Discourse, hearing also of his discovery, he made known, and delivered to some of her majesty's most honourable privy council, and others. The which, seeing they confirm in some part the substance, I mean the riches of that country, it hath been thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoined. Wherein the reader is to be advertised, that although the Spaniards seem to glory much of their formal possession taken before Morequito, then lord of Aromaia, and others thereabouts, which thoroughly understood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend; yet, according to the former Discourse, and as also it is related by Caworaco, the son of Topiawari, now chief lord of the said Aromaia, who was brought into England by sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discovery of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their country, the Indians then having further consideration of the matter, and more than conjecture of their intent, having known and heard of their former cruelties upon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere; at their next coming, there

being ten of them sent and employed for a further discovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another manner of sort than they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the country they so much sought. They gave them by that means a full and complete possession, on the which before they had but begun. And so they are minded to do, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they have had none since. Neither do the Indians mean, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembered is, that in these letters the Spaniards seem to call Guiana and other countries near it, bordering upon the river of Oroonoko, by the name of Nuevo Dorado, because of the great plenty of gold there in most places to be found; alluding also to the name of El Dorado, which was given by Martinez to the great city of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other matters, I leave them to the consideration and judgment of the indifferent reader.

W. R.

## *Letters taken at sea by captain George Popham,* 1594.

*Alonso's letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother, being commander of S. Lucas, concerning El Dorado.*

THERE have been certain letters received here of late, of a land newly discovered, called Nuevo Dorado, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery. They write of wonderful riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that gold there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fifty leagues to the windward of Marguarita.

*Alonso's letter from thence to certain merchants of S. Lucas, concerning the Dorado.*

SIRS,

WE have no news worth the writing, saving of a disco-

very lately made by the Spaniards, in a new land called Nuevo Dorado, which is two days' sailing to the windward of the Marguarita: there is gold in that abundance, as the like hath not been heard of. We have it for certain in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents here in this city. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said Dorado, as I pass in voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery that was sent to his majesty.

*Part of the copy that was sent to his majesty of the discovery of Nuevo Dorado.*

IN the river of Pato, otherwise called Oroonoko, in the principal part thereof called Warismero, the 23d of April 1593, Domingo de Vera, master of the camp, and general for Antonio de Berreo, governor and captain-general for our lord the king, betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene, alias Oroonoko, and Marannon, and of the island of Trinedado, in presence of me Rodrigo de Carança, register for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of battle, the captains and soldiers, and master of the camp, standing in the midst of them, said unto them; "Sirs, soldiers, and captains, you understand long "since that our general Antonio de Berreo, with the travel of "eleven years, and expense of more than one hundred thou-"sand pesoes of gold, discovered the royal provinces of Gui-"ana and Dorado; of the which he took possession to govern "the same, but through want of his people's health, and "necessary munition, he issued out at the island Marguarita, "and from thence peopled Trinedado. But now they have "sent me to learn out and discover the ways most easily "to enter, and to people the said provinces, and where the "camps and armies may best enter the same: by reason "whereof I intend so to do in the name of his majesty, and "the said governor Antonio de Berreo; and in token there-

" of I require you, Francisco Carillo, that you aid me to ad-
" vance this cross that lieth here on the ground, which they
" set on end towards the east." And the said master of the camp, the captains and soldiers, kneeled down, and did due reverence unto the said cross; and thereupon the master of the camp took a bowl of water and drank it off, and took more, and threw abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword, and cut the grass off the ground, and the boughs off the trees, saying, " I take this possession in the name of
" the king Don Philip our master, and of his governor An-
" tonio de Berreo." And because some make question of this possession, to them I answer, That in these our actions was present the cassique, or principal, Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yielded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said governor Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the camp kneeled down, being in his liberty, and all the captains and soldiers said, That the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the camp, having his sword drawn in his hand, said unto me; " Register, that art here present, give me an instru-
" ment or testimonial to confirm me in this possession which
" I have taken of this land, for the governor Antonio de
" Berreo; and if it be needful, I will take it anew." And I require you all that are present to witness the same; and do further declare, that I will go on, taking the possession of all these lands wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus:

*Domingo de Vera;* and underneath, *Before me Rodrigo de Carança, register of the army.*

And in prosecution of the said possession, and discovery of the way and provinces, the 27th of April of the said year, the master of the camp entered by little and little with all the camp and men of war, more than two leagues into the inland, and came to a town of a principal, and conferring with him did let him understand, by means of Antonio Bi-

sante the interpreter, that his majesty and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said friar, Francisco Carillo, by the interpreter, delivered him certain things of our holy catholic faith; to all which he answered, that they understood him well, and would become Christians; and that with a very good-will they should advance the cross in what part or place of the town it pleased them, for he was for the governor Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the camp took a great cross, and set it on end towards the east, and requested the whole camp to witness it; and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus:

"It is well and firmly done." And underneath,

*Before me Rodrigo Carança, register of the army.*

The first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discovery to the town of Carapana: from thence the said master of the camp passed to the town of Toroco, whose principal is called Topiawari, being five leagues further within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited; and to this principal, by means of the interpreter, they gave to understand, that his majesty and the said corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that land, and that they should yield their obedience to his majesty, and to his corrigidor, and to the master of the camp in his name; and that in token thereof he would place a cross in the middle of his town. Whereunto the said cassique answered, They should advance it with a very good-will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said governor Antonio de Berreo, whose vassal he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a province above five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in peaceable manner; and he is called Renato: he brought us to a very large house, where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered, From a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow

the sun, and so much gold as all yonder plain will not contain it. In which country (when they enter into the *borracheras*, or their drunken feasts) they take of the said gold in dust, and anoint themselves all over therewith, to make the braver show; and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a glewenous substance: and they have war with those Indians. They promised us that if we would go unto them, they would aid us; but they were such infinite number, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they gat the same gold, they told us they went to a certain down, or plain, and pulled or digged up the grass by the root: which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder they kept for their *borracheras*, and that which was in pieces they wrought into eagles.

The eighth of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues: at the foot of a hill we found a principal, called Arataco, with three thousand Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sorts of wine. He entreated us to go to his house, and to rest that night in his town, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens: he said they were brought from a mountain not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grass on the ground, and that these men have the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads, and had so many hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them jews-harps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian, and gave him five hundred harps; the hens were so many that he brought us, as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither; they told us they were now in their *borracheras*, and would kill us. We asked the Indian that brought the hens, if it were true; he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their *borracheras;* he said, they had

many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, and pearls in their ears, and that they danced, being all covered with gold. The Indian said unto us, if we would see them, we should give him some hatchets, and he would bring us of those eagles. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet, (he would give him no more, because they should not understand we went to seek gold;) he brought us an eagle which weighed twenty-seven pounds of good gold. The master of the camp took it, and shewed it to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making show not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian, and said unto him, Give me a pickaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders mean to do. The interpreter told the master of the camp, who commanded one to be given him; he then told us, those Indians were coming to kill us for our merchandise. Hereupon the master of the camp caused his company to be set in order, and began to march. The eleventh day of May we went about seven leagues from thence to a province, where we found a great company of Indians apparelled: they told us that if we came to fight, they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should enter, and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians: and there they told us of all the riches that was. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it, but it shall appear by the information that goeth to his majesty; for if it should here be set down, four leaves of paper would not contain it.

*The letter of George Burien Britton from the said Canaries unto his cousin, a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucas, concerning the Dorado.*

Sir, and my very good cousin,

THERE came of late certain letters from a new discovered country not far from Trinedado, which they write hath gold in great abundance: the news seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this

city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to his majesty goeth enclosed in Alonso's letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

*The report of Domingo Martinez of Jamaica concerning the Dorado.*

HE saith, that in 1593, being at Carthagena, there was a general report of a late discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a little before his coming thither, there came a frigate from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portraiture of a giant all of gold, of weight forty-seven quintals, which the Indians there held for their idol. But now admitting of Christianity and obedience to the king of Spain, they sent their said idol unto him, in token they were become Christians, and held him for their king. The company coming in the said frigate reported gold to be there in most abundance, diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearl.

*The report of a Frenchman, called Boutillier, of Sherbrouke, concerning the Trinedado and the Dorado.*

HE saith, that being at Trinedado in 1591, he had of an Indian there a piece of gold of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the said Indian told him he had it at the head of that river which cometh to Paracoa in the Trenedado; but said within the river of Oroonoko it was in great abundance. Also in 1593, being taken by the Spaniards, and brought prisoner into the island of Madeira, (the place for his prison,) there came in this mean time a bark of forty tons from a new discovery, with two millions of gold; the company whereof reported gold in that place to be in great abundance, and called it the Nuevo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spain in the bark, and having a cabin near a gentleman, one of the discoverers that came from that place in the said bark had divers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of gold in the said Dorado, being, as they said, within the river of Oroonoko.

*Reports of certain merchants of Rio de Hacha concerning the Nuevo Dorado.*

THEY said, (advancing the king's great treasure in the Indies,) that Nuevo Reygno yielded very many gold mines, and wonderful rich; but lately was discovered a certain province so rich in gold, as the report thereof may seem incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called the Nuevo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the said discovery.

*The report of a Spaniard, captain with Berreo in the discovery of Nuevo Dorado.*

THAT the information sent to the king was in every point truly said, that the river Oroonoko hath seven mouths or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete Bocas de Drago; that the said river runneth far into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinedado, making head to go to conquer and people the said Dorado.

# SIR WALTER RALEGH'S

# APOLOGY

FOR HIS

# VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

# SIR WALTER RALEGH'S

# APOLOGY.

IF the ill success of this enterprise of mine had been without example, I should have needed a large discourse, and many arguments for my justification. But if the vain attempts of the greatest princes of Europe, both among themselves and against the great Turk, are in all modern histories left to every eye to peruse, it is not so strange that myself, being but a private man, and drawing after me the chains and fetters whereunto I have been thirteen years tied in the Tower, (being unpardoned, and in disgrace with my sovereign lord,) have, by other men's errors, failed in the attempt I undertook.

For if that Charles the Fifth returned with unexampled loss, (I will not say dishonour,) from Algier in Africa; or if king Sebastian lost himself and his army in Barbary; if the invincible fleet and forces of Spain in eighty-eight were beaten home by the lord Charles Howard, admiral of England; if Mr. Strozzi, the count Brizack, the count of Vimioso[a], and others, with a fleet of fifty-eight sail, and six thousand soldiers, encountered with far less numbers, could not defend the Terceres, leaving to speak a world of other attempts furnished by kings and princes; if sir Francis Drake, sir John Hawkins, and sir Thomas Baskervile, men for their experience and valour as eminent as England had any, strengthened with divers of her majesty's ships, and filled with soldiers at will, could not possess themselves of the treasure they sought for, and which in their view was embarked in certain frigates at Puerto Rico; if afterward they were repulsed with fifty negroes upon the mountains of Vasques Numius, or Sierra de Capira, in their passage towards Panama; if sir John Norris (though not by any

[a] *Inoyoso.* Archbishop Sancroft.

fault of his) failed in the attempt of Lisbon, and returned with the loss, by sickness and otherwise, of eight thousand men; what wonder is it (but that mine is the last), being followed with a company of volunteers who for the most part had neither seen the sea nor the wars; who, some forty gentlemen excepted, had with me the very scum of the world, drunkards, blasphemers, and such others as their fathers, brothers, and friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged of, with the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home; I say, what wonder is it that I have failed, where I could neither be present myself, nor had any of the commanders (whom I most trusted) living, or in state to supply my place?

Now whereas it was bruited, both before and since my departure out of England, and by the most men believed, that I meant nothing less than to go to Guiana; but that being once at liberty, and in mine own power, having made my way with some foreign prince, I would turn pirate, and utterly forsake mine own country; my being at Guiana, my returning into England unpardoned, and my not taking the spoil of the subjects of any Christian prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that opinion.

But this is not all; for it hath been given out by an hypocritical thief, who was the first master of my ship, and by an ungrateful youth which waited on me in my cabin, (though of honourable and worthy parents,) and by others, that I carried with me out of England twenty-two thousand pieces of twenty-two shillings the piece, and therefore needed not, or cared not, to discover any mine in Guiana, nor make any other attempt elsewhere: which report being carried secretly from one to another in mine own ship, (and so spread through all the ships in the fleet, which stayed with me at Trinedado while our land forces were in Guiana,) had like to have been my utter overthrow in a most miserable fashion; for it was consulted, when I had taken my barge, and gone ashore, (either to discover or otherwise as I often did,) that my ship should have set sail, and left me there;

where either I must have suffered famine, been eaten with wild beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and been flayed alive, as others of the English, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this report of riches, I make this protestation; that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly, in trust or otherwise, above one hundred pieces, when I departed from London, of which I had left forty-five pieces with my wife, and fifty-five I carried with me; I acknowledge myself for a reprobate, a villain, a traitor to the king, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath lived upon the earth.

It is true, that such as thought to find some great deceit in me in the detaining a great part of the monies adventured, in perusing the bills of adventure written by scriveners, found above fifteen thousand pounds more than all my charge demanded came unto; but of the money I never received any penny, for the monies and provisions adventured with all the other captains amounted to very nearly twenty thousand pounds, for the greatest part whereof I gave the bills.

Now whereas the captains that left me in the Indies, and captain Baily, that ran from me at Lancerota, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, that I lingered at Plymouth when I might have gone thence, and lost a fair wind, and the time of the year, or to that effect; it is strange that men of fashion and gentlemen should so grossly belie their own knowledge; that had not I lived nor returned to have made answer to this fiction, yet all that knew us in Plymouth, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary: for after I had stayed at the Isle of Wight divers days, the Thunder, commanded by sir Warram St. Leger, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the Thames; and after I arrived at Plymouth, captain Pennington was not come then to the Isle of Wight, and being arrived there, and not able to redeem his bread from the bakers, he rode back post to London to entreat help from my wife to pay

for it; who having not so much money to serve his turn, she wrote to Mr. Wood of Portsmouth, and gave him her word for thirty pounds, which she soon after paid him, without which (as Pennington himself protested to my wife) he had not been able to have gone the journey: sir John Ferne I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having neither men nor money, and in great want of other provision; insomuch as I furnished him by my cousin Herbert with a hundred pounds, having supplied him also in Wales with a hundred pounds before his coming to Plymouth; and procured him a third hundred pounds from the worthy and honest dean of Exeter, doctor Sutcliffe. Captain Whitney, whom I also stayed for, had a third part of his victuals to provide, insomuch as having no money to help him withal, I sold my plate in Plymouth to supply him. Baily I left at the Isle of Wight, whose arrival I also attended here some ten or twelve days, as I remember. And what should move Baily, not only to leave me as he did at the Canaries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his return to do me all the wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive; he seemed to me from the beginning not to want any thing; he only desired of me some ordnance and some iron-bound cask, and I gave it him: I never gave him ill language, nor offered him the least unkindness to my knowledge: it is true, that I refused him a French shallop which he took in the bay of Portugal outward bound; and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty crowns ready money for her, if Baily had then desired her, he might have had her. But to take any thing from the French, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeed both against reason and our best endeavours; so it is most commonly true, that men are the cause of their own misery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late enterprise without a pardon; for all my company having heard it avowed in England before they went, that the commission I had was granted to a man who was *non ens* in law; so hath the

want thereof taken from me both arms and actions, which gives boldness to every petty companion to spread rumours to my defamation, and the wounding of my reputation, in all places where I cannot be present to make them knaves and liars.

It hath been secondly objected, that I put into Ireland, and spent much time there, taking care to revictual myself, and none of the rest.

Certainly I had no purpose to see Ireland when I left Plymouth, but, being encountered with a strong storm some eight leagues to the westward of Scilly, (in which captain Chudley's pinnace was sunk, and captain King thrust into Bristol,) I held it the office of the commander of many ships, and those of divers sailings and conditions, (of which some could hull and trye, and some of them beat it up upon a tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other,) rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than either to endanger the loss of masts and yards, or to have it severed far asunder, and to be thrust into divers places; for the attendance of meeting them again at the next rendezvous would consume more time and victual (and perchance the weaker ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered) than could be spent by recovering a harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the dissevering of fleets hath been the overthrow of many actions I could give many examples, were it not in every man's knowledge. In the last enterprise of worth, undertaken by our English nation with three squadrons of ships, commanded by the earl of Essex, the earl of Suffolk, and myself, where was also present the earl of Southampton; if we, being storm-beaten in the bay of Alcashar, or Biscay, had had a port under our lee, that we might have kept our transporting ships with our men of war, we had in all likelihood both taken the Indian fleet and the Azores.

That we stayed long in Ireland it is true, but they must accuse the clouds, and not me, for our stay there, for I lost not a day of a good wind; and there was not any captain of the fleet but had credit, or might have had, for a great

deal of more victuals than we spent there, and yet they had of me fifty [a] beeves among them, and somewhat else.

For the third accusation, that I landed in hostile manner at Lancerota; certainly captain Baily had great want of matter when he gave that for an excuse of his turning back; for I refer myself to Mr. Barney, who I know will ever justify a truth, to whom (when he came to me from captain Baily, to know whether he should land his men with the rest) I made this answer; that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keep them aboard; for I had agreed with the governor for a proportion of victual which I hourly expected: and it is true, that the governor being desirous to speak with me with one gentleman with him, with their rapiers only, which I accepting, and taking with me lieutenant Bradshaw, we agreed that I should send up an English factor, (whose ship did then ride in the road,) and that whatsoever the island could yield should be delivered at a reasonable rate: I sent the English factor according to our agreement, but the governor put it off from one morning to another, and in the end sent me word, that, except I would embark my men which lay on the sea-side, the islanders were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our provisions. I did so; but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our sentinels were forced, one slain, and the English factor sent to tell me that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and destroyed Puerto Sancto. Hereupon all the companies would have marched towards the town, and have sacked it; but I knew it would not only offend his majesty, but that our merchants having a continual trade with those islands, that their goods would have been stayed, and, amongst the rest, the poor Englishman riding in the road, having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof I complained to the governor of the grand Canaries, whom I also desired that we might take water without any disturbance; but, instead of answer, when we landed

[a] Eighty beeves, MS. Ashmole.

some hundred men, far from any habitation, and in a desert place of the island, where we found some fresh water, there ambush was laid, and one Fisher, of sir John Fernes's ship, wounded to death; and more had been slain, had not captain Thornhurst and master Robert Hayman [b], my son's lieutenant, two exceeding valiant gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by sir Warham Sentleger and my son, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From hence, because there was scarcity of water, we sailed to Gomarrah, one of the strongest and best defenced places of all the islands, and the best port; the town being seated upon the very wash of the sea. At the first entrance of our ships they shot at us, and ours at them; but as soon as I myself recovered the harbour, and had commanded that there should be no more shooting, I sent a Spaniard ashore (taken in a bark which came from Cape Blank) to tell the governor that I had no purpose to make war with any of the Spanish king's subjects, and if any harm were done by our great ordnance to the town, it was his fault, which by shooting first gave the occasion. He sent me for answer, that he thought we had been the Turkish fleet which destroyed Puerto Sancto; but being resolved by the messenger that we were Christians, and English, and sought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleased to take, if he might be assured that we would not attempt his town and spoil it, with the churches and other religious houses, nor destroy the gardens and fruits. I returned him answer, that I would give him my faith, and the word of the king of Great Britain my sovereign lord, that his people of the town and island should not lose so much as one orange or a grape; and if any man took from them, were it but an orange or a grape, without paying for it, I would hang him up in the market-place. Now that I kept my faith with him, and how much he held himself bound unto me, I have divers of his letters to shew, for he wrote unto me every day. And the countess, being of an English race, (a Stafford by the

[b] Hammon, MS. Ashmole.

mother's side, and of the house of Horn by the father,) sent me divers presents of fruits, sugar, and rusk, to whom I returned (because I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value. The old earl, at my departure, wrote a letter to the Spanish ambassador here in England, how I behaved myself in those islands. There I discharged a bark of the grand Canaries, taken by one of my pinnaces coming from Cape Blank in Africa, and demanding of him what prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of six ducats, for which I gave him eight.

From the Canaries, it is said, that I sailed to Cape de Verte, knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof I lost so many of my men ere I recovered the Indies. The truth is, that I came no nearer to Cape de Verte than Bravo, which is one hundred and sixty leagues off; but had I taken it in my way, falling upon the coast, or any other part of Guiana, after the rains, there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the world, as our English that trade in those parts every year do well know. There are few places in England, or in the world, near great rivers, which run through low grounds, or near moorish or marsh grounds, but the people, inhabiting near, are at some time of the year subject to fevers; witness Woolwich in Kent, and all down the rivers on both sides; other infection there is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except it be when the easterly wind or breezes are kept off by some high mountains from the valleys, whereby the air wanting motion doth become exceeding unhealthful, as at Nomber de Dios, and elsewhere. But as good success admits no examination of errors, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir Francis Drake, Mr. John Winter, and John Thomas, when they passed the straits of Magellan, meeting with a storm, which drove Winter back, which thrust John Thomas upon the islands to the south, where he was cast away, and drove sir Francis near a small island upon which the Spaniards landed their thieves and murderers from Baldivia; and he found there one

Philip, an Indian, who told him where he was, and conducted him to Baldivia, where he took his first prize of treasure; and in that ship he found a pilot, called John Grege, who guided him all that coast over, in which he possessed himself of the rest; which pilot, because he should not rob him of his reputation and knowledge in those parts, (resisting the entreaties and tears of all his company,) he set him ashore upon the island of Ægulus, that is, Aligator, to be by them devoured. After which, passing by the East Indies, he returned into England, and notwithstanding the peace between us and Spain, he enjoyed the riches he brought, and was never so much as called to an account for cutting off Douty's head at Porte St. Julian, having neither martial law nor other commission available. Mr. Candish having passed all the coasts of Chili and Peru, and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope, and ready to shape his course by the east homewards, met a ship which came from the Philippines at Calefornia, a thousand pounds to a nut-shell. These two in these two voyages were the children of fortune, and much honoured; but when sir Francis Drake in his last attempt might have landed at Cruces by the river of Chyagre, within eight miles of Panama, he notwithstanding set the troops on land at Nomber de Dios, forty miles off, and received the repulse aforesaid, and died for sorrow. The same success had Candish in his last passage towards the straits. I say, that one and the same end they both had, to wit, Drake and Candish, when chance had left them to the trial of their own virtues.

For the rest, I leave it to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or error of mine the gold mine in Guiana, which I had formerly discovered, was not found and enjoyed; for after we had refreshed ourselves in Calliana, otherwise in the first discovery called Port Howard, where we tarried for captain Hastins, captain Pigot, and captain Snedal, and there recovered the most part of our sick men, I did embark six companies, of fifty to each company, in five ships; to wit, the Encounter, commanded by

captain Whitney; in the Confidence, by captain Woollaston; in two fly-boats of my own, commanded by captain Samuel King and captain Robert Smith: in a carvil. Which companies had for their leaders captain Charles Parker, captain North, my son, captain Thomas Thornhurst, captain Pennington's lieutenant, Bradshaw, and captain Chudley's lieutenant, Prideux.

At the Triangle islands, I embarked the companies for Oroonoko, between which and Galleana, I lay aground twenty-four hours; and if it had not been fair weather, we had never come off the coast, having not above two fathom and a half of water; eight leagues off from whence, I directed them for the river of Surniama, the best part of all that track of land between the river Amazones and Oroonoko: there I gave them order to trim their boats and barges; and by the Indians of that place to understand the state of the Spaniards in Oroonoko, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the entrances, or elsewhere; and if they found no Indians there, to send in the little fly-boat or the carvill into the river of Dissebecke, where they should not fail to find pilots for Oroonoko. For with our great ships we durst not approach the coast, we having been all of us aground; and in danger of leaving our bows upon the shoals before we recovered the Triangle islands, as aforesaid. The biggest ship that could enter the river was the Encounter, who might be brought to eleven foot water. The depth of the water upon the bar we could never understand, neither by Keymis, who was the first of any nation that had entered the main mouth of Oroonoko, nor by any of the masters or mariners of our fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve years for tobacco: for the Chudley, when she came near the entrance, drawing but twelve foot, found herself in danger, and bore up for Trinedado.

Now whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfied why I myself had not gone up with the companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction, that besides my want of health and strength, having not recovered my long and

dangerous sickness, but was again fallen into a relapse, my ship shoaled and laid aground at seventeen foot water, seven leagues off the shore, so as the master nor any of my company durst adventure to come near it, much less to fall between the shoals on the south side of the river's side, and sands on the north side, called Puncto Anegado, one of the most dangerous places in all the Indies. It was therefore resolved by us all, that the five greater ships should ride at Puncto Gallo in Trinedado, and the five lesser should enter the river; for if Whitney and Woollaston at eleven foot lay aground three days in passing up, in what case had I been, which drew seventeen foot, a heavier ship, and charged with forty pieces of ordnance. Besides this impossibility, neither would my son nor the rest of the captains and gentlemen have adventured themselves up the river, (having but one month's victuals, and being thrust together a hundred of them in a small fly-boat,) had not I assured them that I would stay for them at Trinedado, and that no force should drive me thence, except I were sunk in the sea or set on fire by the Spanish galleons; for that they would have adventured themselves upon any other man's word or resolution it were ridiculous to believe.

Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprise, and having given instructions how they should proceed both before and after their entrance into Oroonoko, Keymis having undertaken to discover the mine, with six or eight persons in sir John Ferne's shallop; I better bethinking myself, and misliking his determination, gave him this order; viz.

"Keymis, whereas you were resolved after your arrival "into Oroonoko to pass to the mine, (with my cousin Her-"bert and six musketeers,) and to that end you desired to "have sir John Ferne's shallop, I do not allow of that "course, because you cannot land so secretly, but that "some Indians on the river side may discover you, who "giving knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards, you "may be cut off before you can recover your boat: I do "therefore advise you to suffer the captains and the com-"panies of the English to pass up to the westwards of the

" mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three " miles to the mine; and to lodge and encamp between the " Spanish town and you, if there be any town near it; that " being so secured, you may make trial what depth and " breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it answer our " hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards be- " gin to war upon you, then let the sergeant-major repel " them, if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he " can. But if you find that the mine be not so rich as it " may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second " supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two, to sa- " tisfy his majesty that my design was not imaginary but " true, though not answerable to his majesty's expectation, " for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor " could.

" On the other side, if you shall find that any great " number of soldiers be newly sent into Oroonoko, as the " cassique of Caliana told us that they were, and that the " passage be reinforced, so that without manifest peril of " my son, yourself, and other captains, you cannot pass to- " ward the mine, then be well advised how you land; for " I know (a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men " you have; and I would not for all the world receive a " blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our nation: " I myself, for my weakness, cannot be present, neither will " the company land, except I stay with the ships, the gal- " leons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot, the ser- " geant-major, is dead; Sir Warham, my lieutenant, with- " out hope of life, and my nephew your sergeant-major now " but a young man: it is therefore on your judgment that " I rely, whom I trust God will direct for the best.

" Let me hear from you as soon as you can; you shall " find me at Puncto Gallo, dead or alive; and if you find " not my ships there, yet you shall find their ashes; for I " will fire with the galleons if it come to extremity, but run " away I will never."

That these my instructions were not followed was not my fault; but it seems that the sergeant-major, Keymis, and

the rest, were by accident forced to change their first resolution, and that finding a Spanish town, or rather a village, set up twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo the first governor, by me taken in my first discovery, had attempted to plant; to wit, some two leagues to the westward of the mine, they agreed to land and encamp between the mine and the town, which they did not suspect to be so near them as it was. And, meaning to rest themselves on the river's side till the next day, they were in the night set upon and charged by the Spaniards, which being unlooked for, the common sort of them were so amazed, as had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen among them made a head, and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repel this force, having put themselves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat, they were ready to enter the town, ere they knew where they were; and being then charged again by the governor and four or five captains which led their companies, my son, not tarrying for any musketeers, ran up in the head of a company of pikes, where he was first shot, and pressing upon a Spanish captain, called Erinetta, with his sword, Erinetta, taking the small end of his musket in his hand, struck him on the head with the stock, and felled him; whom again John Plesington, my son's sergeant, thrust through with his halbert; at which time also the governor, Diego Palameque, and the rest of the Spanish captains being slain, their companies divided themselves into the houses adjoining to the market-place, whence, with their murderers and muskets, (the houses having loopholes cut towards the market-place,) they slew and wounded the English at their pleasure; so as they had no way to save themselves but by firing those houses adjoining; which done, all the Spaniards ran into the bordering woods and hills, keeping the English still waking with perpetual alarms.

The town, such as it was, being in this sort possessed, Keymis prepared to discover the mine, which at this time he was resolved to do, as appeareth by his letter to me of his

own handwriting, hereafter inserted. He took with him captain Thornhurst, Master William Herbert, sir John Hambden, and others; but at his first approach near the bank where he meant to land, he received from the wood a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt six others, and wounded captain Thornhurst in the head, of the which he languished three months after.

---

*Keymis's letter, dated the eighth of January, from Oroonoko.*

" ALL things that appertain to human condition (in that " proper nature and sense that of fatal necessity belongeth " unto them) being now over with your son, maketh me " choose rather with grief to let you know from me this " certain truth than uncertainties from others; which is, " viz. that had not his extraordinary valour and forward- " ness, which with constant vigour of mind, being in the " hands of death, his last breath expressed in these words, " *Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprise!* " led them all on, when some began to pause and recoil " shamefully, this action had neither been attempted as it " was, nor performed as it is, with his surviving honour.

" This Indian pilot whom I have sent, if there be occa- " sion to use his service in any thing, will prove sufficient " and trusty: Peter Andrewes, whom I have sent with him, " can better certify your lordship of the state of the town, " the plenty, the condition of our men, &c. than I can write " the same.

" We have the governor's servant prisoner, that waited " on him in his bedchamber, and knows all things that con- " cerned his master. We find three or four refiners' houses " in the town; the best houses of the town. I have not " seen one piece of coin, or bullion, neither gold or silver; " a small deal of plate only excepted.

" Captain Whitney and Woollaston are but now come " to us, and now I purpose (God willing) without delay to " visit the mine, which is not eight miles from the town.

" Sooner I could not go by reason of the murmurings, the " disorders, and vexations, wherewith the sergeant-major is " perpetually tormented and tired, having no man to assist " him but myself only. Things are now in some reason- " able order, and, so soon as I have made trial of the mine, " I will seek to come to your lordship by the way of the " river of Macareo, by which river I have appointed Peter " Andrewes to go to search the channels, that (if it be pos- " sible) our ships may shorten the course for Trinedado, " when time serves, by those passages. I have sent your " lordship a parcel of scattered papers, (I reserve a cart " load,) a roll of tobacco, one tortoise, and some oranges " and limes, praying God to give you strength and health " of body, and a mind armed against all extremities. I rest " ever to be commanded, this 8th of January, 1617.

" Your lordship's,

" KEYMIS."

Now it seems that the death of my son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to Trinedado) that I was either dead of my first sickness, or that the news of my son's death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the mine, to the which he added for excuse, (and I think it was true,) that the Spaniards, being gone off in a whole body, lay in the woods between the mine and their passage; it was impossible, except they had been beaten out of the country, to pass up the woody and craggy hills, without the loss of those commanders which should have led them, who had they been slain, the rest would easily enough have been cut in pieces in their retreat; for being in possession of the town, which they guarded with the greatest part of their companies, they had yet their hands full to defend themselves from firing, and the daily and nightly alarms wherewith they were vexed. He also gave for the excuse, that it was impossible to lodge any companies at the mine for want of victual, which from the town they were not able to carry up the mountain, their companies being divided; he therefore, as he told me, thought it a greater error to discover it

to the Spaniards, (themselves neither being able to work it nor possess it,) than to excuse himself to the company, said that he could not find it. All which his fancies when I rejected, and before divers of the gentlemen disavowed his ignorance; for I told him that a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand; then I told him that his care of losing so many men in passing through the woods was but feigned; for after my son was slain, I knew that he had no care at all of any man surviving, and therefore had he brought to the king but one hundred weight of the ore, though with the loss of one hundred men, he had given his majesty satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our nation encouragement to have returned this next year with greater force, and to have held the country for his majesty, to whom it belonged; and of which himself had given the testimony, that besides the excellent air, pleasantness, healthfulness, and riches, it hath plenty of corn, fruits, fish, fowl, wild and tame, beeves, horses, sheep, hogs, deers, coneys, hares, tortoises, armadiles, wanaes, oils, honey, wax, potatoes, sugarcanes, medicaments, balsamum, simples, gums, and what not: but, seeing he had followed his own advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him to his arguments; with the which if he could satisfy his majesty and the state, I should be glad of it, though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some loss of men, might have gone directly to the place. With that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers days; afterward he came to me in my cabin, and shewed me a letter which he had written to the earl of Arundel, to whom he excused himself for not discovering of the mine, using the same arguments, and many others, which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or colour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my resolution; I answered, that it was: he then replied in these words; "I know then, sir, what course to take;" and went

out of my cabin into his own, in which he was no sooner entered but I heard a pistol go off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himself) to know who shot a pistol; Keymis himself made answer, lying on his bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged; with which I was satisfied. Some half hour after this, his boy going into his cabin, found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart, and his pistol lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himself; but the bullet, lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib, and went no further. Now he that knew Keymis did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfy any man but myself, as no man's opinion, from the greatest to the least, could have persuaded him to have laid violent hands on himself; neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have said unto me that he was ignorant of the place, and knew no such mine; for what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge? Thus much I have added, because there are some puppies which have given it out, that Keymis slew himself because he had seduced so many gentlemen and others with an imaginary mine; but as his letter to me the eighth of January proves that he was then resolved to open it, and to take off all these kinds of objections, let captain Charles Parker, captain George Ralegh, and captain King, all living and in England, be put to their oaths, whether or no Keymis did not confess to them coming down the river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could from that place have gone to the mine in two hours. I say then, that if the opening of the mine had been at that time to any purpose, or had they had any victuals left them to bring them away; or had they not been hastened by seeing the king of Spain's letters before they came to my hands, which I am assured Keymis had seen, who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at Madrid the 17th of March, before I left the river Thames; and with it three other despatches, with a commission for the strengthening of

Oroonoko with one hundred and fifty soldiers, which should have come down the river from the new kingdom of Granada; and one other, one hundred and fifty from Puerto Rico, with ten pieces of ordnance, which should have come up the river from the entrance, by which two troops they might have been enclosed; I say, had not the rest seen those despatches, and that, having stayed in the river above two months, they feared the hourly arrival of those forces, why had they not constrained Keymis to have brought them to the mine, being, as himself confesses, not above two hours march. Again, had the companies' commanders but pinched the governor's man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three gold mines and a silver mine, not above four miles from the town, and given them the names of their possessors, with the reason why they forbore to work them at that time, and when they left off from working them; which they did, as well because they wanted negroes, as because they feared lest the English, French, or Dutch would have forced them from those, being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves. But to this I have heard it said since my return, that the governor's man was by me persuaded, being in my power, to say that such mines there were, when indeed there was no such thing. Certainly they were but silly fools that discovered this subtilty of mine, who having not yet by the long calenture that weakened me lost all my wits, which I must have done, if I had left my reputation in trust with a mulatto, who for a pot or two of wine, for a dozen of hatchets, or a gay suit of apparel, would have confessed that I had taught him to speak of mines that were not in *rerum natura*. No, I protest before the majesty of God, that, without any other arguments or promise of mine than well usage, he hath discovered to me the way to five or six of the richest mines which the Spaniards have, and from whence all the mass of gold that comes into Spain in effect is drawn.

Lastly, when the ships were come down the river, as far as Carapana's country, (who was one of the natural lords,)

and one that resigned that part of Guiana to her majesty, hearing that the English had abandoned St. Thome and left no force in the country, which he hoped they would have done; he sent a great canoe, with store of fruits and provisions to the captains, and by one of his men which spake Spanish, having, as it seemed, been long in their hands, he offered them a rich gold mine in his own country, knowing it to be the best argument to persuade their stay; and if it pleased them to send up any one of the English to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe return; master Leake, master Moleneux, and others, offering themselves. Which when the greater part refused, (I know not by what reason led,) he sent again, (leaving one of his men still aboard,) to entreat them to tarry but two days, and he himself would come to them and bring them a sample of the ore; for he was an exceeding old man when I was first in the country some twenty-four years since: which being also neglected, and the ships under sail, he notwithstanding sent a boat after them to the very mouth of the river, in hope to persuade them. That this is true, witness captain Parker, captain Leake, master Tresham, master Maudict, master Moleneux, master Robert Hamon, master Nicholes, captain King, Peter Andrews, and I know not how many others. But against this offer also there hath not been wanting an argument, though a foolish one; which was, that the Spaniards had employed the Indians with a purpose to betray our men. But this treason had been easily prevented, if they had stayed the old man's coming, who would have brought them the gold ore aboard their ships; and what purpose could there be of treason, when these Guianians offered to leave pledges six for one? Yea, one of the Indians which the English had aboard them, whom they found in fetters when they took the town of St. Thome, could have told them, that the cassique which sent unto them, to shew them the gold mine in his country, was unconquered, and an enemy to the Spaniard, and could also have assured them that this cassique had gold mines in his country.

I say then, that if they would neither force Keymis to go

to the mine, when he was by his own confession within two hours march of it; if they neglected to examine from whence these two ingots of gold which they brought me were taken, which they found laid by for king's *quinto*, or fifth part, or those small pieces of silver which had the same marks and stamps: if they refused to send any one of the fleet into the country, to see the mines which the cassique Carapana offered them: if they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the coming of Carapana himself, who would have brought them a sample of the gold ore: I say, that there is no reason to lay it to my charge, that I carried them with a pretence of gold, when neither Keymis nor myself knew of any in those parts. If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life in manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to have turned pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain or cast into the sea because I refused it?

A strange fancy had it been in me to have persuaded my son, whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife, to have adventured the eight thousand pound which his majesty gave them for Sherborne, and, when that was spent, to persuade my wife to sell her house at Mitcham, in hope of enriching them by the mines of Guiana, if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes; for being old and sickly, thirteen years in prison, and not used to the air, to travel, and to watching, it being ten to one that I should ever have returned, and of which by reason of my violent sickness, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope; what madness could have made me undertake this journey, but the assurance of the mine; thereby to have done his majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children their states they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways and means; for that I had no purpose to have changed my master and my country, my return, in the state I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am; and it is to me a greater loss than all I have lost, that it pleaseth his majesty to be offended for the burning of a Spanish town in Guiana, of which these parts bordering the river of Oroonoko, and to the south as far as the Amazones, doth by the law of nations belong to the crown of England, as his majesty was well resolved when it pleased him to grant a great part thereof to Mr. Harcourt; and as his majesty was also resolved when I prepared to go thither; otherwise his majesty would not have given leave for me to have landed there: for I set it down under my hand, that I intended that enterprise, and nothing else; and that I meant to enter the country by the river Oroonoko: and it was not held to be a breach of peace, neither by the state here nor the Spanish ambassador, who knew it as well as I, that I pretended the journey of Guiana, which he always held to be a pretence; for he said it to master secretary Winwood, and to others of my lords, that if I meant to sail to Guiana, and had no intent to invade any part of his majesty's West Indies, nor his fleets, I should not need to strengthen myself as I did, for I should work any mine there without any disturbance, and in peace. To which I made answer, that I had set it under my hand to his majesty, that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake any thing else; but for the rest, if sir John Hawkins in his journey to St. John de Loa, notwithstanding that he had leave of the Spanish king to trade in all parts of the West Indies; and having the Plate fleet in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places, was set upon by don Henrico de Martines, whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the port upon Martin's faith, and interchanged pledges delivered; had Jesus of Lubeck, a ship of her majesty's of a thousand ton, burnt; had his men slain which he left on the land, lost his ordnance, and all the treasure which he had got by trade. What reason had I to go unarmed upon the ambassador's promises, whose words and thoughts that they were one it hath well appeared since then, as well by the forces which he persuaded his master to send to Guiana to

encounter me, and cut me off there, as by his persecuting me since my return; who have neither invaded his master's Indies, nor his fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the English nation should look upon any part of America, being above a fourth part of the whole known world; and the hundredth part neither possessed by the Spaniards, nor to them known, as Acosta the Jesuit, in his description of the West Indies, doth confess, and well knows to be true: no, though the king of Spain can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered than the pope's donation, for from the straits of Magellan to the river of Plate, being a greater territory than all that the Spaniards possess either in Peru or Chile, and from Cape St. Augustine to Trinedado, being a greater extent of land than all which he possesses in Nova Spain, or elsewhere, they have not one foot of ground in their possession, neither for the greatest part of it so much as in their knowledge.

In Oroonoko they have lately set up a wooden town, and made a kind of a fort, but they have neither been able either to conquer the Guianians, nor to reconcile them; but the Guianians, before their planting there, did willingly resign all that territory to her majesty, who by me promised to relieve them, and defend them against the Spaniards. And though I were a prisoner for this last fourteen years, yet I was at the charge every year, or every second year, to send unto them, to keep them in hope of being relieved. And, as I have said before, the greatest of the natural lords did now offer us a rich mine of gold in his own country in hope to hold us there. And if this usurped possession of the Spaniards be a sufficient bar to his majesty's right, and that thereby the king of Spain calls himself king of Guiana, why might he not as well call himself duke of Britain, because he took possession of Blewet, and built a fort there; and call himself king of Ireland, because he took possession at Limerick, and built a fort there?

If the ambassador had protested to his majesty that my going to Guiana before I went would be a breach of the

peace, I am persuaded that his majesty, if he had not been resolved that Guiana had been his, would have stayed me; but if it be not thought to be a breach of peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) because I had no other intent, and went with leave; but for taking and burning of a Spanish town in the country, certainly, if the country be the king of Spain's, it had been no less a breach of peace to have wrought any mine of his, and to have robbed him of his gold, than it is now called a breach of peace to take a town of his in Guiana, and burn it: and with as good reason might I have been called a thief, and punished for a thief, and a robber of the king of Spain, if the country be not his majesty's, as I am now pursued for the invasion; for either the country is the king's or not the king's; if it be the king's, I have not then offended; if it be not the king's, I must have perished, if I had but taken gold out of the mines there, though I had found no Spaniards in the country.

For conclusion; if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in those parts of the world, why did even those Spaniards, which were now encountered in Guiana, tie six and thirty Englishmen out of master Hall's ship of London and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them ashore, having not so much as a sword or any other weapon among them all? And if the Spaniards to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treaty against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our peril; I trust in God that the word *peril* shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the Indies, and lose all our knowledge and our pilotage of that part of the world. If we have no other peace than this, how can there be a breach of peace, since the Spaniards with all nations, and all nations with them, may trade upon their guard? for to break peace where there is no peace is impossible.

The readiest way that the Spaniard's ambassador could have taken, to have stayed me from going to Guiana, had

been to have discovered the great practices which I had with his master against the king my sovereign lord, in the first year of his majesty's reign of Great Britain, for which I lost my estate, and lay thirteen years in the Tower of London, and not to urge my offences in Guiana, to which his master hath no title other than his sword, with which to this day he hath not conquered the least of these nations, and against whom, contrary to the catholic profession, his captains have entertained, and do entertain whole nations of cannibals. For in a letter of the late governor's to the king of Spain, of the eighth of July, he not only complaineth that the Guianians are in arms against him, but that even those Indians which under their noses live, do in despite of all the king's edicts trade with *los Flamnicos et Engleses enemigos*, "with the Flemish and English enemies," never once naming the English nations but with the epithet of an enemy.

But in truth the Spanish ambassador hath complained against me to no other end than to prevent my complaints against the Spaniards, who landing my men in a territory appertaining to the crown of England, they were invaded and slain before any violence offered to the Spaniards; and I hope that the ambassador doth not esteem us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance. Howsoever, I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana be not his majesty's, the working of a mine there and the taking of a town there had been equally perilous; for by doing the one I had robbed the king of Spain and been a thief, and by the other a disturber or breaker of the peace.

---

*A letter of sir Walter Ralegh to my lord Carew touching Guiana.*

"BECAUSE I know not whether I shall live to come "before the lords, I have for his majesty's satisfaction here "set down as much as I can say, either for mine own de-"fence, or against myself, as things are now construed.

"It is true, that though I acquainted his majesty with "my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known "to his majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there; "neither had I any authority by patent to remove them "from thence, and therefore his majesty had no interest in "the attempt of Saint Thome, by any foreknowledge in his "majesty.

"But knowing his majesty's title to the country to be "best, and most Christian, because the natural lords did "most willingly acknowledge queen Elizabeth to be their "sovereign, who by me promised to defend them from the "Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the "land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other title but "force, (the pope's donation excepted;) considering also "that they had got a possession there divers years since my "possession for the crown of England; for were not Guiana "his majesty's, then might I as well have been questioned for "a thief for taking the gold out of the king of Spain's mines, "as the Spaniards do now call me a peace-breaker; for, "from any territory that belongs to the king of Spain, it is "no more lawful to take gold, than lawful for the Spaniards "to take tin out of Cornwall. Were this possession of theirs "a sufficient bar to his majesty's right, the kings of Spain "may as well call themselves dukes of Britain, because "they held Blewet, and fortified there, and kings of Ire-"land, because they possessed Limerick, and fortified there, "and so in other places.

"That his majesty was well resolved of his right there "I make no kind of doubt, because the English, both under "master Charles Leigh and master Harcourt, had leave to "plant and inhabit the country.

"The Oroonoko itself had long ere this had five thou-"sand English in it, I assure myself, had not my employ-"ment at Cales, the next year after my return from Guiana, "and after that our journey to the islands, hindered me for "those two years, after which Tiron's rebellion made her "majesty unwilling that any great number of ships or men "should be taken out of England, till that rebellion were

" ended. And, lastly, her majesty's death, and my long " imprisonment, gave time to the Spaniards to set up a " town of sticks covered with leaves of trees upon the bank " of Oroonoko, which they call St. Thome; but they have " neither reconciled nor conquered any of the cassiques or " natural lords of the country, which cassiques are still in " arms against them, as by the governor's letter to the king " of Spain may appear. That by landing in Guiana there " can be any breach of peace, I think it (under favour) im- " possible; for to break peace where there is no peace, it can- " not be; that the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth " appear by the king's letters to the governor, that they " should put to death all those Spaniards and Indians that " trade *con los Engleses enemigos*, with English enemies. " Yea, those very Spaniards which we encountered at St. " Thome, did of late years murder six and thirty of master " Hale's men of London and mine, who landed without wea- " pon, upon the Spaniard's faith, to trade with them. Master " Thorne also in Tower-street in London, besides many " other English, were in like sort murdered in Oroonoko the " year before my delivery out of the Tower.

" Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a " peaceable trade in the Indies between us and the Span- " iards; but if this be cruel war and hatred, and no peace, " then there is no peace broken by our attempt. Again, " how doth it stand with the greatness of the king of Spain " first to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in " pieces, and then having failed, to call us peace-breakers: " for to be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the same " action is impossible.

" But the king of Spain in his letter to the governor of " Guiana, dated at Madrid the 29th of March, before we " left the Thames, calls us *Engleses enemigos*, English " enemies.

" If it had pleased the king of Spain to have written to " his majesty in seven months' time, for we were so long in " preparing, and have made his majesty know that our land- " ing in Guiana would draw after it a breach of peace, I

" presume to think that his majesty would have stayed our " enterprise for the present.

" This he might have done with less charge than to " levy three hundred soldiers, and transport ten pieces of " ordnance from Porto Rico; which soldiers, added to the " garrison of St. Thome, had they arrived before our com- " ing, had overthrown all our raw companies, and there " would have followed no complaints.

" For the main point, of landing near St. Thome, it is " true, that we were of opinion that we must have driven the " Spaniards out of the town before we could pass the thick " woods upon the mountains to the mine; which I confess I " did first resolve upon, but better bethinking myself, I re- " ferred the taking of the town to the goodness of the mine, " which if they found to be so rich, as it might persuade " the leaving of the garrison, than to drive the Spaniards " thence; but to have burnt was never my intent, neither " could they give me any reason why they did. Upon their " return, I examined the sergeant-major and Keymis, why " they followed not my last directions for the trial of the mine " before the taking of the town; and they answered me, " that although they durst hardly go to the mine, leaving " a garrison of Spaniards between them and their boats, " yet they offended their latter directions, and did land be- " tween the town and the mine.

" And that the Spaniards, without any manner of parley, " set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them " *Perros Ingleses*, and, by skirmishing with them, they drew " them on to the very entrance of the town before they " knew where they were; so that if any peace had been in " those parts, the Spaniards first brake the peace, and made " the first slaughter; for as the English could not but land " to seek the mine, being come thither to that end; so, being " first reviled and charged by the Spaniards, they could " do no less than repel force by force. Lastly, it is a mat- " ter of no small consequence to acknowledge that we have " offended the king of Spain by landing in Guiana. For " first, it weakens his majesty's title to the country, or quits

" it; secondly, there is no king that hath ever given the " least way to any other king or state in the traffick of the " lives or goods of his subjects; to wit, in our case, that it " shall be lawful for the Spaniards to murder us, either by " force or treason, and unlawful for us to defend ourselves " and pay them with their own coin; for this superiority " and inferiority is a thing which no absolute monarch ever " yielded to, or ever will.

" Thirdly, it shews the English bears greater respect to " the Spaniard, and is more doubtful of his forces, than " either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts " of the Indies without being questioned at their return. " Yea, at my own being at Plymouth, a French gentleman, " called Flory, went thence with four sail, and three hun- " dred landmen, with commission to land and burn, and to " sack all places in the Indies that he could master; and yet " the French king hath married the daughter of Spain.

" This is all that I can say, other than that I have spent " my poor estate, lost my son and my health, and endured " as many sorts of miseries as ever man did, in hope to do " his majesty acceptable service; and have not to my under- " standing committed any hostile act other than entrance " upon a territory belonging rightly to the crown of Eng- " land, where the English were first set upon and slain by " the usurping Spaniards. I invaded no other parts of the " Indies pretended to by the Spaniards.

" I returned into England with manifest peril of my life, " with a purpose not to hold my life with any other than " his majesty's grace, and from which no man, nor any " peril, could dissuade me; to that grace and goodness and " kingliness I refer myself, which if it shall find that I have " not yet suffered enough, it yet may please to add more " affliction to the remainder of a wretched life."

---

*Sir Walter Ralegh's answer to some things at his death.*

" I DID never receive any direction from my lord Carew " to make my escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such

" thing. I did never name my lord Hay and my lord Ca-
" rew to Stukely in other words or sense than as my ho-
" nourable friends among other lords. I did never shew
" unto Stukely any letter, wherein there was ten thousand
" pounds named, or any one pound; only I told him,
" that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his
" absence. I never had commission from the French king,
" I never saw the French king's hand or seal in my life.
" I never had any plot or practice with the French directly
" or indirectly, nor with any other prince or state unknown
" to the king. My true intent was to go to a mine of gold
" in Guiana; it was not feigned, but it is true, that such a
" mine there is within three miles of St. Thome. I never
" had in my thought to go from Trinedado, and leave my
" companies to come after to the savage island, as Hatby
" Fearne hath falsely reported. I did not carry with me
" an hundred pieces; I had with me sixty, and brought
" back near the said number. I never spake to the French
" Manering any one disloyal word or dishonourable speech
" of the king; nay, if I had not loved the king truly, and
" trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I know that
" I had not now suffered death.

" These things are most true as there is a God, and as
" I am now to appear before his tribunal seat, where I re-
" nounce all mercy and salvation, if this be not the truth.
" At my death.

" W. R."

# AN INTRODUCTION

TO

# A BREVIARY

OF THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

WITH THE

# REIGN OF KING WILLIAM THE FIRST,

ENTITLED

# THE CONQUEROR.

THE

# PREFACE

OF THE

# FIRST PUBLISHER.

THIS Life of William the Conqueror, writ by sir Walter Ralegh, was found in the library of a person of high quality. Whosoever hath been conversant in the works of that accomplished knight, and a little acquainted with his great genius and spirit, and his manly and unaffected style, will make no doubt but what here is presented unto the world was his genuine issue.

For the comprehensive and penetrating thoughts, the lively imagination, and the mature and exact judgment of sir Walter Ralegh, do all manifestly appear in this small treatise.

It may be matter of some wonder, that a work filled with such a number of judicious reflections upon the nature of government in general, and so many wise observations relating to the particular state of our own country, should have been thus long condemned to obscurity, had not an ill fate attended the learned compositions, as well as the brave actions of this renowned gentleman.

But by what unhappy accident soever it hath been hitherto confined to privacy, it was thought it would be an injury to the public any longer to conceal a just and true account of the reign of William the First, wherein so many

remarkable matters and great revolutions happened, and to which the writers of government and policy in our nation have very frequent recourse; since the transactions of that time, unto which they so commonly appeal, are here related with that faithfulness, brevity, and clearness that become an exact historian.

# A BREVIARY

OF THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BEGINNING AT THE

## REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FIRST,

ENTITLED

## THE CONQUEROR.

### THE INTRODUCTION.

§. 1. I INTEND, by the help of God and your furtherance, (right noble earl of Salisbury,) to write a brief History of England, from William I., entitled the Conqueror, to the end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, of perpetual memory: a work difficult as well for the antiquity as the lateliness of things done; the one bereaving our knowledge of the certain councils held in the managing of business so long past; the other not allowing our understanding the inward and particular motives of such actions as are so near us. Yet according to my collections out of those ancient remains that are left unto the world, and the conferences, acts, and instruments of later times, I will deliver the succession and course of our affairs, insomuch as shall be fit for the public understanding, without passion or partiality; endeavouring to be of no other side than of truth, as it shall appear to my apprehension.

§. 2. And though I had a desire to have deduced this History from the beginning of our first kings, as they are delivered in their catalogue; yet finding their actions uncertainly delivered, and the beginning of all eminent states to be as uncertain as the heads of great rivers, and that idle antiquity, discovering no apparent way beyond their times,

have ever delighted to point men out into imaginary tracts of fictions and monstrous originals; I did put off that desire with this consideration, that this space of five hundred years, which comprehends the government of twenty kings and two sovereign queens, was more than enough for my leisure and ability; weighing withal, that it is but mere curiosity to look further back into the times past than we can well discern, and whereof we can neither have proof nor profit. Besides, it seemeth that God in his providence hath bounded our searches within the compass of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient both for example and instruction in the government of men: for had we the particular occurrents of all nations and all ages, it might more stuff, but not better, our understanding. We shall find the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men; virtues and vices the same, though rising and falling according to the worth or weakness of governors; the causes of the ruins and changes of commonwealths to be alike, and the train of affairs carried by the precedent in a course of succession under like figures.

§. 3. But yet, for that this chain of affairs hath a link of dependency to the former times, it shall not be amiss briefly to repeat the three mutations in the state foregoing this last conquest, since the time that letters and Christianity were here received, which left more certain knowledge of things done, though not in that sort as we can assuredly learn either the form of the British government under their kings, or by what rule they held together; whether their petty princes (whereof they had many) were subject to one monarch, or all sovereign alike; whether any parties did cantonize, or were free estates, or commonwealths, as peradventure they might be, as well as the Gauls, with whom they were one in language, or the Germans, ancient precedents of like liberties. For no doubt the same necessity that is the mother of society, and contriver of men's defences and safeties, finds out like forms of government, in like times, upon like occasions. But in so much as is delivered in these uncertain antiquities, we find this isle was never, or never

long, subject to one entire monarch, but ruled by divers kings.

§. 4. And so Cæsar found it, and thereby found the easier means to subdue it; which was the first dissolution of the state, after it had remained under the government of the Britons (as say our stories) one thousand and sixty years, from Brutus to Cassibalan. And yet the state then seemed by this conquest to lose little, besides their savage liberty, being reduced to civil subjection; for the vanquisher sought not to extirpate the nation, but to maintain and improve it. And under this government it remained almost five hundred years, until the division of the Roman empire in the time of Theodosius, when it became neglected, and recovered again the state of a kingdom under princes partly British and partly Romans: which by reason of continual tumults and mutinies seemed never to have held any calm or flourishing government worthy the observing; and in the end Vortigern, an earl of the [a] Guisses, abusing the weakness of Constantius, supplanted him, and obtained the kingdom: which the better to keep against Aurelius and Pendragon, the sons of Constantius, and also to oppose against the invasion of the Picts and Scots, he called in the Saxons to his aid.

§. 5. Who entering this land under the conduct of Hengist and Horsus, gave the occasion of the second, and indeed the most absolute dissolution of the state. For Vortigern, to establish the kingdom in his own line, and (as he thought) to strengthen himself with these strangers, took to wife [b] Renix, the daughter of Hengist; (his own wife living;) and by his dotage on her, being a beautiful lady, who knew to take the advantage of his love, gave the Saxons those preferments in the state, as the Britons, neglected by him, soon became a prey unto them: this alliance, and the fertility of the land, letting in so many of this populous and warlike nation, that ere men scarce perceived their danger they were undone. And notwithstanding the combination of the British nobility, with the deposing of Vortigern, and

[a] Cornwall. Bede 1. 14. [b] Rowena.

electing king his son Vortimer, a valiant prince, who gave them many stout battles; yet could they not prevail against the Saxons thus established, but were forced to quit their country, and betake themselves to remote mountains and deserts, leaving all to the invaders; who, after many fortunes, dividing the land into seven kingdoms, extinguished both the religion, language, and even the name thereof. And in this heptarchy it continued till Egbert, king of the West Saxons, ann. 828, being three hundred and fifty years after their first entrance, subduing the other kings, obtained the whole dominion to himself; and to rase out the memory of a division, caused by an edict the whole kingdom to be called England, of the Angles, a people that possessed the middle part of this isle.

§. 6. But neither he nor his successors quietly enjoyed it; for the Danes, having been first called in to aid the king of Northumberland against the other kings, sorely infested the land, and combining themselves with the Welsh and Scots, prevailed so much, that from the reign of king Britrick, anno 387, they continued to afflict the same the space of two hundred fifty-five years; and in the end, by the negligent and ill government of king Ethelred, whose luxury and oppression had made way for division, they got the absolute dominion of the kingdom, and held it twenty-six years by three of their kings successively; Canutus governed it twenty years, and left it to Harold, who reigned two years; Canutus the Second succeeded his brother Harold, and at a banquet at Lambeth, either by surfeit or poison, died in the second year of his reign: when straight the people of the land, by a sudden and general massacre, redeemed themselves from that odious yoke of a foreign subjection; which was held to be the third dissolution of this state. But I cannot see how it should be so accounted, seeing that this Canutus never altered the government, but embraced the same religion, maintained the laws he found, and added many constitutions for the good of the kingdom. And to get into the people's affections, he married Emma, sometime wife to king Ethelred, and daughter to Richard

duke of Normandy; to whom, for his better strength, he had likewise given his sister to wife: and then the short time of the government, in the succession of his two sons, seems not to have bred any great alteration in the state of the kingdom, but only in the change of the person of the prince, and the preferment of his nation before ours; which, by reason of the long foregoing wars, were made incompatible of each other.

§. 7. But yet this gave the cause to that great and last mutation of state, effected by the Norman. For king Ethelred, to make his party good against the invasion of the Danes, combined himself with Richard duke of Normandy, married his sister Emma, and by her had issue Edward, after king of England, entitled the Confessor, who with his brother were there brought up out of the dangers of the wars, and by the assistance of the duke reconveyed over, after the death of the last Canutus, and here invested in the kingdom. For which offices of kindness divers preferments were in way of gratification bestowed on the Normans, as the archbishopric of Canterbury, and other especial places and dignities ecclesiastical, in a manner throughout the whole land, which prepared an easier passage for the invasion following; when the death of this good king Edward, without issue to inherit, left the succession doubtful, or else by the iniquity of the times made nothing so, for Edgar, surnamed Atheling, son of Edward the son of king Edmond Ironside, had his claim neglected, either in respect of his youth, which yet was no bar to his right, or for want of means and power to oppose against the ambition of others; who having swayed the fortune of the time under an easy-natured prince, had opportunity enough to work for themselves; although the worthiness of his grandfather, shewed in the defence of his country, might seem to deserve to have his issue remembered in their right.

§. 8. But the earl Godwin, what in respect that king Edward had matched with his daughter, and what with his own greatness and popularity, having long managed the state of the kingdom, made the ascent easy for Harold his

son to get up to the crown; and, by crossing the right line of succession, called up destruction and misery both upon his own race and the whole kingdom; for though Harold had a show of title, as being the son of [c] Thira, sister to Canutus king of England, yet seeing all the land had received an oath, upon the massacre and expulsion of the Danes, never to have any king of that nation to reign over them, it might seem no lawful claim. But yet the favour of the people, which both his person and valour had gotten, with the necessity of the time that required a man of spirit and courage to undertake the burden of war, and the trouble which the world (they saw) was like to grow into, cast it upon him, with hope to keep out the misery of a foreign subjection, and the insolency of strangers.

But the whole course of things being overcast, and set for storms and alteration, could not by any providence of man be prevented. Though this new king (who is said to have crowned himself) used all the means that a wise and valiant prince could do, both for the well-ordering of the state, and all provisions for defence; yet the disjointed affections of men, tending to their private ends, and working several ways to get up to their hopes, either left the ship of the state, which contained them all, to the mercy of the waves, and every man cast to save himself, where the greatest likelihood of mastery appeared; or else, distracted with the terror of the approaching mischief, failed in their spirits and courage to withstand it: for the diligence of men becomes often dashed with fear in public tumults[d], and with the very cogitation of the evil to come.

§. 9. And the first man which began to afflict his new government was his own younger brother Tosty[e], who for a former conceived hatred was easily set on by the duke of Normandy, and Baldwin earl of Flanders, (whose daughter he had married,) to assail the Isle of Wight, and to prepare the way for the great after-work intended. And having done much mischief on the coast of Kent, Harold with a

[c] Githa, sister to Swain. Dan. [d] Toustain. Dan.
[e] In their public fears and tumults, so Tann. 84. and MS. Harl. 39.

strong navy forced him to draw towards the north parts, where seeking to land he was repulsed by the earls Morcar and Edwin, and forced to look aid of the Scots, and after of the king of Norway, whom he induced to invade this kingdom with great store of men and shipping. These landing at Tinmouth, and discomfiting their first encounterers, marched into the heart of England without resistance. But, being come near to Stamford, king Harold with a mighty army met them, and after a long fight, with the loss of much blood and his best men, he finished that action with the death of Tosty and the king of Norway.

§. 10. But from hence was he called with his wearied and broken forces to a more fatal business in the south. For now William duke of Normandy, pretending a right to the crown of England, both by the testament of the late king Edward, and also by parentage, upon the advantage of the time, and the disfurnishment of those parts, landed at Hastings, near to which place was fought that bloody battle, wherein Harold, valiantly fighting amidst his enemies, ended his life and reign, which was scarce of one year; and the English, with the loss of twenty thousand men and the flower of the kingdom, became the miserable prey of the Normans.

§. 11. But how so great a state as this could be with one blow subdued by so small a province in such sort, as it could never after come to make any general head against the conqueror, may seem strange and considerable; but the circumstances, with the disposition of that time, as may be collected from the writers that lived near it, may somewhat, though not altogether, fortify us in that point. For they say, the people of the kingdom were (by their being secure from their foreign enemies the Danes, and their long peace, which had held in a manner from the death of Edmond Ironside the space of fifty years) grown neglective of arms, and generally debauched with luxury and idleness; the clergy licentious, and only *literatura tumultuaria contenti, scholæ, non vitæ discebant*, saith Malmesbury; the nobility

given to gluttony, venery, and oppression; the common sort to drunkenness and all disorder. And they say, that in the last action of Harold at Stamford, the bravest men perished; and himself growing insolent after the victory, retaining the spoils without distribution to the soldiers, made them discontent and unruly; or peradventure being not inured to be commanded by martial discipline, they were of themselves unmanageable; and that coming to the battle of Hastings with many mercenary men, and a discontented army, there was not that valour and resolution shewed as was meet in so important an occasion. Besides, the Normans had a peculiar militia, or fight with bows and arrows, wherein they were excellently practised; and the English, unacquainted with that weapon, were altogether unprovided for the defence. And thus they excuse the shame of our nation.

THE

# REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FIRST.

## I.

§. 12. By these advantages William, the base son of Robert duke of Normandy, having gotten the victory in the battle near Hastings, marched without any opposition towards London; where the earls Edwin and Morcar, brothers of eminent dignity and respect in the kingdom, laboured with all their power in soliciting the people for the conservation of the state, and to have established Edgar Etheling, next of the royal issue, in the sovereignty; whereunto the rest of the nobility had likewise consented, had they not seen the bishops averse or wavering. And all men generally transported with fear, or corrupted with new hopes, running from themselves and their endangered country, and striving who should be first to entertain the present fortune, sought to preoccupate each other. For straight upon his approach to London, the gates was set all open; the archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, with other bishops, the nobility, magistrates, and people, all rendered themselves and their obedience unto him; and he, returning plausible promises of his future government, was within a short time after crowned at Westminster, by Aldred archbishop of York; for that Stigand was not held canonically invested in that see, and yet was thought to have been a principal adherent to this enterprise.

§. 13. Here, (according to the accustomed form,) in his coronation, the bishops and barons of the realm took their oath to be his true and loyal subjects; and he reciprocally being required thereunto by the archbishop of York, made his personal oath before the altar of St. Peter, to defend the

holy church of God and the rectors of the same; to govern the universal people subject unto him justly; with care to establish equal laws for the preservation of justice, and upright judgment to be used amongst them: and taking hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and government of his kingdom.

§. 14. At the opening of the spring then next following he returns into Normandy; so to settle his affairs there, as they might not distract him from his business in England, which required his whole powers. And to leave all sure behind him, he committed the rule of the kingdom in his absence to Odo bishop of Bayeux, his half-brother by the mother's side, and to his cousin Fitz-Osborn, whom he had made earl of Hereford: taking with him the chiefest men, natives of the state, who were likeliest to be heads to a revolt; as the archbishop Stigand, lately discontented, Edgar Atheling, a titular, Edwin and Morcar, with many other bishops and noblemen. In his absence, which was all that whole summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but only that Edric, surnamed the Forrester, in the county of Hereford, called in the kings of the Welsh to his aid, and foraged only the remote borders of that country. The rest of the kingdom stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration; their laws and liberties remaining still the same, they did and might hope by this accession of a new province the state of England would be enlarged in dominion abroad, and not impaired in profit at home, by reason the nation was but small, and being a plentiful and not overpeopled country, they were not likely to impester them.

§. 15. The king now grown to this power, soon settled his estate in Normandy, which in his youth he had always found turbulent within and overhardly neighboured abroad, and secured him of that side of the world; wherein he was much advantaged by the time. For Philip the First, then king of France, was a child; who otherwise would never have suffered the Normans, being so stubborn and little

affectionate to that crown, to have grown to such greatness; and besides, was under the curature of Baudovin earl of Flanders, (his uncle by the mother,) whose daughter king William of England had to wife; which alliance indeed gave him the greatest means to his conquest. Besides, he had made the pope most sure unto him, by promising if he subdued this kingdom to hold it of the church; for which Alexander upon his enterprise sent him a banner, and a hair of St. Peter. He held strict amity also with the princes of France, that bordered upon him, and might interrupt his affairs; as with the earls of Anjou, Poictou, Main, Ponthieu, Bologne, and others; to every one of whom he had promised lands in England, upon their aids lent him. And to keep fair with the state of France in general, he engaged himself to their king to hold this kingdom from him, and to do him homage for the same; by which means he so strongly underset himself, as made his fortune such as it was.

§. 16. And now having disposed his affairs in Normandy, he returns towards winter into England; where he was to satisfy three sorts of men: first, the especial adventurers in the action: secondly, those of his own people, whose merits or nearness deserved recompense; whereof the number being so great, many must have their expectations fed, though not satisfied: thirdly, the people of this kingdom by whom he must now subsist. For being not able with his own nation so to people the same as to defend it, if he should proceed to a general extirpation of the natural inhabitants, he was likewise to give them satisfaction: wherein he had more to do than in his battle at Hastings; seeing all remunerations, with discharge of monies, must be raised out of the stock of the kingdom, (which could not be pleasing to the state in general.) And all preferments and dignities conferred on his, must be either by vacancies, or displacing others; which needs must breed very feeling grievances in particular. And yet we find no great men thrust out of their rooms, but such as put themselves out by their revolting after his establishment in the crown.

§. 17. In the second year of his reign no exaction was made to raise treasure for these satisfactions; so that it seems he contented himself and his for the time, only with what he found here ready; and with filling up their places who were slain in these two last battles, or fled (as many were) out of the kingdom with the sons of Harold. But the English nobility, incompatible of these new concurrents, found notwithstanding a disproportion of grace, and a darkening of their dignities, by the interposition of so many as must needs lessen their light. And doubting daily to be more impaired in honour and estate, all the chiefest of them conspired and fled; some into Scotland, some into Denmark, to try if by aid from abroad they might recover themselves and their greatness again at home.

§. 18. Amongst these the chiefest was Edgar Atheling, (entitled England's darling, which shewed the people's zeal to his blood,) and with him (besides his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Christine and Margaret) fled the earls Edwin and Morcar, Marleswin, Hereward, Gospatric, and Siward, and shortly after Stigand and Aldred, the two archbishops, with many other noblemen, and divers of the clergy. Those that fled into Scotland were all hospitably received of king Malcolm, whom it concerned to look to his own, his neighbour's house being thus on fire, and to succour a party against so dangerous an incomer: which made him not only to entertain them, but to enter league with them for the public safety. And to combine himself the more firmly, he married Margaret, the sister of Edgar, by whom the blood of our ancient Saxon kings was conjoined with the Norman in Henry the Second, and so became English again.

§. 19. These noblemen, with the aid of the Scots and Danes, in the third year of this king's reign, raised great commotions in the north beyond Humber, and wrought very valiantly themselves to recover their lost country. But now it being too late, and the occasion not taken before the settling of the government whilst it was new and brand-

ling, they prevailed nothing, but gave advantage to the conqueror to make himself more than he was; for all conspiracies of subjects, that succeed not, advance the sovereignty: and nothing gave root to the Normans planting here more than the petty revolts made by scattered troops in several parts, begun without order, and weakly seconded without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for the general recovery but by the general rising of the people, which seldom we see to happen. And for this the new king had taken good order; first, by disarming them, then by forbidding them assemblies and all secret intercourse, upon heavy penalties; that every man at the closing of the day, by the warning of a bell, should cover his fire and go to bed; by making them to be bound pledges one for another to answer for their obedience and loyalty; by building divers fortresses in several parts of the kingdom, to awe the country and to hold them in; with many such like provisions.

§. 20. So that these lords, though they did, as they might, hold him doing in the north, and embroil themselves in an unsuccessful business, yet he having all the south settled under his power, with well-practised and prepared forces, could not but needs tire and consume them in the end; and in the mean time invest the Normans in their rooms and possessions forfeited by this attempt: as the earldom and all the lands which Edwin held in Yorkshire were given to Alanus earl of Brittain, his nephew; the archbishopric of Canterbury conferred on Lanfranc, an Italian; that of York on Thomas, his chaplain, a Norman; and all the rest, both of the clergy and others, which fled and were out, had likewise their places supplied by Normans.

§. 21. And now the king having appeased the commotion in the west, where the sons of Harold had landed with forces out of Ireland and Wales, and also repressed the rebellion of Oxford, he takes his journey in person northward with all expedition; lest the enemy there should grow too great in heart and opinion by the defeat of his lieutenant with seven hundred Normans at Durham, and the great slaughter

of his people made at York. Where at his first coming he so wrought, as he corrupted the generals of the Danes with money, and sent them well contented away; and then set upon the army of the earls, weakened both in strength and hope by this departure of their confederates, and put them to flight: which done, he utterly wasted and laid desolate all that goodly country between York and Durham, the space of sixty miles, that it might be no more a succour to the revolter. And the like course he used on all the coasts, where any certain landings were known, thereby to prevent invasions, and so returned to London; where he seized into his hands all the plate, jewels, and treasure within all the monasteries of England; pretending that the rebels and their assisters had conveyed their riches into these religious houses, as into places privileged and free from seizure, to defraud him of it.

§. 22. Most of the lords, after this great defeat in the north, came in upon public faith given them, and were conducted to Barkamstead, by the abbot Frederick. Where some write that the king again took a personal oath before the archbishop Lanfranc, and the lords, to observe the ancient laws of the realm established by his noble predecessors, the kings of England, and especially those of St. Edward: and all the lords, upon their oath and submission, were then reconciled unto him, and thereupon held themselves quiet for a time. But whether it were that they found not their entertainment such as they expected, or that they had received intelligence of new hopes from abroad; or that Edgar, who was still in Scotland, had solicited them upon promise of fresh succours to aid him; or howsoever it was, many of them again conspired, contrary to their oaths, and went out. The earl Edwin making towards Scotland, was murdered by his own people by the way. The earls Morcar and Hereward betook them to the isle of Ely, meaning to make good that place for that winter; whither also came the earl Siward and the bishop of Durham, out of Scotland. But the king, who was no timegiver to growing dangers, beset all the isle with flat boats on the east, and made a bridge

of a mile long on the west, and safely brought in his people upon the enemy; who, seeing themselves surprised, yielded them all to the king's mercy, except Hereward, (a man of great valour and courage,) who with his soldiers made a retreat through the fens, and escaped into Scotland. The rest were sent to divers prisons, where they died, or remained during the king's life.

§. 23. We find that those lords who remained loyal upon their last submission were all employed and well graced by the king: as Edric the Forrester, that was the first revolter in his reign, was held in especial favour and trust near about him; Gospatric was made earl of Northumberland, and sent against Malcolm, who in this time takes advantage to subdue the countries of Tisdal, Cleveland, and Cumberland. Waltheof, the son of the earl Siward, he so highly esteemed, as he married him to his niece Judith; though he were a principal actor in this last commotion, and in the defence of the city of York against him, and is said to have stricken off the heads of divers Normans one by one as they entered upon a breach, to the great admiration of all men: by which valour of his he ransomed the offence he had made, and grew to that great grace with the king; who therein shewed a noble and magnanimous nature to honour virtue even in his enemies.

§. 24. And now there rested nothing for the general quieting of the kingdom but only the suppression of Malcolm king of Scots, the greatest kindle-fire of all these conspiracies in the north parts, and the only refuge for all that were discontented and mutinous in this state. Against him the king led such mighty forces, both by sea and land, as Malcolm, rather than to adventure battle, was content to make his peace; and not only to give up hostages for securing the same, but also to do him homage for the kingdom of Scotland. And so all his home-wars were ended, regni anno 6: saving only in anno 15, he levied a puissant army, and subdued Wales; which business held him not long. For the rest of his government here he had no

more to do here with the sword, though he had it always abroad during his whole reign.

§. 25. Now for the doubt he might have of the great men of the kingdom, who by power or love were aptest to disturb his government, it was in this sort taken away. First, by the submission of Edgar Atheling, who, anno 7, was restored into grace, and had a fair maintenance, which held him ever after quiet: then by those whom the prisons kept from attempting any more: and, lastly, by the revealing of a new conspiracy, contrived at a marriage between Ralph de Waher[a], earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and his new kinswoman, the sister of Roger, the young earl of Hereford: at which solemnization in their banqueting and jollity, the two earls Normans, with Waltheof and divers English, plotted to call in the Danes again, and to make away the king: upon which discovery they were all apprehended, (except the earl of Norfolk, who fled the land,) and died some in prison and some on the scaffold.

§. 26. The Danes being on the coasts with two hundred sail, hearing how their confederates had sped, and the great preparations the king had made, after some spoils taken on the coast of England and Flanders, returned home, and never after infested this kingdom. Though in anno 20 of this king there was a great rumour of their fresh preparations for a new invasion; which made him entertain a great number of Frenchmen, besides Normans, which he brought into England about harvest, and held the most part of them all the winter, to the great charge of the kingdom. But it came to nothing; for the wind held so long against the Danish navy, consisting of about one thousand sail, as it overthrew their intended action, and freed both the king and his successors from future fears that way for ever after.

§. 27. The foreign wars he had were all about his dominions in France, and raised by his own son Robert, whom

[a] Roger Fitz Osborn, the son of William, cousin and especial councellor to the king.

he had left his lieutenant-governor of the duchy of Normandy and the county of Maine. Where, by his father's absence, tasting the glory of command, he grew to assume into his own power the sovereign rule of the province; caused the barons there to do him homage, as duke, not as lieutenant; and put himself wholly under the protection of the king of France; who was not a little pleased to apprehend so good an occasion to foster a division in the house of so great and near a neighbour, who was now grown fearful and dangerous to all the princes about him; and therefore spared for no cost to set forward this work. The king, understanding the fire thus kindled in his own house, whilst he laboured to quench that himself had made in others, hastes with his forces into Normandy, to have surprised his son; who, advertised of his coming, furnished with two thousand men at arms by the king of France, put himself in ambush where his father should pass, and set upon him so fiercely as he defeated most of his people, and in the press happened to encounter with himself; whom he unhorsed, and wounded in the arms with his lance. But perceiving by his voice it was his father, he hasted to lift him up again to his horse, craving most humble pardon for his offence, which the king, seeing in what case he was, easily granted, and received him into grace, with whom, and with his son William, (who was likewise hurt in the skirmish,) he retired to Roan; and after being there cured of his hurt, returned again into England.

§. 28. Where he was no sooner arrived, but he heard that his son was again revolted, treated the Normans ill, and renounced his father's sovereignty over that province; which caused his little stay in England for that time, but only to prepare for his return into Normandy. Whither passing, he was by tempest driven on the coast of Spain; and there is said to have fought in battle against the Saracens. Afterwards, arriving at Bourdeaux, his son Robert came and submitted himself the second time; whom now he took with him into England, to frame him to a better obedience, by employing him here for a season; and then sent him back

again with his youngest son Harry (whom he more trusted) into Normandy; where he held himself quiet a while, and gave his father some small breathing-time to dispose of the affairs of this kingdom.

§. 29. But it was not long ere new occasions of greater troubles grew up, which took by this means. The two princes, Robert and Henry, went to visit and salute the king of France at Conflans; where being feasted certain days upon an after-dinner, Henry won so much at chess of Louis, the king's eldest son, that he grew so far into choler, as he called him the son of a bastard, and threw the chess in his face. Henry takes up the chessboard, and struck Louis with that force as he drew blood, and had killed him, had it not been for his brother Robert, who came in in the mean time, and interposed himself; whereupon they suddenly took horse, and with much ado saved themselves at Pontoise from the king's people that pursued them.

§. 30. This quarrel, arising upon the intermeeting of these princes, (which is a thing that seldom breeds good blood amongst them,) reinkindled a heat of more rancour in the fathers, and set a mighty fire between the two kingdoms, which made the first war the English and French had together, whereupon followed many others. For presently the king of France complots again with Robert, enters into Normandy, and takes the city of Vernon. The king of England invades France, subdues the country on Xaintoign and Poitou, and returns to Roan; where the third time his son Robert is reconciled unto him, which much disappointeth and vexeth the king of France: who hereupon summons the king of England to come and do him homage for the kingdom of England: which he refused to do; saying, that he held it of none but of God and his sword: but yet, offering to do him homage for the duchy of Normandy, it would not satisfy the king of France, who was willing to make any occasion the motive to set upon him: and again he invaded his territories, but with more loss than profit. In the end they conclude a little unperfect peace together, which held no longer than king William had recovered a

sickness, whereinto, by reason of his years, travel, and fatness, he was lately fallen. At which time the king of France, (then young and lusty,) jesting at his great belly, whereof he said he lay in at Roan, so irritated him, as, being recovered, he gathered all his forces, entered into France in the chiefest time of their fruits, and came even before Paris, spoiling and burning all in his way: where with heat and toil he fell into a relapse, returned to Roan, and there made an end of his wars and life, after he had held this kingdom [b] twenty years and ten months.

§. 31. Now concerning his government in peace, and the course he held in establishing the kingdom thus gotten; first he examines the English laws, which were then composed of Merchenlage, Danelage, and Westsaxlage; whereof some he abrogated, and some allowed, adding other of Normandy; especially such as made for the preservation of the peace, which most imported him to look unto: and these laws thus reformed, he caused to be all translated and written into the Norman tongue; hereby to draw the people of the kingdom to learn that language for their own need, that the two nations might the better grow together and become one; seeing a difference of speech would continue a difference of affections. Wherein he attained not his desire; nor ever was it in the power of any conqueror so to do without the universal extirpation of the landbred people: who being so far in number (as they were) above the invaders, both carry the main of the language, and also in few years make them to become theirs that subdued them. But yet upon these laws, thus established by so prudent a prince, this free and fierce nation was so well held in peace and obedience, as his successors, with some abatement of rigour and prerogative, have ever since continued a most glorious sovereignty over the same.

§. 32. And for that he would be well and certainly supplied with treasure, which his great wars and entertainments required, he took a most provident course for reforming the

[b] Anno 20.

*fisque*, or exchequer, and the ordering and raising of his revenues; endeavouring to make and know the utmost of his estate. And therefore he employed a most discreet choice of men to survey the whole kingdom, and to take the particulars of his own and every man's ability; the quantity and nature of lands and possessions, with the descriptions, bounds, and divisions of shires and hundreds within the same. And this was drawn into one book, and brought into his *ærarium*, the exchequer, (so called of the table, whereat the officers sat, before termed the *talee*,) and the same entitled Doomsday Book, *liber judiciarius*, (saith Gervasius,) the judgment book, that was to decide all doubts concerning these particulars.

§. 33. All the forests and chases throughout the kingdom he took into his proper possession, and exempted them from being under any other law than his own pleasure, to serve as *penetralia regnum*, the withdrawing chambers of kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the state; where none might presume to have to do, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himself absolutely, and the former customs abrogated. And to make his command the more, he increased the number of them in all parts of the land; and on the south coast dispeopled the country for above thirty miles space, making of old inhabited possessions a new forest; inflicting great punishments for hunting his deer, whereby he much advanced his revenue; which was the greatest act of concussion and tyranny he committed in his government. And the same course held almost every king near the conquest. For Henry the First proceeded with such violence as to make a law, that if any man killed the king's deer in his own woods he should forfeit his woods to the king: but king Stephen, having need of the people's favour, repealed that law. And in the end this grievance, amongst others, after much bloodshed in the kingdom, was allayed by the charter of forests granted by Henry III. For other possessions, he permitted those which held them before his com-

ing, to continue them quietly in the same manner, and took none but from such as after his possession of the crown rebelled against him, or were slain in the wars.

§. 34. He imposed no new taxations on the state, and used those he found very moderately: as *danegelt*, being a tax raised by the former kings of two shillings upon every hide-land, to maintain the wars against the Danes; he would not have it made an annual payment, but only taken upon urgent occasion: [c] and it was seldom gathered in his time, or his successors. *Scutagium*, or *escuage*, which was also then an imposition of money upon every knight's fee, (afterwards only employed for the service in Scotland,) was never levied but in like occasions for stipends and donatives to soldiers.

§. 35. Only one exaction he was forced to raise, to cure a mischief which arose by his means. In the beginning of this reign the rancour of the English towards the new-come Normans was such, as, finding them single in woods and remote places, they secretly murdered them; and the deed-doers, for any the severest courses taken, could never be discovered. Whereupon it was ordained, that the hundred wherein a Norman was found slain, and the murderer not taken, should be condemned to pay the king some thirty-six pounds, and some twenty-eight pounds, according to the quantity of the hundred. And this was done to the end the punishment, being generally inflicted, it might particularly deter them, and hasten the discovery of the malefactor, by whom so many must otherwise be interessed. This mulct, and the seizing into his hands the church treasure before noted, (though both were done by the especial commanding warrant of necessity,) were much taken to heart in the kingdom, both by the clergy and common people.

§. 36. And yet otherwise was he to both very gracious and beneficial. For upon petition made unto him, he relieved the oppression of such as were tenants at will of their lords, which were a very great number, and began after

[c] Gervasius.

this manner. All those who were discovered to have had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, only to enjoy the benefit of life, having all their livelihood taken from them, became vassals unto those lords to whom the possessions were given of all such lands as were forfeited by attainders. And if by their diligent service they could attain any portion of ground, they held it, but only so long as it pleased their lords, without having any estate for themselves or their children; and were oftentimes miserably cast out upon the sudden, contrary to promise, upon any small displeasure. Whereupon it was ordained, that whatsoever they had obtained of their lords by any obsequious service, or agreed for upon any lawful pact, they should hold by an inviolable law during their own lives.

§. 37. And for the clergy, other than in this one act, he maintained all their immunities and privileges, and they grew very much under him. But this (it seems) was the cause that made them so much disfigure his worthiness, and leave his memory in so black colours to posterity as they did, in delineating his tyranny, rigour, and oppression; when the nature and necessary disposition of his affairs do much excuse him therein, and shew that he was a prince of a most active virtue, whose abilities of nature were equal to his undertakings of fortune, as preordained for so great a work. And though he might have some advantage of the time, wherein we often see men prevail more by the imbecilities of others than their own worth; yet let those times be well examined, his strength and eminency (if we take his just measure) were of an exceeding proportion. Neither wanted he those encounters and concurrences of sufficient able princes, his neighbours, to put him to the trial thereof; having on one side the French to grapple withal, on the other the Dane, far mightier in people and shipping than himself, strongly sided in the kingdom, as greedy to recover their former footing here as ever, and as well or better prepared.

§. 38. But this name of *conquest* (which ever imports

violence and misery) is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued seldom gives the conqueror his due, though never so worthy: and especially to a stranger, whom only time must naturalize, and let in by degrees into their liking and good opinion; wherein also this king was greatly advantaged by reason of his twenty years government, which had much impaired the memory of former customs in the younger sort, and well inured the elder to the present usances and form of state: whereby the rule was made more easy to his sons, who though they were far inferior to him in worth, were a little better beloved than he; and the rather, for that they were content somewhat to unwrest the sovereignty from the height whereunto he had strained it; which brought the state to a better proportion of harmony.

§. 39. Of those who were the especial men of employment in his reign, time has shut us out from the knowledge of many; it being in the fortune of kings to have the names and memory of their counsellors (like rivers in the ocean) buried in their glory. Yet these we find principally mentioned in stories. First, William Fitz-Osborne earl of Hereford, the especial mover and counsellor of this voyage of England, reported also to have furnished forty ships at his own charge for the enterprise. Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, sometime his viceroy in England, and seems also to have managed the finances; but of such excessive avarice, that he gathered so much treasure, as he went about to buy the papacy; and attempting to go to Rome about the same, the king stayed him at home in a fair prison; and excused the matter (upon exclamation made) in this sort, that he only imprisoned the earl of Kent, not the bishop of Bayeux. Beside he had Lanfranc, a man of universal learning, and an excellent lawyer, born in Lombardy, who peradventure might introduce something of the constitutions of that province, to the making up our laws, which in many things seem to participate with theirs. And no doubt he had many others else: for being of a strong constitution of judgment, he could not but be strongly fur-

nished in that kind, seeing ever weak princes have weak sides; and our most renowned kings have been best underset with counsel, and happily served with the ablest officers.

§. 40. He had a fair issue by Maud his wife, four sons and five daughters. To Robert his eldest son he left the duchy of Normandy; to William the kingdom of England; and to Henry his treasure, with an annual pension of eight hundred pounds to be paid him by his two brothers. Richard, that was his second son, died in his youth, of a surfeit taken by hunting in the New Forest, and began the fatal misfortune that followed of that place by the death of king William the Second, there slain with an arrow; and of Richard, the son of Robert, duke of Normandy, that broke his neck. His eldest daughter Cicilia became a nun. Constance married to the earl of Brittain; Adela to Stephen earl of Blois, who likewise became a nun in her age: such was their great devotion, and so much were these solitary retirements affected in those times by the greatest ladies. Another was affianced to Alfonsus king of Galicia, who, with the other sister promised to Harold, died before marriage.

§. 41. As to what he was in the circle of himself, in his own continent, we find him of an even or middle stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting, or standing, till his corpulency, gathering upon him in his latter age, made him somewhat unwieldy; of so strong a constitution, that he was never sickly till a few months before his death: his strength such, as few men could draw his bow; and being about fifty-one of his age when he subdued this kingdom, it seems by his continual actions he felt not the weight of years upon him till his last year.

§. 42. His mind was no less excellently composed, and we see it the fairest drawn in his actions; wherein his mercy and clemency (the brightest stars in the sphere of majesty) appeared (next to his great devotion) above all his other virtues, by the often pardoning and receiving into grace those who had forfeited their loyalty and most dangerously rebelled against him; seeming to hold submission sa-

tisfactory for the greatest offence, and that he sought to extinguish men's enterprises, but not themselves. For we find but one great nobleman executed in all his reign, and that was the earl Waltheof, who had twice falsified his faith before: and those whom he had held prisoners in Normandy, as the earls Morcar and Siward, with Wolfnothus, the brother of Harold, and divers others, upon compassion of their endurance, he released a little before his death.

§. 43. Besides, he was as far from suspicion as from cowardice, and of that confidence, (an especial note of his magnanimity,) as he gave Edgar, his competitor in the crown, the liberty of his court; and upon his suit sent him well furnished to the holy war, where he so nobly behaved himself, as he attained to great estimation with the emperors of Greece and Almain; which might have been held dangerous in respect of his alliances that way, being grandchild to Henry the third emperor. But these may be as well virtues of the time as of men, and so the age must have part of this commendation.

ON THE

# SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

*That the seat of government is upheld by the two great pillars thereof, viz. civil justice and martial policy, which are framed out of husbandry, merchandise, and gentry of this kingdom.*

THEY say, that the goodliest cedars which grow on the high mountains of Libanus thrust their roots between the clifts of hard rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As nature hath instructed those kings of trees, so hath reason taught the kings of men to root themselves in the hardy hearts of their faithful subjects. And as those kings of trees have large tops, so have the kings of men large crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborne by many branches, so would the other easily totter, were they not fastened on their heads with the strong chains of civil justice and martial discipline.

1. For the administration of the first even God himself hath given direction; *Judges and officers shalt thou make which shall judge the people with righteous judgments.*

2. The second is grounded on the first laws of the world and nature, that force is to be repelled by force. Yea Moses, in the twentieth of Exodus and elsewhere, hath delivered us many laws and policies of war. But as we have heard of neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruin of many kingdoms and states long before our days; for that policy hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeit hath been sold for the natural, and the outward show and formality for the substance. Of the emperor Charles the

Fourth, the writers of that age witness that he used but the name of justice and good order, being more learned in the law than in doing right, and that he had by far more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust magistrate that fancieth to himself a solid and untransparable body of gold, every ordinary wit can vitrify and make transparent pieces, and discern their corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their knowledge: but in the meanwhile it is also true, that constrained dissimulation, either in the proud heart or in the oppressed, either in public estates or in private persons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leisure of her lurking but sharpen her teeth, the voluntary being no less base than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the barons of England and their kings, between the lords of Switzerland and their people, between the Sicilians and the French, between the dolphin and John of Burgoign, between Charles the Ninth and the French protestants, and between Henry the Third, his successor, and the lords of Guise. Hereof, in place of more particulars, the whole world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of geography to delineate and lay out the bounds of authority, but it is easy enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained itself in lasting happiness; it hath ever acquired more honour by persuading than by beating; for as the bonds of reason and love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords both rust and rot noble parts of their own royal and politic bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to stretch this first string of civil justice; for in respect of the first sort of men, viz. of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels; *meum et tuum*, mine and thine, is all wherein they seek their certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the fruit trees of the land, which God in Deuteronomy commanded to be spared; they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the best of their grain to the easeful and idle.

For the second sort, which are the merchants, as those first feed the kingdom, so do the sea enrich it; yea, their trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least part of our martial policy, as is hereafter proved; and, to do them right, they have in all ages and times assisted the kings of this land, not only with great sums of money, but with great fleets of ships in all their enterprises beyond the seas. The second have seldom or never offended their princes; to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions has ever contented them for the injuries received from other nations; give them but the commission of reprisal, they will either right themselves, or sit down with their own loss without complaint.

3. The third sort, which are the gentry of England; these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest mountains, and thereby in danger to be torn with tempests, but the valleys between both, have their parts in the inferior justice, and spread over all, are the garrisons of good order throughout the realm.

# OBSERVATIONS

CONCERNING

## THE CAUSES OF THE MAGNIFICENCY AND OPULENCY OF CITIES.

THAT the only way to civilize and reform the savage and barbarous lives and corrupt manners of such people is,

1. To be dealt withal by gentle and loving conversation among them; to attain to the knowledge of their language, and of the multitude of their special discommodities and inconveniencies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true foundation of piety, justice, and wisdom, conjoined with fortitude and power.

3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus Orpheus and Amphion were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves and their posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be persuaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: and thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian faith, and governed under the

magistrates and ministers of the king, or other superior power, under whom this reformation is sought. Which course the Stoic tells that Theseus took after he had taken upon him the government of the Athenians, whereby he united all the people into one city, that before lived dispersedly in many villages. The like is put in practice at this day by the Portugals and Jesuits, that they may with less difficulty and hinderance reform the rough behaviour and savage life of the people of Brazil, who dwell scattered and dispersed in caves and cottages made of boughs and leaves of the palm trees.

Alexander the Great built more than seventy cities: Seleucus built three cities, called Apamea, to the honour of his wife; and five, called Laodicea, in memory of his mother; and five, called Seleucia, to the honour of himself.

*Safety for defence of the people and their goods in and near the town.*

IN the situation of cities there is to be required a place of safety, by some natural strength, commodiousness for navigation, and conduct for the attaining of plenty of all good things for the sustenance and comfort of man's life, and to draw trade and intercourse of other nations; as if the same be situate in such sort, as many people have need to repair thither for some natural commodity or other of the country, which by traffick and transportation of commodities, whereof they have more plenty than will supply their own necessity, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcity. And much better will it be if the place afford some notable commodity of itself, from whence other nations may more readily, and at better rate, attain the same: likewise and withal be so fertile, pleasant, and healthful of itself, that it may afford plenty of good things for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

In former times great nations, kings, and potentates, have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high policy by all means to increase their cities with multitudes of inhabitants. And

to this end the Romans ever furnished themselves with strength and power to make their neighbour people, of necessity, willing to draw themselves to Rome to dwell, and overthrow their towns and villages of mean strength down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many cities, bringing always the vanquished captives to Rome, for the augmentation of that city.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the Sabines, condescended to peace, upon condition that Tatius their king should come with all their people to dwell at Rome: Tatius did accept, and made choice of the Capitol, and the mount Quirinalis for his seat and palace.

The same course held Tamerlane the Great, whereby he enlarged the great Samarcanda, still bringing unto it the richest and wealthiest citizens he had subdued.

And the Ottomans, to make the city Constantinople rich and great, brought to it many thousand families, especially artificers, out of the subdued cities, as Mahomet the Great from Trebizond, Selim the First from Cairo, and Solyman from Tauris.

Authority and necessity, without the consideration of the conveniencies and commodiousness of situation above mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a city; thereby only it would be unlikely either to grow or continue in magnificency or opulency; for if profit, height, and delight go not companions therewith, no authority or necessity can retain much people or wealth.

But if the place whereupon a city is to be founded be commodious for the aforesaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicity of this life, then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of arts and industry, in time become magnificent and glorious.

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glory of a city, those things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance; viz.

Religion, which is of such force and might to amplify

cities and dominions, and of such attractive virtue to replenish the same with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of some deity no commonwealth can subsist.

Witness Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, and all other cities that have been famous for the profession of religion or divine worship. And no marvel; for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of men than God, which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired and continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the heavens to revolution, the herbs to flowers, trees to bear fruit, beasts to preserve their kind, and man in seeking his tranquillity and everlasting glory. But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature as the sense and understanding of man cannot conceive it, every man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance; and to such persons to whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Academies and schools of learning with convenient immunities and privileges for scholars, and means for recreation and delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a city: forasmuch as men long for honour and profit; and of arts and liberal sciences, some bring certain wealth to men, and some promotions and preferments to honourable functions; for by this means not only young men, and those that are desirous of learning and virtue in the same commonwealth, will be retained in their own country, but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available, if occasion be given to scholars and students to rise to degrees of honour and preferment by their learned exercises, and that by the policy of the same city good wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the same academies and schools be stored with plenty of doctors and learned men of great fame and reputation.

Courts of justice, with due execution of the same in a city, do much enable and enlarge and enrich it; for it fasteneth a great liking in a city to virtuous men, and such as be wealthy, that therein they may be free and in safety from the violence of the oppressions of covetous and wicked men; and there will be rather resort thither to inhabit, or traffick there, as occasions may minister unto them. And many others that have cause of suit will repair thither, where they may be sure to find judgment and justice duly executed, whereby the city must needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have, are in the hands of justice, so that if justice be not administered amongst men, in vain is there any society and commerce, nor any other thing can be profitable or safe; so much is love and charity failed, and iniquity increased upon the face of the earth.

The excellency and multitude likewise of artificers exercising their manual arts and trades, do marvellously increase and enrich a state, whereof some are necessary, some commodious for a civil life, other some are of pomp and ornament, and other some of delicacy and curiosity, whereof doth follow concourse of people that labour and work, and current money which doth enrich and supply materials for labourers and workmen, buying and selling, transportation from place to place, which doth employ and increase the artificious and cunning parts of the wit of man; and this art and exquisiteness of workmanship and skill is so powerful herein, that it far excels the simple commodities and materials that nature produceth, and is alone sufficient of itself to make a city or state both magnificent and glorious: and the daily experience we have in these our days, and in former times, doth manifestly approve the same, and make evident without all contradiction.

Some natural benefits that a city also may have for the excellency of art, or workmanship of some special commodities above any other place, either through the quality of the water, or other matter whatsoever, or some hidden mystery of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a city.

The command of a country that affordeth some proper commodity is of itself sufficient mightily to bring a city to great wealth, and to advance it to great power, and draweth thereby dependency and concourse, much advantageous also, as well for the public weal as the private person.

A city also may be lord of much merchandise and traffick, by means of the commodious situation to many nations, to whom it serveth and hath relation, as warehouses, roomth, and storehouses, by reason whereof the nations adjoining do use to resort thereunto to make their provisions of such things. And this consisteth in the largeness of the ports, the fitness of the gulphs and creeks of the seas, in the navigable rivers and channels, and the plain and safe ways that lead to the city, or that come or turn by and near it.

Privilege and freedom from customs and exactions doth greatly increase the trade, and draw inhabitants to a city, whereby the same may become both rich and powerful; whereof the marts and fairs and markets bear good witness, which are frequented with great concourse of people, tradesmen, and merchants, for no other respect, but that they are there free and frank from customs and exactions. And the cities in Flanders are lively testimonies hereof, where the customs are very small.

By reason whereof all such as have erected new cities in times past, to draw concourse of people unto it, have granted large immunities and privileges, at the least to the first inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have restored cities emptied with plague, consumed with wars, or afflicted with famine, or some other scourge of God. In respect whereof freedom of cities hath been often granted to such as would with their families inhabit there, or would bring corn and other necessaries for provision of victual.

The Romans, to increase their cities, made the towns that well deserved of them (which they after called *municipia*) to be partakers of their franchises and privileges.

The first means the Romans used to allure people to make their habitations rather in Rome than elsewhere, was

the opening the sanctuary, and giving liberty and freedom to all that would come unto them. In respect whereof there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exactions, thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their lives in their own countries for religion sake.

The very same reason in a manner hath increased so much the city of Geneva: forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of France and Italy, that have either forsaken or been exiled their countries for religion sake.

Likewise triumphs, goodly buildings, battles on the water, sights of sword-players, hunting of wild beasts, public shows and sights, plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many other such things, draw the curious people to a city inspeakably; which leave behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit there than in other places. This was also the device of Rome in her infancy to enlarge herself.

*The causes that concern the magnificency of a city.*

TO confirm a city in her greatness, justice, peace, and plenty are the undoubted means: for justice assureth every man his own; peace causeth all arts and negotiations whatsoever to flourish; and plenty of food and victual, that sustaineth the life of man, with ease and much contentment. To conclude, all those things that cause the greatness of a city are also fit to conserve the same.

# THE SCEPTIC

*The sceptic doth neither affirm, neither deny any position; but doubteth of it, and opposeth his reasons against that which is affirmed or denied, to justify his not consenting.*

HIS first reason ariseth from the consideration of the great difference amongst living creatures, both in the matter and manner of their generations, and the several constitutions of their bodies.

Some living creatures are by copulation, and some without it: and that either by fire, as crickets in furnaces; or corrupt water, as gnats; or slime, as frogs; or dirt, as worms; or herbs, as cankerworms; some of ashes, as beetles; some of trees, as the worm psenas, bred in the wild fig-tree; some of living creatures putrified, as bees of bulls, and wasps of horses. By copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as man; some in the egg, as birds; some in an unshapen piece of flesh, as bears. These great differences cannot but cause a diverse and contrary temperament and quality in those creatures, and consequently a great diversity in their fancy and conceit; so that though they apprehend one and the same object, yet they must do it after a diverse manner; for is it not absurd to affirm, that creatures differ so much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the same object?

But this will more plainly appear, if the instruments of sense in the body be observed: for we shall find, that as these instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which seemeth unto us white, unto them which have the jaundice seemeth pale, and red unto those whose eyes are bloodshot. Forasmuch then as living crea-

tures have some white, some pale, some red eyes, why should not one and the same object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale? If a man rub his eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those creatures which have a long and slanting pupil of the eye, as goats, foxes, cats, &c. do convey the fashion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination than those that have round pupils do?

Who knoweth not that a glass presenteth the outward object smoother or greater according to the making of the glass? If it be hollow, the object seemeth smaller than it is; if the glass be crooked, then the object seemeth long and narrow. And glasses there be which present the head of him that looketh in them downwards, and the heels upwards. Now then seeing the eye, which is the instrument of sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some less; it is very probable that fishes, men, lions, and dogs, whose eyes so much differ, do not conceive the selfsame object after the same manner, but diversely, according to the diversity of the eye which offereth it unto the fancy.

The same reason holdeth in touching; for seemeth it not absurd to think, that those creatures which are covered with shells, those which are covered with scales, and those which are covered with hairs, and those which are smooth, should all be alike sensible in touching; and every one of them convey the image or quality of the same object which they touch in the very same degree of heat or cold, of dryness or moisture, roughness or smoothness, unto the imagination?

So might it be shewed in hearing: for how can we think that the ear which hath a narrow passage and the ear which hath an open and wide passage do receive the same sound in the same degree? or that the ear whose inside is full of hair doth hear in the same just measure that the ear doth whose inside is smooth? since experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same manner and degree that it doth if our ears be open.

The like may be thought of smelling; for man himself, abounding with phlegm, is otherwise affected in smelling than he is if the parts about the head be full of blood; and many things afford a delightful smell to some living creatures, which smell to other living creatures seemeth not to be so.

In the taste the same reason appeareth; for to a rough and dry tongue that very thing seemeth bitter (as in an ague) which to the moister tongue seemeth not to be so. Diverse creatures then having tongues drier, or moister, according to their several temperatures, when they taste the same thing, must needs conceit it to be, according as the instrument of their taste is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c. For even as the hand in the striking of the harp, though the stroke be one, yet causeth a sound sometimes high, sometimes base, according to the quality of the string that is strucken; even so one and the same outward object is diversely judged of and conceited, according to the several and diverse qualities of the instrument of sense which conveyeth it to the imagination. Ointment is pleasing to man, but beetles and bees cannot abide it. Oil to man is profitable, but it killeth bees and wasps. Cicuta feedeth quails, and henbane sows; but both of these hurt man. If a man eat ants he is sick; but the bear, being sick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to the red eye seem red, to another pale, and white to another; if one and the same thing seem not hot or cold, dry or moist, in the same degree, to the several creatures which touch it; if one and the selfsame sound seem more shrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more base to him that hath an open ear; if the same thing, at the same time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasant smell to diverse and several creatures; if that seem bitter in taste to one, which to another seemeth sweet; that to one hurtful, which to another seemeth healthful; I may report how these things appear diverse to several creatures, and seem to produce diverse effects.

But what they are in their own nature, whether red or

white, bitter or sweet, healthful or hurtful, I cannot tell. For why should I presume to prefer my conceit and imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus or thus in its own nature, because it seemeth to me to be so, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwise in its own nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them than it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I: why then should I condemn their conceit and phantasy concerning any thing, more than they may mine? they may be in the truth and I in error, as well as I in truth and they err. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs: and this proof must be either by demonstration or without it. Without it none will believe: certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to allege that for a certain proof which is uncertain and questionable seemeth absurd.

If it be said, that the imagination of man judgeth truer of the outward object than the imagination of other living creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said,) this is easily refuted by comparing of man with other creatures.

It is confessed the dog excelleth man in smell and in hearing: and whereas there is said to be a twofold discourse, one of the mind, another of the tongue; and that of the mind is said to be exercised in choosing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtful in knowledge, justice, and thankfulness: this creature chooseth his food, refuseth the whip, fawneth on his master, defendeth his house, revengeth himself of those strangers that hurt him. And Homer mentioneth Argus, the dog of Ulysses, who knew his master, having been from home so many years that at his return all the people of his house had forgot him. This creature, saith Chrysippus, is not void of logic: for

when in following any beast he cometh to three several ways, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second; and, if he find that the beast which he pursueth be not fled one of these two ways, he presently, without smelling any further to it, taketh the third way; which, saith the same philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus: the beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other way; but neither this, nor this; *ergo*, the third: and so away he runneth.

If we consider his skill in physic, it is sufficient to help himself; if he be wounded with a dart, he useth the help of his teeth to take it out, of his tongue to cleanse the wound from corruption: he seemeth to be well acquainted with the precept of Hippocrates, who saith, "that the rest of the "foot is the physic of the foot;" and therefore if his foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest; if he be sick, he giveth himself a vomit by eating of grass, and recovereth himself. The dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward discourse.

Now outward speech is not needful to make a creature reasonable, else a dumb man were an unreasonable creature.

And do not philosophers themselves reject this as an enemy to knowledge? and therefore they are silent when they are instructed. And yet even as barbarous and strange people have speech, but we understand it not, neither do we perceive any great difference in their words; but a difference there seemeth to be, and they do express their thoughts and meanings one to another by those words: even so those creatures, which are commonly called unreasonable, do seem to parley one with another, and by their speech do understand one the other. Do not birds by one kind of speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves? do they not by their several voices express their several passions of joy, of grief, of fear, in such manner that their fellows understand them? do they not by their voice foreshew things to come? But we will return to that creature we first did instance in. The dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another

when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. These creatures then are not void of outward speech.

If then these creatures excel man in sense, and are equal to him in inward and outward discourse, why should not their conceits and imaginations convey the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if so, then seeing their imaginations are diverse, and they conceit it diversely, according to their diverse temperaments, I may tell what the outward object seemeth to me; but what it seemeth to other creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it seemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted that the judgment of man in this case is to be preferred before the judgment of beasts; yet in men there is great difference, both in respect of the outward shape, and also of the temperature of their bodies; for the body of the Scythian differeth in shape from the body of the Indian; the reason of it ariseth (say the dogmatists) from a predominancy of humours in the one more than in the other; and as several humours are predominant, so are the phantasies and conceits severally framed and affected: so that our countrymen delight in one thing, the Indian not in that, but in another, which we regard not. This would not be, if their conceits and ours were both alike; for then we should like that which they do, and they would dislike that which we would dislike. It is evident also that men differ very much in the temperature of their bodies, else why should some more easily digest beef than shell-fish? and others be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about Arbeus, which drank three drams of cicuta (every dram weighing sixty barleycorns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. Lysis, without hurt, took four drams of poppy; and Demothon, which was gentleman-sewer to Alexander, was very cold when he stood in the sun, or in a hot bath, but very hot when he stood in the shade. Athenagoras felt no pain if a scorpion stung him. And the Psilli, (a people in Libya, whose bodies are venom

to serpents,) if they be stung by serpents or asps, receive no hurt at all.

The Ethiopians, which inhabit the river Hydaspis, do eat serpents and scorpions without danger. Lothericus, a surgeon, at the smell of a sturgeon would be for the time mad. Andron of Argos was so little thirsty, that without want of drink he travelled through the hot and dry country of Libya. Tiberius Cæsar would see very well in the dark. Aristotle mentioneth of Thratius, who said, that the image of a man went always before him.

If then it be so, that there be such differences in men, this must be by reason of the diverse temperatures they have, and diverse dispositions of their conceit and imagination; for if one hate and another love the very same thing, it must be that their phantasies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These men then may tell how these things seem to them good or bad; but what they are in their own nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to men's opinions concerning one and the same matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we shall find this to be impossible; for either we must believe what all men say of it, or what some men only say of it. To believe what all men say of one and the same thing is not possible; for then we shall believe contrarieties; for some men say that that very thing is pleasant, which others say is displeasant. If it be said we must believe only some men, then let it be shewed who those men are; for the Platonists will believe Plato, but the Epicures Epicurus, the Pythagoreans Pythagoras, and other philosophers the masters of their own sects; so that it is doubtful to which of all these we shall give credit. If it be said we must credit the greatest number, this seemeth childish; for there may be amongst other nations a greater number which deny that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm; so that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, touch-

ing, and tasting be considered; for that the senses differ it seemeth plain.

Painted tables (in which the art of slanting is used) appear to the eye as if the parts of them were some higher and some lower than the other, but to the touch they seem not to.

Honey seemeth to the tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the eye; so ointment doth recreate the smell, but it offendeth the taste. Rain-water is profitable to the eyes, but it hurteth the lungs. We may tell then how these things seem to our several senses, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell; for why should not a man credit any one of his senses as well as the other?

Every object seemeth to be presented diversely unto the several instruments of sense. An apple to the touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the smell, and to the eye yellow; but whether the apple have one of these qualities only, or more than these qualities, who can tell? The organ hath many pipes, all which are filled with the same blast of wind, varied according to the capacity of the several pipes which receive it; even so the quality of the apple may be but one, and this one quality may be varied, and seem yellow to the eye, to the touch smooth, and sweet to the smell, by reason of the diverse instruments of the sense, which apprehend this one quality diversely.

It may be also that an apple hath many qualities besides; but we are not able to conceive them all, because we want fit means and instruments to apprehend them. For suppose that some man is born blind and deaf, and yet can touch, smell, and taste: this man will not think that there is any thing which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the senses of hearing and seeing; he will only think there are those qualities in the object, which by reason of his three senses he conceiveth; even so the apple may have many more qualities; but we cannot come to know them, because we want fit instruments for that purpose.

If it be replied, that nature hath ordained as many in-

struments of sense, as there are sensible objects, I demand, what nature? for there is a confused controversy about the very essence of nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing: so that what the quality of an apple is, or whether it hath one quality or many, I know not.

Let a man also consider how many things that are separated, and by themselves, appear to differ from that which they seem to be, when they are in a mass or lump; the scrapings of the goat's horn seem white, but in the horn they seem black. The stone *tænarus* being polished seemeth white, but unpolished and rough it seemeth yellow. Sands being separated appear rough to the touch, but in a great heap soft. I may then report how these things appear; but whether they are so indeed, I know not.

# SIR WALTER RALEGH'S

# INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON

## AND TO POSTERITY.

### CHAP. I.

*Virtuous persons to be made choice of for friends.*

THERE is nothing more becoming any wise man than to make choice of friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them therefore be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain; but make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy; for if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care that thou never trust any friend or servant with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thyself a bondslave to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself always to his mercy. And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such therefore as are thy inferiors will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will always be had: and if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess; but if thou be

subject to any great vanity or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee,) then therein trust no man; for every man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things; for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is mere madness: and great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life; when thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like: let thy love therefore be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate, before all others; for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day hateth to-morrow: but let reason be thy schoolmistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

## CHAP. II.

*Great care to be had in the choosing of a wife.*

THE next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife, and the only danger therein is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee as of other things, which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his phantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honour, credit, and safety in respect thereof: but remember, that though these

affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withal in a mistress than in a wife; for when thy humour shall change, thou art yet free to choose again, (if thou give thyself that vain liberty.) Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained, and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry-nurse, and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and, therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love; yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches: have care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair wife and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want; for she is the companion of plenty and honour: for I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon: *Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity:* she saith further; *That a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.*

Have therefore ever more care that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her: and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations; first, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in conversation, without thy instruction;

for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: let her have equal part of thy estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy; for he that shall marry thy wife will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travel: yet always remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest upon earth, whilst it lasteth. To conclude; wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them and diminish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred. Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be towards thirty; for as the younger times are unfit either to choose or to govern a wife and family; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost; and better were it to be unborn than ill-bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend thy prime and summer of thy life with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish

thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself; for there never was any such affection which ended not in hatred or disdain: remember the saying of Solomon, *There is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death;* for, howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times; yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, and dost mingle thy vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow therefore thy youth so, that thou mayest have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof: whilst thou art young, thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again; use it therefore as the spring-time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

## CHAP. III.

*Wisest men have been abused by flatterers.*

TAKE care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies as thou shalt never, by their will, discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a vainglorious fool, neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal warn thee of thy faults: for flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever base, creep-

ing, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling; it is said by Isaiah in this manner; *My people, they that praise thee, seduce thee, and disorder the paths of thy feet:* and David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious and full of protestations; for a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an ape, who, because she cannot defend the house like a dog, labour as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks, and provoke laughter: thou mayest be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Private quarrels to be avoided.*

BE careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables among choleric or quarrelsome persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with ruffians; for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle, wherein thou mayest get honour to thyself and safety to thy prince and country; but, if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour; for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil: for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest than to do wrong, so truth itself cutteth his throat that carrieth her

publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying; *He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love; and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true, (if thou be not constrained,) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to treason itself) than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee for any respect lose thy reputation, or endure public disgrace; for better it were not to live, than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms than to hazard thyself; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law; if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee for their own; but if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon saith, *The mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh he uttereth.* And by thy words and discourses men will judge thee: for as Socrates saith, "Such as thy "words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such "will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy "deeds." Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest, whether touching religion, state, or vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish: he that cannot refrain from much speaking is like a city without walls, and less pains

in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err: restrain thy choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good and greatest evil that is done in the world.

According to Solomon, *Life and death are in the power of the tongue:* and as Euripides truly affirmeth, "Every "unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate;" for, in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more men's fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude; all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction arise from unadvised speech, and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy if thou thyself observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to talebearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busy themselves with other men's estates, that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for assure thyself, such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected amongst worthy or wise men.

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man, he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in St. John saith, that it is a vice proper to Satan; lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs, that *God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies shall perish.* Thus thou mayest see and find in all the books of God how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world,

believe it, that it never did any man good; (except in the extremity of saving life;) for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

## CHAP. V.

*Three rules to be observed for the preservation of a man's estate.*

AMONGST all other things of the world take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things; first, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is, the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and, above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men: if any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee further, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself than offereth it: if thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool: if for a merchant, thou putteth thy estate to learn to swim: if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance: if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion, by a syllable or word, to abuse thee: if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself: if for a rich man, it need not: therefore from suretyship, as from a manslayer or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised: besides,

poverty is ofttimes sent as a curse of God; it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thyself nor others; thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to shew them; thou shalt be a burden and an eyesore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company; thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts; and, to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds: let not vanity therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor, and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs, *That he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretyship is sure;* it is further said, *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour; but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost; be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

## CHAP. VI.

*What sort of servants are fittest to be entertained.*

LET thy servants be such as thou mayest command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare: if thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it: I myself have therefore lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and besides, it is the way to make thy servants thieves, which else would be honest.

## CHAP. VII.

*Brave rags wear soonest out of fashion.*

EXCEED not in the humour of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay garments but by fools and women.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Riches not to be sought by evil means.*

ON the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means; destroy no man for his wealth, nor take any thing from the poor, for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy men, to wrest any thing from the needy and labouring soul. God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein: but use thy poor neighbours and tenants well; pine not them and their children, to add superfluity and needless expenses to thyself. He that hath pity on another man's sorrow shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this precept, *He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor which are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labour to live; such as are old and cannot travel; such poor widows and fatherless children as are ordered to be relieved; and the poor tenants that travel to pay their rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expenses: on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

## CHAP. IX.

*What inconveniencies happen to such as delight in wine.*

TAKE especial care that thou delight not in wine; for

there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men; hated in thy servants, in thyself, and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice: and remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a man the more he will delight in it; and the older he groweth the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut.

Take heed therefore that such a cureless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and, after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their father. Anacharsis saith, "the first draught serveth "for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, "the fourth for madness;" but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted; for it putteth fire to fire, and wasteth the natural heat and seed of generation. And therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art: *Who have misfortune*, saith Solomon, *who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups.* Pliny saith, "Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery, the "night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the "morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things."

Whosoever loveth wine shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not only a beast but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say, what offence they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain; and yet, by drunkenness and gluttony (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith Hesiod, "a swift, hasty, "untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age." And St. Augustine describeth drunkenness in this manner; *Ebrietas est blandus dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse est peccatum:* "Drunkenness is a flattering "devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin; which whosoever "hath, hath not himself; which whosoever doth commit "doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin."

Innocentius saith, *Quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? Nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum? Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?* "What is filthier "than a drunken man, to whom there is stink in the mouth, "trembling in the body; which uttereth foolish things, and "revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face "transformed? There is no secresy where drunkenness "rules; nay, what other mischief doth it not design? Whom "have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?"

When Diogenes saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, "I thought at the last," quoth Diogenes, "he would spue out a whole house;" *Sciebam, inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

## CHAP. X.

*Let God be thy protector and director in all thy actions.*

NOW for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine

own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God; let him be the Author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them; please him with prayer, lest, if he frown, he confound all thy fortunes and labours like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice and fatherly instructions sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his grace.

A

# TREATISE OF THE SOUL,

BY

## SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNT.

[From a MS. in Ashmole's Museum, No. 8161. Vol. 1149.]

THERE are two kinds of souls, one void of reason, another endued with reason; and of those without reason there are two sorts, one which feedeth and nourisheth the body, the other which giveth sense and feeling. There are therefore, in the whole, three kinds of souls, for there are three several operations of life; one by bodily instruments and bodily qualities, which is the work of the feeding soul, and is found in trees and herbs alone; the second is exercised by bodily instruments without bodily qualities, from an inward beginning, which is the feeling soul, and is found in beasts, and fowls, and fishes, together with the former: the last kind is exercised by an inward beginning, without either bodily instruments or bodily qualities, which is the soul endued with reason. These three are so affected, that the first doth alway accompany the second, and both attend upon the third.

These three are of diverse kinds and natures, and especially the two first do greatly differ from the third; for seeing there are diverse forms of things which are so diverse; and seeing their operations do so far differ, as to digest, and to touch, and to understand, do differ; and seeing their bodies also, wherein they are severally, have such variety of shapes, as we see there is between the shapes of trees, and beasts, and men; how can it be, but they must be of diverse kinds and natures? What difference doth the scripture

make between them? Job saith, *He hath taught us rather than the beasts, and hath made us wise rather than the fowls of heaven* [a]? And what reason were it that beasts should be subject, and we should rule by nature, if our souls were of like nature and substance as theirs? Our souls are immortal, and have an heavenly beginning; whereas theirs are mortal, and do perish with the body, as of the body they have their beginning. Their beginning is of the seed, for the earth and water is commanded to bring forth the whole [b]; and their soul seemeth to be as it were drowned in the blood; seeing the law saith, *The blood of all flesh is the soul thereof* [c]. And whence do we think those things have their souls which come of rottenness and putrefaction? is it not of the elements? even so they, which come of seed alone, have their souls by the seed. The soul also which is made only for that which is compounded, and hath his being only in it, must needs have his beginning with it.

Lastly, seeing they have an earthly beginning, they do only mind things present, things earthly, and such as are before their eyes; whereas man mindeth things absent as well as present; things hidden, and secret, and heavenly; not such as are earthly only. These things do prove that the souls of men and beasts be of diverse natures, have not a substance, are not to be comprehended under one kind.

2. The soul endued with reason, to which the soul of beasts in substance, in quality, in beginning, is far inferior, is found in all mankind. As every one of us hath his body by the workmanship of God [c], so every one hath his own soul: for God is not so poor and niggardly, that he should not give every body his own proper soul and his own character. When the number of souls is filled which God hath appointed, then they which are ordained to life shall rise, every one having his own soul and body; which souls have such notes and marks, that they may be known of God, and shall be distinguished of us in heaven; for if the soul of Judas were not distinguished from the soul of Peter, and

[a] Job xxxv. 11. [b] Gen. i. 24. [c] Levit. xvii. 14. [d] Irenæus, lib. 2, 26.

the soul of Dives from the soul of Lazarus, how could rewards and punishments be distributed to them aright? All men thus have their several souls, and women likewise; yet some men (which is a shame to utter) have called the souls of women into question; but by what show of argument? because God framed the woman rib, and is not said to breathe a soul into her[e]; as though that were not to be understood of the woman which was spoken of the man. When Christ said, *Woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee as thou wilt*[f]; when he brought back the soul into the body of Jairus's daughter[g]; when the scripture saith, that the soul of Rachel went out of her[h]; when the Virgin Mary singeth, *My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour*[i]; it sheweth that which none but such as are mad can doubt of, "that women, in such manner as men, have souls endued with reason, strengthened with faith, filled with the Holy Ghost, and sanctified with eternal life[k]." Although the souls have no sex, yet when women are spoken unto, it is not necessary their souls should be excepted; for then Peter would not forbid them to *deck themselves with frizzled hair, and gold and silver; but with honest conversation which becometh women that profess godliness*[l]. "Surely," saith Augustine, "godliness is within the soul in the spirit;" yet women are commanded to *deck themselves within, where no sex is*[m]. Peter indeed commanded, *that we should give honour to the woman as to the weaker vessel*[n]: "Yet we must not by and by think," saith Hierom, "because she hath the weaker body, therefore she hath the weaker soul[o]." Yet Cyril affirmeth, "That the souls of women are very womanish; hard, and slow to understand hard things[p]." But, by his leave, some women, even in this, have been able to match the greatest men. But what need we spend words about this, whereof no man doubteth, that women have souls eternal, endowed with reason, wise, sober,

[e] Gen. ii. 22. [f] Matt. xv. 28. [g] Luke viii. 54. [h] Gen. xxxv. 18. [i] Luke i. 46. [k] Aug. de Orig. Anim. lib. 1. 18. [l] 1 Pet. iii. 3. [m] Ib. ver. 4. [n] Ib. ver. 7. [o] Hier. in Tit. l. ii. [p] Cyril in Johan. ii. 47.

temperate, and holy, redeemed by Christ, sanctified by his Spirit, and chosen by the Father to the everlasting kingdom of heaven.

3. The substance of the soul is hardly known; Lactantius[n] denieth that men can attain to the knowledge of the nature of the soul; and Galen confesseth[o], that he cannot tell what or where the substance of the soul is. And Athanasius saith, "that, while we live, there are three things whereof "we cannot attain the knowledge; the substance of God, "of angels, and of our souls." By the objects, we may come to the operation; and by the operation, to the faculties; and by the faculties, to the substance; but yet imperfectly and somewhat afar off.

The Manichees thought that men had each two souls, both of the substance, one of the good God, and another of the evil God; for they make two Gods. The first soul was given when it was said, *God made man of the dust of the earth:* and he could not be man without a soul. The second, *when he breathed into his face.* But there are reckoned only two parts of man, the body and the soul; the whole man stands of these. The Priscillianists have thought with Plato, "that our souls are substance of the "divine nature, and that, coming down from the heavens, "they borrow certain qualities of the stars by which they "pass." They cannot be of the substance of God; for first God is simple, admitting no kind of composition, not of parts, nor of matter, and for men[p], nor any ways else; and therefore he cannot be divided. He is an essence without any addition; although he be said to be wise and just and merciful, yet his justice and wisdom and mercy is himself.

Our souls are just and wise and patient; but yet because they may be without these things, therefore they are not these things, and are compounded: simple indeed they are in respect of the elements and of the bodies that are made of them; but in respect of God they are compounded, and therefore can-

[n] De Opif. Dei. [o] De Defin. [p] Sic MS.

not be of the substance of God. Again, how can our bodies be of the same substance that God is of, altogether unchangeable, and our minds are subject to alteration? He saith of himself, *I am the Lord, and am not changed;* and James saith of him, that *with him there is no change nor shadow of alteration* [p]. Nay, if we had God's substance, we should be God; for the substance of God is God; and he that hath part hath the whole: but if any be so mad as to think his soul God; or who doth not perceive himself to be changed either from better to worse, or from worse to better? "We must believe that the soul is a thing which "God made," as Augustine saith; "but not of the same "that he himself is [q]." The breath therefore that God breathed maketh the soul, but it is not of God's substance, "for the soul is wise and foolish, faithful and unfaithful; "and these things cannot agree to God [r]." To conclude; our souls are subject to sin, which is far from his nature: "God is the only judge," saith Clemens, "because he can-"not sin, and because sin is not incident to his nature; any "thing that sinneth is not of his nature [s]." But they say the soul is his image, therefore of his substance. There is a double image of God; one of the same substance, which is Christ, and no other creature; the soul of man is the other, which is the image of God, not in substance the same, but like in quality.

Philosophers, and those that followed them, debased the soul too much; some take the substance of it to be water, some air, some fire, some a complexion, or that which riseth of a complexion of the body; some an harmony, or idea; a number that moves itself; some a light or spark; or some part borrowed of the stars or heavens; and a wind, or breath, or such like, they have imagined it; and Tertullian called it a body; but we determine and desire, without all doubt, that it is no quality nor accident, nor any thing that riseth either of these inferior or of the celestial bodies; for the reasonable souls, being thus separated from

[p] James i. 17. [q] Aug. de Gen. ad Lit. [r] Athan. de Defin.
[s] Clemens, Præd. lib. 1.

the bodies, do know one another, do rest, are tormented; do wait with patience their full glory, as appeareth by the rich man and Lazarus [t], and the souls in the Apocalypse [u]. But these things they could not do if they were of the earth, or any body inferior or superior. And the beginning of our soul doth shew that it hath another kind of substance than any of these things. The earth was commanded to bring forth beasts, and the water fishes, and all that is in them; but whence is man's soul? of the breath of God, yet his breath is not the air as our breath is; but as he is far above the elements, so is his breath too; or if he did breathe the air, his soul is not the breath, but by the breath; it is none of these therefore, nor compounded or arising of them all, for then it might be dissolved.

Augustine [x] confesseth he cannot name the substance of the soul; for it is none of these usual and known things which we touch with bodily senses; it is not of earth, nor water, nor air, nor fire, nor any of these. "The soul of "man," saith Cassiodorus, "is spiritual, and a peculiar "kind of substance; for as heaven is a fifth essence, di-"verse from the nature of the elements; so the essence of "the soul is diverse from the elements and heavens too." If a body be that which hath length, breadth, and thickness; the soul is neither body, nor proceedeth from a body. And, to be short, the matter of the soul can be no bodily thing in the opinion of St. Augustine; "For as God excel-"leth every creature, so the soul far exceedeth all bodily "creatures [y];" we must not think it hath any such beginning; for then by nature it would be subject unto death and corruption. If it were made of any of these it could not work without these, yet being in the body it understandeth without the instrument of the body. They say, if it be not a body, how can it be in a place, for every thing that is included in place is a body; God is in a place, so as he filleth all places, and is enclosed of none; a body, so as the place encloseth it, and is without it; the souls and

[t] Luke xvi. 22. [u] Apoc. vi. 9. v. 9. [x] Aug. de Quant. Anim. cap. 1.
[y] Aug. de Gen. ad Lit. lib. vii. c. 21.

angels in such sort as that we may point where they are, and where they are not; but not how big or how small, of what length, or breadth, or thickness they be. Again; they say God *calleth it flesh, and therefore is fleshly, and of the flesh.* My spirit shall not strive with men always, for they are flesh[a]. If the whole man be flesh, then the soul. It is flesh, not for the substance, but for the affections; for as a body may be spiritual by spiritual qualities, so a soul may become fleshly by the properties of the flesh[b].

All these reasons shew that it is not of these things, but hath a peculiar and spiritual being, proper to itself. Gregory Nyssen discribeth it to be an essence made, having life by itself, full of understanding; and by bodily instruments giving power to apprehend those things which are perceived by our senses. And Augustine saith, "that the soul hath "a substance and a life peculiar to itself, and what shall we "call this substance[c]?" The reasonable soul in scripture is called a spirit, having a being by itself, by which it differeth from beasts, and by law of nature ruleth over them. *Into thy hands I commend my spirit*[d]; and, He preached to the spirits which were in prison[e]; and, No man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit which is in man[f]. But why is it called a spirit? Either for the spiritual nature, or for that we breathe by it. And how doth the soul and spirit differ? Being understood of substance, they are both one. "But "it is called a soul, as it giveth life to the body; a spirit, as "it will live and be alone without the body[g]." "But the "air is called a spirit; yet the difference is great, for that is "dead: the soul is a spirit of life[h]." The soul, and this spirit which we are endued with, is a certain mean between the body and God. A substance undoubtedly it is, for that it beareth the image of God; for that quality will not be borne, but of that which is a being and living substance. How shall we come any thing near to the knowledge of this substance? That we may come to by these means:

[a] Gen. vi. 3. [b] 1 Cor. xv. 44. [c] Aug. de Gen. cont. Man. lib. 2. [d] Psal. xxxi. 5. [e] 1 Pet. iii. 19. [f] 1 Cor. ii. 11. [g] Aug. de S. et An. cap. 2. [h] De Gen. ad Lit. c. 21.

"How much the water is thinner than the earth, and the "air finer than the water, and the clear sky subtiler than "the air[1]; so much in subtileness of substance the soul "doth exceed the thinnest of them." Aristotle saith, "That "the water exceedeth the earth, and the air the water, and "the sky the air ten times." How shall we then comprehend the substance of the soul, which far exceedeth all these? There are in our bodies also certain things which are called spirits; first, the breath which we receive from without, and is drawn to the lungs, and cools the heart; then there are inward spirits; the natural, in our liver, that worketh our meat to blood; and they being carried to the heart are laboured into vital spirits, which give life to all the parts; and from thence, part conveyed into the head are made *animales spiritus*, instruments of all our senses. There is a tenfold proportion between these, and yet we can scarce in mind comprehend the basest; how much less can we attain to the substance of the soul, which exceedeth them all! It is therefore a substance that by imagination of any bodily thing cannot be comprehended; for every bodily substance is great in greater places, and less in lesser places. The soul is all present wheresoever it is present.

4. Ruffinus saith, "He hath learned out of the scripture "no certainty of the original of the souls." But this seemeth not agreeable to the perfection of the scriptures; and seeing God hath made himself known unto us, why should he hide our beginning from us? The beginning of Adam's soul is manifest, for God breathed into his face the breath of life; but how the soul cometh into us diversity of opinions hath made it doubtful.

The opinion of Origen hath least credit. He thought that all the souls were created together in the beginning, and reserved in heaven, and sent into the bodies as several men were born into the world. The Platonists were of like judgment: "of such," saith St. Augustine, "they affirmed "that our souls were sent from heaven, there created long "before, and as they passed by the sphere of heaven, they

[1] Aug. de Cog. Ver. Vitæ, cap. 29.

"received each his several gift[k]." The Jewish rabbins had such a tradition, that all souls of the prophets were present on mount Sinai when the law was given forth by Moses. The grounds of Origen's opinion[l] were, for that he thought angels and the souls of men are of like condition, and because he imagined that our souls were united, not substantially but accidentally, to our bodies. It cannot be that they were created altogether in the beginning, and till the birth of man reserved in heaven; of Jacob and Esau it was pronounced, being yet unborn, before they had done good or evil, *Jacob I have loved, and Esau have I hated*[m]; if they had been created, they must have done somewhat, souls cannot sleep like dormice. It cannot be a soul, but it must needs be doing; for what cause should God make it so long before? God createth nothing idle. Every thing, so soon as it was made of God, began to perform that for which it was made; angels were forthwith ministering spirits[n]. And why should souls do nothing? God did create them to be joined to the bodies, to use the earth, to praise his name, to rule his other creatures. Why should she be kept so long from that which was her duty? We may not think but at the last judgment we shall give an account for all our life and being[o]; yet the account must be made of such things as we have done in our bodies only, whether they be good or evil; therefore we cannot be thought to have been before our bodies were. And who would think that God would make his work so imperfect? the soul first, and the body three thousand years after. God no doubt doth make them together.

Another opinion is of such which think, as the body is of the body, so the soul is begotten of the soul: for they say the soul endued with reason is brought forth of the seed, as well as that which feedeth or feeleth; so by their opinion the whole man shall beget the whole. They say it was before in the seed of man in virtue, and by natural strength caused to have his being indeed. And what doth make

[k] Aug. de Anim. lib. 4. [l] Galat. lib. 2, cap. 3. [m] Rom. ix. 13.
[n] Psal. civ. 4. [o] 2 Cor. v. 10.

them thus to think? If God (say they) create souls now, then he ceased not the seventh day; and yet the scripture saith he ceased [p]. And what injury were it to man that beasts should beget their like, and he should not? a man were not begotten of a man, if he did not beget the soul; for the reasonable soul doth make the man. Adam begot *according to his image*, and his image was in the soul. Are not seventy-two souls said to come forth of Jacob's *thigh?* and what came that way came by generation [q]. Was not Onan punished with death as a murderer? and for what offence? because he *spilled his seed* [r], which was as if he had killed a man. If the child be destroyed in the womb, by the law also it was punished as murder [s]. The whole mass of man, whatsoever is written of him in the book of God's providence, is framed in the womb [t], and of that mass, or in it, the soul is a part, and the soul especially is written in God's book. Admit it to be as Aristotle would have it, that in the womb it hath first the life of a plant, and then of a beast, and at length, the five and fortieth day, the reasonable soul is put in of God into it. What! do the former die when he cometh? or hath he three souls? and how are they knit together? Whence is original sin, if the soul be not of the parents? for the soul is the seat of sin, and sin by one man came into the world [u]. God maketh no sinful soul, he is not the author of evil; how then is there sin in it, but of the parents? and of whom he hath the accident, of him he hath the substance: Is it not meet that as the whole body and soul is begotten again by incorruptible seed, which is the word of God, so the whole should at the first come of the seed which is corrupted? how can it be but God shall be a help to such as commit adultery, if he do give the souls, if they beget the bodies? Are not the children like the parents in mind too as well as in body oftentimes? and what reason is it that he which begets the matter should not beget the form? When Eve was made, we read of no breathing of a soul to her, as though the scripture would

[p] Gen. ii. 2. [q] Gen. xlvi. 27. [r] Gen. xxxviii. 9. [s] Exod. xxi. 23. [t] Psal. cxxxix. 15, 16. [u] Rom. v. 12.

insinuate, of whom she had flesh and bone, of him she had the soul also. By these and such reasons many great men have maintained that the soul is begotten of the soul, as the body is of the body. Many, which mislike that the soul should be begotten thus with the body, say, that as the feeding and feeling power is included, all cometh from an outward beginning; but, if they two be considered alone, they grant that they are brought forth by the seed; and the soul that understandeth is poured only into the body immediately by Almighty God. That the soul, by which we do understand and reason, is not caused by a bodily agent, nor cometh by the seed or any bodily instrument, thus they labour to confirm: if one struck a woman that her child were cast before it were formed, he was punished by money, because then he was not guilty of manslaughter, because the man yet was not framed [x]. The common opinion is, that as the body cometh to his form and fashion about the forty-fifth day, so about that time the soul is given of Almighty God. When Eve was made, Adam acknowledgeth *that she was bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh* [y]: how much more gladly would he have said that she was soul of his soul, if her soul had been also taken and lighted of his! Our Saviour, when he saith spirits have no flesh nor bones [z], seemeth to insinuate that the soul hath no passions of the body. If they were thus begotten, in this they should be partakers of that which seemeth to be most proper to the body. Anaxagoras saith, "that a soul doth not beget a soul, "but a man begets a man." Augustine [a] thinketh it unhonest to be spoken, that a soul should beget a soul, seeing it agreeth not to a soul to be begotten at all. It is not convenient that the rest should be born of Adam's soul, for it is possible to God only to beget that which is simple, neither is it granted to the creatures; and if souls begin with the body, it must needs be (in the judgment of Hierom) that they should have an end with the body [b]. How can that which is material work that which is above all matter? the

[x] Exod. xxi. 22. [y] Gen. ii. 23. [z] Luke xxiv. 39. [a] Aug. Quæst. 5. et 11. cap. 23. [b] Hierom. ad Ruff.

seed worketh not but by a bodily instrument; the understanding useth it not, and therefore cannot be brought forth by it. Of which of the parents should the soul come? Of the father? Christ had no father touching the body on earth. Of the mother? then it had been meet that man should have been framed of the woman, than that woman should have been framed of the man. Of both? but Christ had not an earthly father. If Christ's soul came not from the earthly parents, then not ours; for he is like us in all things, sin only except. A body may be born of a body[c], for somewhat may be taken from a body, but nothing can be plucked from a soul. But they say, as one candle is lighted of another, so one soul of another: but the candle hath a quantity, and therefore suffereth fit matter to be applied unto it; the soul hath no quantity. The light of both candles is drowned and nourished in the oily matter, by which it cometh to pass that the one is not diminished, and the other increased: but in the soul there is no quantity that it can be touched, nor nourishment that it may be fed; if it be by generation, where hath it knowledge of principles by nature, yea and of things far above nature? This cannot be by generation: and what can be more evident that the soul cometh not from any virtue or force of the seed, seeing out of the body it hath action proper, divine, and heavenly? yea and in the body also, in which no instrument of the body doth help it any thing, although in diverse works it use the body; as the fire moveth of itself upward, and is carried round with the heavens, so the soul of man is led somewhat by the senses, and doth many things in and out of the body without them; which shews that it must have some other beginning than this is. Is it not a manifest argument that it cometh from God, seeing in all things it resteth not till it come to God? The mind in searching causes is never quiet till it come to God, and the will never is satisfied with any good till it come to the immortal goodness. It doth well to make that its stay and end which was its beginning; and methinks the comprehending and

[c] Aug. Gen. lib. 10.

minding of things universal and general should shew that it hath no other but the universal beginning and Father of all to be his Father. There is no example in nature that a thing incorporate cometh of that which is corporal. How many souls were spilt, if the soul do come of the seed! It is a wickedness and uncleanness by the law to spill it; but if the immortal soul be in it, it were an offence to be revenged with death. Hierome for these causes saith they are to be laughed at, that think the souls are sowed together with the bodies, and not to be given immediately from God[d]. Augustine pronounceth them accursed that say it is thus brought forth, and not sent of God[e]. And although God send them, yet he ceased from creation the seventh day; for by this he createth no new kind, but multiplieth and preserveth that kind which he made before. Many places of scripture seem to lead us to God as the giver and only begetter of our souls: Job saith, *The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life*[f]. Doth he not seem to say as much of himself as is said of Adam for his soul? And Solomon affirmeth, Thou knowest not which is the way of the spirit, nor which is the way of the bones in the womb[g], so thou knowest not the works of God which maketh all things: he seemeth to mean that there is one way by which the bones, and another by which the spirit cometh. And again, the body to the dust from whence it came, and the spirit returneth to God which gave it[h]. The end of either is where it begun; and by returning of the spirit he signifieth how first it came. And the author of the Book of Wisdom; Man knoweth not who made him, and who inspired an effectual soul into him, and breathed on him the breath of life[i]: he knew but one way by which the reasonable soul doth come unto us, even the same way by which Adam was made partaker of it. Esai, according to the translation of Pagnine, speaketh of it most plainly, The spirit from my face putteth on the body, and every soul have I made[k]: the whole sentence maketh too

[d] Hierom. in Eccles. 12. [e] Ang. de Orig. Sau. [f] Job xxxiii. 4.
[g] Eccles. xi. 5. [h] Eccles. xii. 7. Sap. xv. 11. [i] Esa. lvii. 16.

plainly for it, and the latter words do sufficiently confirm it; for the soul he mentioneth as a peculiar work of his. Zachariah also doth favour this opinion; God spreadeth the heavens and foundeth the earth, and frameth the spirit of man in the midst of him; first the place, and then the spirit[l]. The mother shall witness of it what she judgeth how the soul cometh into the body of her infant; she will say, I knew not how you appeared in my womb, neither did I give unto you spirit and life[m]. And St. Paul seemeth to be of the same judgment; We had fathers of our bodies which chastised us, and we reverenced them: shall we not much more be subject to the Father of our spirits, and live[n]? He maketh a plain difference between the father of the body and the Father of the spirit. Peter likewise referreth the beginning of the soul to God alone; They which are afflicted by the will of God, let them commend their souls by well doing to him as a faithful Creator[o]: commend thy soul to the Creator of thy soul. To conclude; we must say with Lactantius, The matter of making souls is in God's hands only; for that matter he is the Father of us all[p]. Of mortal men we can take nothing but that which is mortal: the father of the body cannot say he giveth the soul, and if he say it, yet he cannot comprehend in mind how it is done. The earthly parent doth no more but give or receive the bodily moisture which is framed to be a temple for the soul; this is all they do, they can do no more. And although the soul come from God, yet the sin doth not come from him; but the body doth communicate it to the soul, as the soul doth impart many things to the body; for they both make one person, and the soul in the body is straightway subject to the state of sin with the body by the just sentence of God, which took from the seed of Adam all that he bestowed on Adam. And God by his judgment forsaking it, how can it be but sinful, dwelling in a sinful body? These men therefore will have our soul to come immediately from God; the other also will have it come from God, but yet by means. Now the

[l] Zach. xii. 1. [m] 2 Maccab. vii. 22. [n] Heb. xii. 9. [o] 1 Pet. iv. 19.
[p] Lact. de Opific. Dei, cap. 19.

scripture rather leading us to the immediate working of God in making of our souls, it helpeth much our faith the rather to come to God; for God toucheth our souls, and is joined to them in the creation; is joined likewise to them in our regeneration; and most of all will become one spirit with us, or rather we with him, in our glorification. The first should make us with hope desire the second, and the second doth cause us to look for the third, and the feeling of the second should somewhat persuade us of the first.

5. The soul given us of God, so long as it is in the body, performeth all the works and properties of life that are in us while we live in the body. The works which it performeth in us are diverse: some are common to us with those things which bud out of the earth, and have only life without sense or motion: this is the power by which it causeth the body to live. Of this the scripture speaketh, when it saith, That God gives us breath, and life, and all; and when he biddeth the mother to cry to God for the life of their children which die for hunger in the streets, this power worketh of its own accord, and is not subject unto reason. By this faculty there are three things wrought in the body of man, for by it men feed and grow, and beget children. It feedeth us by drawing meat into the stomach, and thence into every part proper nourishment, by digesting into blood and juice meat for all the body; by retaining that which is good, by expelling forth that which is unprofitable, and by the same means it maketh us to grow, till we come unto a full stature.

That power by which we feel and have sense is grounded also in this soul, for it giveth sense as well as life: this faculty is distinguished by her actions and works; it worketh within and it worketh without. And hereof it cometh to pass that there are two kinds of senses in man and beast, inward and outward; the outward senses are five; for all that we comprehend from without is either that we see, or hear, or smell, or taste, or touch; we see all colours, and whatsoever is discovered by the light; we hear sounds and

[q] Acts xvii. 25.

voices; we smell and taste odours and savours of divers kinds; and we discern by touch that which is hot or cold, plain or rough, or such like: the scripture nameth all these in man; The eye that seeth, and the ear that heareth [r], God hath made them both; and if all the body were hearing, where were smelling [s]? and, Thy words were sweeter than honey to my mouth [t]: and, Touch and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones [u]. These are the outward senses.

The inward senses are those by which we weigh and examine and judge of the outward, which are commonly reckoned to be three; the common sense and imagination in the foreparts, and judgment or cogitation in the middle, and memory in the hinder part of the brain.

The moving of our bodies is a work of our souls too, which hath the beginning in the brain and marrow of the back, and there is communicated to all the body.

The appetite and affection and desire of man is rooted in the soul also; our appetite, of what kind soever it is, is given to preserve us, and to make us avoid those things that hurt us. It is of three sorts: the first is natural, by which we desire (when we are hungry) meat, and when we are thirsty drink, and rest when we are weary; the second is that which we have in that we are endued with sense; and this is given, as by which we should first desire that which is good, even for that it is good, and avoid that which is evil; and to this end it maketh us love or hate, desire or shun, rejoice or be sorrowful; or else it is given us that we should strive for good things, and against evil things, as they are hard and difficult: to this end by it we have in us hope and despair, boldness and fear and anger. The third kind of appetite is that by which we desire that good which the understanding comprehendeth to be such indeed or in appearance, and flieth the contrary: this is our will, which we use to stir us up to seek God and heaven, and heavenly things, by which we rest also in these things, and are delighted and satisfied in them, being gotten. This is a

[r] Prov. xx. 12. [s] 1 Cor. xii. 17. [t] Psalm cxix. 103. [u] Luke xxiv. 39.

part of the reasonable soul; this is one point by which we are men, and do excel all other creatures living upon the earth.

The other power of the soul, which is proper to man and denied to beasts, is understanding: this, together with the will, are the proper and only faculties of the reasonable soul. By this we speak and knit words and sentences together; by this we learn arts and devise infinite works, and number, and dispute, and foresee, and mount to heaven. This is it wherein the glory and excellency of man especially standeth; this, together with the will, is that about the garnishing and perfecting whereof all our pain and labour is bestowed; this is proper, together with the will, the breath of life, which God breathed into the face of man; this is the spirit which returneth unto God that gave it. This understanding hath two faculties; one by which it may know all things, and is like a clean paper, in which there is nothing written; but you may write in it any thing. The other is that by which it knoweth already, and discourseth and practiseth, and meditateth that it knoweth; they that learn not, nor will not learn any thing, but continue not writing good knowledge in their souls, they are as if they had no souls; they are as the ass and mule, which have no understanding; for they have but the tables, they have nothing written in them.

Now if a man will seek the elements of a man's soul of which it standeth, these they are; earth, water, air, or fire in the soul there is none; but such wonderful powers there are by which it worketh in the body and liveth by itself without the body: strong it is, and nimble and quick, and yet hath neither bones nor sinews nor joints.

6. It is hard to define in what place of the body of man the soul doth dwell in; Plato appointed three seats for three several faculties; the liver for lust, the heart for courage and anger, for reason the head. Athanasius judged that the soul was chiefly in the hinder part of the head, and in the heart, and in the great veins; for these parts being hurt or wounded, life doth not continue. Aristotle said the seat of

the soul was the heart, and that thither all the objects of the senses are carried as to the centre. Galen and physicians say it is in the head. Xenocrates placed it in the crown of the head; Herophylus in the bottom of the brain; Strabo in the middle of the forehead; Empodocles in the chest; Moschion in the whole body; so do Augustin and Hilarius, saying, "that the whole is in the whole in every "part."

The soul, as it is considered whole, with all the faculties, is in the whole as the form thereof, for it giveth life and motion to the whole, and is in it, not as a mariner in a ship, but being present every where, for it is that that giveth life to every part, and maketh the whole a living body; maketh it flesh, that hath life in it by his presence every where. It sheweth his presence in all parts; for being pricked in one place it feeleth it there, and discerneth it to be in the place where the wound is: the whole therefore is in the whole and every part. But if it be considered according to the several faculties, then the question is, where reason and understanding is chiefly settled, either in the brain or in the heart? for these are the chief, and for the excellency were left out of sacrifices. Daniel seemeth to make the head the seat of reason, *The dream, and vision of thy head* [x]; and, *the visions of my head troubled me* [y]. It is not to be thought but divine and heavenly visions are offered to the understanding. The manner of the moving of our body doth seem to teach so much; for one motion is by the nerves, and the nerves begin in the brain, and are first moved by our will, and the will is one of the parts of reason. All the servants that do attend on reason are likewise placed in the head. There are the senses by which he cometh to the knowledge of most things. They say in death also, that a man doth last of all cast up his eyes, as though the soul did pass forth by them; and Almighty God, when he gave the soul to man, did it by breathing into his face. This much they that favour the head do say for their opinion. But, on

[x] Dan. ii. 28. [y] Dan. iv. 5.

the other side, the heart doth challenge the principality; for Moses saith that the frame of *man's heart is only evil continually*[z]; and Christ, that *the good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things*[a]; and Paul, that *the law is written in the heart*[b]. And it maketh much for the privilege of the heart that it is the fountain and beginning of life, for it first liveth and last dieth, for this Hierome saith. *Out of the heart come evil thoughts*[c]; therefore the principle is not, according to Plato, in the brain, but, according to Christ, in the heart; and again, it is doubted where the principal faculty of the soul is: Plato shews it in the brain, Christ in the heart, *Blessed are the clean in heart, for they shall see God*[d].

The soul of man, using will and reason, is immortal: Galen reporteth that all ancient wise men unto Plato were of that opinion; but some latter persons, being overcome by their own folly, constrained not only their bodies but their souls also, as it were, to die. The Sadducees were of opinion that souls did die[e]; the Nazarites, that they did sleep till the day of judgment. But they are eternal and everlasting: eternal they are, not by denial of beginning and end both, for beginning we know they have, but by denial of the end; that is mortal which hath inward beginning of corruption, as the bodies of beasts have, and all other compound bodies. And, on the contrary side, that is immortal which hath no such inward beginning whereby it may corrupt, as angels and heavenly spirits have not; and a thing may be mortal and corruptible also, which albeit it have not such an inward beginning of corruption, yet by an outward agent it may be destroyed; as the heavens shall be dissolved by the power of God; whereas God himself is free by this and all other ways from mortality and corruption. The soul is such a thing as that it hath nothing internal which can be a beginning of corruption and death unto it. It might have a beginning, and cause of destruction in it two ways; of his own nature, as compound bo-

[z] Gen. vi. 5. viii. 21. [a] Matt. xii. 35. [b] Rom. ii. 15.
[c] Matt. xv. 19. [d] Matt. v. 8. [e] Acts xxiii. 8.

dies; or by chance and accident, as the essential form is corrupted because the body doth corrupt in which it is, otherwise it could not be corrupted. The soul is free from corruption both ways; it hath nothing in it of itself by which it may draw to an end, neither can there be any thing in it by reason of the body, or any other thing, by which at length it should be dissolved. This the beginning of our soul doth shew: for how was it? God himself inspiring it, he gave it therefore somewhat of his own excellency, even immortality, as it was capable of; and what was it? his breath, some part of that heavenly air; and what was the work of it? life in the dual, or plural number, a long, a double, an everlasting life. When the soul of Rachel is said to *go out of her* [e], and the *soul of the child to return to his inward parts* [f], is it not clearly taught that it dieth not with the body? What made Balaam wish that his soul might *die the death of the righteous, and his end be like his* [g], but that it was well with them after death? The Wise Man saith, *that the souls of the righteous are with God, and that no torment toucheth them* [h], and that *the spirit goeth to God that gave it* [i]. When Christ saith, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit* [k]; to the thief, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise* [l]; when Stephen crieth, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit* [m]; and Paul, *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ* [n]; do they not shew that the soul is immortal? And the immortality of the soul of Christ maketh much for the immortality of our souls; for he hath promised, that *where he is, there his servants shall be also* [o]. What other thing doth Christ teach us when he saith, *The body they can kill, the soul they cannot kill* [p]; and that *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living* [q], yet the God of Abraham? wherefore his body was dead, but his soul lived. The rich man lived in hell, and the poor man in Abraham's bosom [r]; and in the Apocalypse, they are happy *that die in the Lord, for they rest from*

[e] Gen. xxxv. 18. [f] 1 Kings xvii. 22. [g] Numb. xxiii. 10.
[h] Eccles. iii. 1. [i] Eccles. xii. 7. [k] Luke xxiii. 46. [l] Luke xxiii. 43.
[m] Acts vii. 59. [n] Phil. i. 23. [o] John xii. 26. [p] Matt. x. 28.
[q] Matt. xxii. 32. [r] Luke xvi. 23.

*their labours*[s]. Sin doth not corrupt the substance but the quality of our souls, and torment may grieve it, but not consume. Augustine therefore saith, "Kill not thy soul "thyself, and thy soul will not die. The life of the flesh "is the soul, and the life of the soul is God; but yet the "soul is immortal, for it liveth even being dead." And again, "The souls of men are all immortal; those that "shall see God are blessed, those that shall not see God "are wretched[t]." And Hilarius saith, "He that thinketh "the soul dieth with the body, let him hear that it cometh "not of the earth, but by the breath of God, and that death "is not the destruction but the parting of it from the "body[u];" and again, "The soul is immortal, for it is life "unto itself; as it cannot fall from itself, so it cannot fall "from life."

Last of all; religion, and the fear of God, which is in man, doth shew it to be immortal; for we worship God because our souls are made to his image, and we know he is *a rewarder of them that serve him*. Now religion is grafted in men's minds by nature; for it hath been always, yea before any books of it were written, and all wise men have ever minded godliness and virtue, with the study of wisdom. Now to what end were religion, if there were no reward? and what reward is there, if the souls do not live for ever? for in this life the reward of the godly is but small. The soul, therefore, seeing it hath no cause of death within it or without it; seeing it hath so many testimonies of an enduring life by scriptures, and all that were counted just; it cannot be that it dieth with the body, but liveth and abideth for ever after the body is dissolved.

[s] Rev. xiv. 13. [t] De Cog. Ver. Vitæ, cap. 32. [u] Hil. in Psalm lxiv.

A

# DISCOURSE OF TENURES

## WHICH WERE BEFORE THE CONQUEST;

NAMELY,

*Knight-service, soccage, and frankalmoign; and the effect of those tenures, wards, reliefs, heriots, escuage, or warfaring by tenure, reservations of rent, or victuals, and provisions, or purveyors in the Saxon times; that the same estates in the soil of this land were due unto the subjects by birthright of their ancestors, the inhabitants of the land before duke William's time; namely, to have land in fee-simple, freeholders, copyholders, customary tenants, and villains, before the year* 1066; *together with the resemblances or disresemblances of those in outlandish, ancient, or modern estates.*

THE book of Doomsday, which is *militia Anglicani imperii*, as it was in the Conqueror's time, speaks often of land that in Edward the Confessor's time *gildabat;* and of other land which did not *gildare:* that which did *gildare* was land held by knight's-service, which paid taxes or escuage; the other is soccage-land. That there was soccage tenure in the Saxons' time is evident by the book of Doomsday, which almost in every leaf makes mention of *sokemanni*, in Edward the Confessor's time, which is soccage tenure; and in the written Ingulphus, which speaks of the laws in Edward the Confessor's time, there is mention of tenure in soccage, in express terms.

That there were tenures by knight's-service is cleared by patents of king Ethelred to the abbey of Abingdon, freeing the land *a regali servitio*, and by a patent which William

the Conqueror made to Allan the earl of Britain, giving him *omnes terras et villas quæ nuper fuerunt comitis Edwini in Eboracshire cum feodis militum et aliis libertatibus, ita libere et honorifice, sicut idem Edwinus eadem tenuit ante obsessionem Ebor.*

In Doomsday book, in the description of Surrey, mention is made of one Cactio, who in the Conqueror's time held *de Wardardo, et reddit* 50*s. et servitium unius militis.*

The leiger books of St. Alban's, containing the acts of king Offa overrunning the Kentish men, *convocatis omnibus sibi officium militare debentibus.*

King Edgar gave the hundred of Oswald to Oswald bishop of Worcester, *et redditiones socharium et regis servientium:* this hundred at this day is called the hundred of Oswald, and notice of his grant is taken in Doomsday book, where it is called Wircester.

Bracton sheweth that *forinsecum servitium, regale servitium,* and *militare servitium,* are all one.

It will likewise be proved, that these tenures were of the same nature, and had likewise fruits, as now they have; for these tenures had HOMAGE due unto them, as now they have; as is proved by Malmesbury; who, speaking of the controversy between Henry I. and Anselm, saith, the king would have him do homage, *more antecessorum,* which sheweth it had been a custom long before.

The leiger-book of Abingdon, says Turkillus, did homage to the abbot of Abingdon for his lands in Kingstone; but being slain in the battle with Harold, Henricus de Ferrariis seized upon his land; with whom the abbot had much contention.

By the leiger book of Ely, Ethelstan went to Whitton, and did him homage for land in Ely, in king Edgar's time. That there was fealty, Ingulphus proves, who says that Edward the Confessor gave unto Griffin and his heirs the principality of Wales, reserving FEALTY. For both homage and fealty; Doomsday, in describing the manor of Northwood in Kent, in the Confessor's time, saith, that in his time an hundred burgesses of Canterbury did suit and ser-

vice to that manor. A manuscript of Abingdon shews how Wasthelinus, whose surname was Visus Lapis, did homage and fealty. After William the Conqueror's time, abbots and prioresses did homage, and in one of the manuscripts of Peterborough is the form of the homage of the abbot of Crowland, 34 Edward I. which he did for the land in Veikerk, which he held of the abbot of Peterborough, and another of the prioress of St. Michael, for land in Stanford. And by the deeds of Abingdon it appears, that when the abbot and convent received homage, that the abbot and convent sat jointly together. Radulphus de Diceto, the dean of Paul's, writes, that anno 1163 Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, excommunicated William, the patron of an advowson, because he expelled one that the archbishop put into the living: but William the patron being tenant *in capite* to Henry II. the king was very angry with the bishop for excommunicating his tenant, which was contrary to the law, unless it be by the consent of the king; because the tenant cannot now do homage to the king, being excommunicated; for the king cannot kiss him without sin, the rule of law being *non est communicandum in osculo cum excommunicato*; and a lord is not to receive homage of his tenant during the time of excommunication.

And as homage and fealty were due by reason of knight's-service, so likewise WARDSHIP was an effect before the conquest.

When William the Conqueror was at Rome, Rainaldus, upon the death of Adelinus, was chosen abbot of Abingdon, being a monk *Gemetecensis cœnobii*, in the year 1084. Indictione 7. Epact. 2. At this time by custom the abbot of Abingdon had wardship of body and land by the manuscript of that abbey; and in the said abbot's time it appears that *miles quidam Walterus de Ripario*, i. e. Walter Rivers, who held land called Bedrum of the abbot, died, leaving his son of his own name within age: and Godsoline, the uncle of the infant by his father's side, would have had the custody of the land and body of his nephew; and impleaded

the abbot in the king's court; but the abbot defended the suit, and kept the possession of both body and land. In the letters patent of Edw. I. which are recited by Hackluit in his voyages, there, the king receiving the privileges given to the Five ports by Edward the Confessor, one is, that for land within the Cinque ports by Edward Geye, heirs should not be in ward.

In Ina's laws, cap. 38. the mother was to be guardian in soccage to her children, and for their bringing up was allowed 6*s*. per annum in money, and a cow in summer, and an ox in winter.

So likewise was ESCUAGE incident to knight's-service before the conquest. Doomsday, in the description of Shropshire, both in case of the manor of Cheny, and in Robert Bellerock's case, makes mention *de scutagio*, and of the money due for it.

And that, by reason of a tenure by knight's-service, the tenant was to serve in the war, appears by a case recorded in the book of Worcester, between William bishop of Worcester and Walter abbot of Evesham. The bishop claimed *sac, soc, sepulturam, et gildam regis, et expeditiones in terra, et in mare*, and that by the tenure of fifteen hides in Hamptonia and four hides otherwhere; and the cause was discussed *per justitiam et breve et præceptum regis Willielmi primi*, and the king (out of Normandy) sent a precept to Godfrey Constanc. episcopo, that he and divers barons should be present; by whom day was given for witnesses on both sides; and the bishop brought divers who lived in the Confessor's time, and knew that the abbot for those lands had sent soldiers in the Confessor's time divers times, and that one was steerman to the bishop, to carry him beyond seas: and therefore the abbot, seeing the witnesses so clear against him, yielded *ad omnem rem sicut episcopus clamaverat*.

By the book of Abingdon it appears that if the tenant, that held of the king by knight's-service went not in person, or found not a man to go with the king to war, it was a forfeiture of the land held; and if the king's tenant had an un-

dertenant that held of him by knight's-service, and he went not to discharge his lord, the land was forfeited to the lord: for in that book it is discoursed of largely, how Henry I. having war with his brother Robert duke of Normandy, he sent over his writs, commanding his tenants, that held in chivalry of him, to send him over the *milites*, or soldiers, which by their tenures they were bound to send: Taritius, the abbot of Abingdon, sent to William, the king's chamberlain, to furnish the abbot with a soldier, and to discharge him of one soldier for his house of Lea, hard by the monastery, held of the abbot by knight's-service; the chamberlain pretended that he held not of the abbot by chivalry, and therefore that he would send none; but the abbot, to save himself, sent one, and after the wars ended, he sued William the chamberlain for the forfeiture of his land, and proved the tenure, and recovered by the custom of England: and by Doomsday in the description of Barrothshire, which is Barkshire, it is likewise remembered, that in the Confessor's days, if any according to their tenures, upon summons, went not, nor found another, they forfeited all their land to the king. By the manuscript of Abingdon it appears, that if any soldier were maimed in the wars, at his return he was to be kept at the charge of the lord who sent him.

It appears by Bartholomew, the monk of Norwich, that in king Edward the First's time, the mustering of soldiers generally being by the tenure, general summons with proclamation was made, that according to the time and place appointed, as they were bound in their tenures, every one should send his soldier; at which time the constable of England used to send a bill or clerk-roll unto the marshal, who by his office was to peruse and try who came or who made default; whereby the escuage, or sum of money due to the king, was apparent; and these officers were the ordinary conductors of the army of the king in the field. About this king Edward Ist's time, the king began to bring in the present manner of mustering, first termed appearing by prayer, now pressing: for by this writer, who then lived in

the year 1297, and the 25th year of Edw. I. Bigot earl of Norfolk, marshal of England, Humfrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, constable of England, refusing to try or billet the names of soldiers, as appeareth by the king's letters, desiring him to appoint others to muster them, because they came not by the ordinary summons; they alleged, by their office, they were not bound to do it: the king made other commissioners in their places, and the earls went away from the king in displeasure; after, the king, under the great seal, released *omnem rancorem*, which he had against the earls; for which, saith the writer, *Benedictus Deus, Amen.*

It is evident by this Bartholomew Cotton, that about this time king Edw. I. begun your commissioners for musters; and therefore he noteth it as a wonder, that in the 23d year of Edw. I., Hugo de Cressingham and William Mortimer came into Norfolk, and, by virtue of the king's letters, *numerare fecerunt*, pressed soldiers out of the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich, and made them appear at Newmarket; where they took some, and refused others; and that the county, at the public charge, found *white coates, et cultellos, et gladios.* After warfaring by tenure began to be discontinued, and commissioners came down to muster men, it should seem it took no great effect; for generally the custom of warfaring in Edw. III.'s time, and downward until Henry VIII.'s time was, a captain or a nobleman would indent with the king to serve him with so many men, and the king covenanted (or the lord with the captain) to pay the captain for himself so much money a day; and if the soldiers departed from their captain, whom they covenanted to go with, the penalty was not much, until the statute of 18 Hen. VI. 7 Hen. VII. 3 Hen. VIII. provided remedy for the same.

The mustering by commission in Edw. II.'s time being but new, and levying of men by tenure discontinued, king Edw. II. took bonds of men to be before the king with force and arms wherever he should be, upon pain to forfeit all they might forfeit: the stat. 1 Edw. III. sheweth this was to the king's dishonour; and therefore maketh void

those bonds, saying, every man is bound to do unto the king, as his liege lord, all that appertaineth unto him, without any manner of writing. In Edw. III.'s time, the people began to dislike the mustering by tenure, as according to the value of their lands, in that (as the parliament-roll of the 21 Edw. III. notes) when men were valued at 10*l.*, 20*l.*, 100*l.*, and so to a 1000*l.* land, by good inquest returned in the chancery, yet writs came out of the exchequer to some towns, or men, to find halberts, archers, and men-at-arms to the value of 20*l.* or 40*l.* when they were not by the inquisition so highly rated.

That RELIEF was due before the conquest appears by an ancient will made in the Saxons time, cited by Lambard in his Peregrination; it was by the will of one Ebifa, an earl: and in the Confessor's laws (written by Ingulphus) there is mention often made of reliefs, which the lord is to have of his tenant: and in one place the sum is set in certain for soccage in *hæc verba;* "He that holds in soccage, let his "right relief be the rent of his land by one year:" and in the red book in the checquer a charter of Hen. I. to bishop Sampson is cited, where a certain and not an arbitrable relief is mentioned: but the relief of earls, barons, and others, that held by knight's-service of the king, though a relief was due, yet it was not put into certainty, nor was certain in Hen. II.'s time.

*AYDE PUR FILLE MARIER* is due by those that hold in knight's-service, according to 20*s.* a knight's fee; and for those that hold soccage 20*s.* for 20*l.* land: but those that hold in Frank-Almoign were not chargeable *pur fille marier*, which is proved by the plea-roll, 30 Edw. III. in the exchequer. The abbot of St. Alban's being sued for aid, to make the Black Prince knight, out of the manor of Winslo and Gresburgh, he pleaded, those lands were held in Frank-Almoign, and not in soccage or knight's-service; whereupon the barons discharged him, and so in tempore Edw. I. a writ of discharge was sent for the abbot of Peterborough, who held in Frank-Almoign, when Elianor the daughter of Edw. I. was married to Henry earl of Bar.

*Nota* TENT PER LE VERGE *ad le freehold in lay comt il n'a d' evidence per son terr nisi le delivery del rod in cort, le Cur. 21 Ed. IV. per dire q et seis in fee accordant al custom del mannor, 3 Ed. V. Coron. si soit attaint de felonie, roy avera annum, diem et vastum; et 33 Hen. VI. dit q tiel tent ad le franktenement in lui.*

There were COPYHOLDERS in the Saxons' time, as appeareth by many places in Doomsday book. Speaking of rodmen in the Confessor's time, Lambert saith, he who held by base tenure and not in villainage among the Saxons was called *a churle:* I find not any warrant for it, though I assure myself he did: and that these copyholders are of meaner respect in those days is to be collected out of many places of Doomsday, shewing that some kind of socmen might not only sell their land without license of the lord, but they could not withdraw their persons from the soil they undertook to manure for customary land; which is the reason of the restitution of faire fee. And in those days it was a base, if not a tenure in villainage. To give an instance; in Flamdit hundred two sockmen, the tenants of Godwin; *unus inveniebat aurum et alter guerdam,* and they could not depart without license. Again in Trippleday hundred; this land held Olgarus, the man of Harold the earl, and in the time of king . . . . . he could not depart from his own lord, to go to another lord.

In the same hundred, the socmen of the earl Gurdus could not depart and dwell elsewhere without the earl Gurdus's license.

In the description of Hampshire, this land in the time of king Edw. Wenseil held, as his ancestor did, who was *mediator caprarum, et non potuit se vertere ad alienum dominum.* When a base tenant is adjudged to do villain-service, as appears by a plea-roll, 7, 8 Edw. I. these words in judgment are, *secundum statum corporum suorum.*

It followeth to be proved, that there were VILLAINS before the conquest: I remember not in Beda the word written, his Latin being purer; he called them *servi,* but that they were full *villains* is evident; in that he writes, king Edel-

wach, in the west Saxons, chose Wilfride a bishop, and gave him forty-seven families, among which there were *servi et ancillæ* 250, whom bishop Wilfride christened and manumitted.

In another place Beda sheweth, Oswald king of the Northumbers got out of Scotland Aidan for his bishop, who all the money he could get he would give to the poor, or for the redemption of them that were unjustly sold; and these sometimes he would make priests; these so sold were his villains: and during the heptarchy, by reason of their wars, there were villains. But for the word *villain;* in the book of Doomsday, in every leaf thereof, there is mention made of villains, and in the towns of Hill and Dulham in the Saxon king's days. Bracton saith, in manors which are ancient demesne of the king, there have been villains before the conquest, in the time of the conquest, and after the conquest; nay, as at this day by the law of England, one may be a villain and hold no land in villainage, or hold land in villainage and yet be no villain.

That this likewise was the law of England before the Conqueror's time appeareth by that famous charter of king Eldred, made to the abbot of Croyland; wherein it is set down, that if the bondmen, or villains, run away, they should be seized again by the sheriff. But by another clause in the patent, if the villain of the abbot, or they which hold in villainage only, commit any offence, whereby any thing shall be forfeited to the king, that yet the abbot shall have their goods.

In the manuscript of the Saxon laws written in king Stephen's time, one of the laws of king Alfred is, if a villain did but think or conspire the death of his lord, although he did it not, (like treason in the king's case,) he was to lose his life, his lands, and goods, and all that he had.

I shall shut up these particulars of the common law with my observations of the composing of the book of DOOMSDAY by William the elder's time: by this *liber ritualis,* "book "of customs," he exactly knew the quantity of the land, and quality of the persons, in most of the English soil; I

say but of most, because Wales is not described by Doomsday, nor the four northern shires of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, and Durham. The quantity of land of necessity was to be known by the king's records; that is, how many hides of land were in every town, and which of them *gildabat*, and which not; that is, by custom were held in knight-service and soccage; because in those early days, and long after, there was no mustering, but every one found soldiers according to the proportion of his hides of land: and by describing the numbers and quality of the owners of those hides of land, he knew in every town how many freeholders, either *in feodo*, who were by knight's-service, or *in allodio*, who held in fee soccage; subject not to such command of the lord as socmen tenants in ancient demesnes, who were of two sorts; either they had the freehold in them, and were tenants by copy, or else they were villains, as I have shewed.

By the constitution of Naples, the feodatory tenant, or tenant by knight's-service, ought to be surety for the lord, if he required it, otherwise he loseth his tenantcy; and the lord in a criminal cause ought to be surety for his tenant, else he loseth his seigniory: the law of England is contrary in both points. By Andreas, Baldus, and others, the tenant cannot accuse his lord, or bear witness against him, in any criminal causes; the law of England is contrary. By the constitution of Naples, the baron or nobleman cannot demand fealty of his tenant before he have license from the king, and fealty may be performed by attorney; it is otherwise with us. By the customs of Lombardy, if the tenant received any letters from his landlord, he must receive them honourably; in token whereof he must rise up, and put the letters upon his head; for by Baldus and Andreas de Isernia, he must be obedient to his lord, *cum grano salis:* we have no such custom. Dynus and Bartolus write, if the lord come into poverty, the tenant is bound to maintain him: it is contrary in England. Andreas de Isernia sheweth, their feodatory tenants are bound to allow a way over their land to their landlords, if they demand it. And

it seemeth by Cumanus, if the tenant grant the way over his land to his lord's enemy, *feodum arripitur*, he forfeits his estate: the law of this realm is opposite to these particulars. By their feudal laws, if the tenant commit adultery with the wife of the lord, he loseth his full land; and by Romanus, if a vassal or tenant *concubitat cum concubina domini*, he is punished: by our law there are no such penalties. Felinus, and Chassaneus, Lucas de Penna, and the Constitutions of Lotharius, shew, the lord cannot sell his land without the consent of the tenant; if he do, he loseth his seigniory: this likewise is against our law. The Florentine cardinal and Baldus affirm, their tenants by knight-service can wave and disclaim to have any thing to do in the land, and thereby vest it in the lord, and avoid his services, because *feudum in gratia utriusque* is granted: I have already elsewhere shewed it is lawful by the common law: also the feud or land given in knight-service would not be so much *beneficium* as *maleficium:* accordingly Sextus Emperius writes, it was the law of the ancient Romans that the children might wave their father's estates, by means whereof they were not bound to pay their father's debts; and I fancy not pope Alexander's writing, that the son is bound to pay all his father's debts. Bacquet cites an arrest of the year 1556 in France: if a tenant give the lord the lie, he is to lose his hand: the law of England is not so penal.

By the text he that goeth out of his bounds, *momordit eum coluber:* to escape this punishment, I am in the fourth place to treat in other countries of their *aide pur faire fitz chevalier, ou pour fille marier*. Vincentius and Menochius are good witnesses, who write it is the present practice of many countries. By the customary of Bretaigne the lords have aids towards the marrying of their daughters; and Bretrand and Argentre, the tenants there, ought to give the like aid, or *opitulationem*, when the lord himself, or his eldest son, is made knight. By the constitution of the kingdom of Naples, and by the capitular of pope Honorius, concerning the said state, the lord shall have aid to make his brother knight. And by Speculator, the lord of feudatory tenants

shall have aid to marry his sister as well as his brother. By Cæsar Ursillus and Boerius, *tenentes Burdegalenses* paid *aide pur fille marier*. Boutillier, for France, writes in his time, the *aide pour faire fitz chevalier*, or to marry his eldest daughter, was not certain; it stood only at the curtesy of the tenant *de facto*. King Francis the I. anno 1540, by his letters dated the 23d of September, gathered both these aids, and caused them to be taxed to the value of half a relief, which fashion was not used by any ancient king of France.

King Henry II. likewise gathered these aids, and the last king Hen. IV. anno 1609, for the marriage of the dauphin who now is king.

If the eldest daughter enter into religion, then the aid is not due, in the opinion of Paponius, Cassanæus, and Rebuffus; but Boerius in his Decisions, and Peter Ratt. in his Comment upon the customary of Poictiers is of another mind, drawing the argument *a carnali matrimonio ad spirituale:* although by the ancient civil law every one ought to marry his own daughter, yet by the historians the daughter of C. Caligula the emperor, and the daughter of C. Scipio, were so poor, that they were fain to be married out of the public treasury. To my purpose Halicarnassæus notes, anciently the clients did *patronorum filios nuptiis locare*. The emperors *coronæ aureæ coram nomine*, spoken of by Dion, and the bishops' money at the first enthronization, *cathedraticum*, resembles not those aids.

Epiphanius notes out of Homer, how Helena at the wars of Troy stood within the city upon a watchtower, and by a torch shewed the policy and manner of warfaring of the Grecians against the Trojans; the sixth line of the method is my Helen, with a torch in her hand, to discover the manner and reason of our warfaring by tenure; how it may combat or agree with the warfaring in other countries, ancient or modern: as by the common law general, until the division between the two roses, our late civil wars, there was no special mustering of men by subdirections of lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants; their names being scant

visible in their modern laws of England; but according to the duty and conscience of their tenures, upon proclamation of wars, they being *populi fundi Angliæ*, appeared in person, or sent other their countrymen for them, or else paid their escuage, the money that was allotted by parliament, to supply the rooms of them that were absent; and this money was levied upon every knight's fee: as in the fields of general commands, the colonel and captain, who likewise disposeth of his soldiers, so the supreme lord, the king, commands his great vassals, and they command their knights, who sometime call upon their tenants, according to their knight's fee. And this undoubtedly to be true with us appeareth, and might be further verified by many hundred of records and statutes, and by most of our historians; yea strangers, as the French. Sigebertus, writing of the wars that king Hen. II. made in France, at the same time that the king of Scots served under his banner, and was made knight by him, speaketh thus; he calls our knight's fees *feuda loricæ:* accordingly in the ancient state of Rome, until thirty-five years *ab urbe condita*, as Alex. ab Alexandro notes, the people of Rome warred at their own charges. And Sabellicus observes, the first mercenary soldiers that state used was in Spain, in the seventh year of the second Punic war, by Pliny. After the town of Anxurus was taken they used mercenary soldiers, and (as with us) the provision for the wars was local, according to the quality of the land held. Accordingly the Gauls, saith Cæsar, had more or less *ambacts* or *clientes* in the war as they were of greater or lesser state.

And Justin notes, the Parthians found more or less horse proportionably to their riches. Tacitus sheweth, the Germans furnish their horses according to their towns; and by Aristotle's writing of the Athenians in Atidea, they made particular terriers of their land, and thereunto proportionably provided an army with men and money. In the oration of Demosthenes, pro Ctesiphonte, there is recited the edict of Philip king of Macedon; whereby he commands them of Peloponnesus, by the space of forty days, to fur-

nish him of men for the wars, and with provision of victuals; which fully expresseth our escuage, or warfaring tenure: the first mustering of choice and select soldiers (as it should seem) amongst the Athenians, according to Diodorus Siculus, in his 11th book, was brought in by Tolundus, a German.

With us unto the wars the clergy contribute as well as the laity; so Livy tells you, when Faber and Aurelius were quæstors they forced the clergy to pay all arrearages they owed for the wars. By the law of Honorius Theodosius, the clergy, as well as others, were to repair highways and havens: and pope Gregory the IXth saith, they must watch by turn their lands. By Baldus and Boerius they ought to pay the impost of wine, the eighth part of the value to be employed in repairing of bridges or highways. That they ought to pay all taxes due upon the land appeareth by the law of Constantius, and another of Theodosius, and Valentinian in the several codes. Nazianzen writing to Julian his friend, a collector of taxes, would not have him gather any of the clergy, who by no law of the ground are bound to the emperor. These taxes, or servitudes, by reason of the lands, they ought the more willingly to undergo, seeing our Saviour, the head of the church, himself underwent a personal tax of the emperor. On this behalf pope Urban's reason is weightless, where he writes, the clergy ought not to contribute to the wars, because in the forty-seventh of Genesis, Joseph made all the land of Egypt tributary, except that which belonged to the priests: these places of pope Urban are recited by Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, in his 127th epistle for the liberty of the church: yet he confesseth the bishops and abbots ought to find soldiers; for this is, saith he, in respect of their baronies: and although by the scripture the clergy ought not to be soldiers, no more are they in England; for they only send others for them to be soldiers. Wherefore when episcopus Bellovacensis took arms against our king Richard I. who took him in his complete armour, (the pope making means for his deliverance,) he sent back his helmet to the pope,

asking the pope, (as Nubrigensis hath it,) whether the holy father had any son in such apparel. But for this text there is another answer than Grosthead's; for suppose the Levites paid none, yet (a judicial or political law as this was) it is not to be used necessarily in Christian states, especially seeing our clergy have temporal and country lands, which the Levites had not: the best answer to this text is, that it is only meant of the Egyptian priests; for by Pharaoh's laws the Egyptians were to sell their lands, which he granted again in fee farm, yielding the first part of the value; Joseph for Pharaoh did not bind the land of the Egyptian priests. Notwithstanding the clergymen hold land by knight's-service, yet ever since the foundation of the English monarchy the persons of the clergy had a privilege not to be compelled to go in person to war; and this was likewise a privilege belonging to the English priests, being pagans; as appears out of Beda, remembering, that by the preaching of Paulinus, Edwin king of Northumberland first became a Christian, and Coitir his heathen priest told him there was no goodness or truth in the heathen gods. It being disputed whether the king or Coitir should first pluck down the pagan altars, Coitir told him he might not do it as yet, for being an heathen priest it was not lawful for him to carry any arms, nor to ride upon any other beast but a mare.

The Romans, by Pliny[a], unto Hermodorus the Ephesian, who did interpret the law of their tables unto them, erected an image: although my endeavours are worthily fruitless of the like effect, yet in the eighth place methodically I will repass from Littleton's second book to his first book; that is, from our tenures in chivalry, and soccage, relief, homage, fealty, and escuage, to tenant in fee simple, fee tail, for life, years, and at will, and to copyholders and villains, and comparatively interpret them.

The estates, right, interest, or freehold of the subjects in England, which they have in their land, how it agreeth or disagreeth with the inheritance, propriety, or dominion

[a] Nat. Hist. 34. c. 5.

which the subjects of other Christian princes at this day have, or formerly had, will best appear by the description (I may not say definition, for they are as much impossible as dangerous in law matters) of *usus*, *ususfructus*, *emphyteuta*, *feuda*, *libellum*, *hereditas*, *allodium*, *majoratus*, *dominium*, *locatio*, *conductio*; and by a comparative instancing in some particulars of the common law, which, in some part, nearest resembleth the foreign estates and interests to be described; I say, a resemblance only, for it is impossible that the common law should afford particular estates, absolutely or reciprocally expressing or coequal to them, as Elizeus was to the child, seeing they are *supposititii fœtus*, in respect of the common law, and aliens, never made, or likely to be made, denizens of the policy of England; and, which is more, the civil lawyers themselves are not well agreed of the nature of these particulars.

Howsoever, although king Achas pleased not God by building another altar in the temple of God, according to the form of the altar at Damascus, yet I am satisfied I shall not displease our common lawyers, if I erect and parallel the particulars of the civil and common law in this kind. Aristotle was erroneous in affirming God was only in heaven; vain are these professors, who think there is no honey but in their own hive.

Questionless there are many things in the civil law remarkable and powerful: I affirm of them both, as it may be said of honour and virtue in Rome, they have the same form or foundation of primary reason; their altars are proportionable, their sacrifices are common: I appeal likewise to the civilians, whether after my description of these particulars they shall not be said several grafts upon the stock of common law, hereafter *de jure* belonging to it; seeing by the civil law and by the common law, if my plant by water be carried upon your land, and there it groweth, it is not lawful for me to challenge it, much less to pluck it away: at leastwise my resemblances agree with Pliny in his panegyric, *Ut quod gentium est uspiam, apud omnes natum videretur.*

*Usus*, by the body of the civil law, is only the right of using another man's goods, saving the substance of it; he to whom such right is granted is called *usuarius*.

*Ususfructus* by Justinian is described to be the right of leasing and enjoying of another man's goods, saving the substance thereof; he that hath this right is called *usufructuarius:* by this word *enjoying* it differs from *usus*, and thereby *usufructuarius* hath dominion or interest into the fruits: and *fructus* not only comprehends cattle, with their wool and milk, but the rear, and that which cometh from them. And properly *ususfructus* is of those things which are not consumed or spent by using, as land, houses, or cattle, or such things as are spent or wasted by using improperly: by the civilians a man is said to have *ususfructus;* by Cynus, whom Lestus styles a man born for the public good, *fructuarius* in another man's land, of which he hath the *ususfructus*, ought to do all that which a diligent or good master of an household would do in his land or goods, as he is in possession of; but not naturally, for that the *dominus*, the owner, possesseth. I am to branch out this, and distinguish the particulars, learning from Aristotle it is impossible circularly to define any thing.

The best and ordinary description of *emphyteusis* is, that it is a contract whereby any moveable thing is granted to be enjoyed under a certain rent reserved to the grantor, whom they call lord of the propriety or freehold. Alciat, according to the etymology of the Greek, (though some quarrel at it,) hath well noted, to give a thing *in emphyteusin*, is, as one would say, to give a thing to be manured or bettered. Bartolus (whose opinion for law, by the second book of the Ordinations of Portugal, is to be followed by the judges, if there be not particular custom, or Cæsarical law, or gloss directly in the point) confesseth, the special life of *emphyteusis* is in the payment of rent to the lord, and the rent and other service may properly be reserved; yet he cites, and shews *emphyteusis* sometimes may be granted rendering rent, or fealty, and yet it shall be an emphyteutical contract. And whereas by the feudists, *emphyteuticarius*, the tenant that

holds lands in that kind hath only *utile dominium*, that is, a possession, not a freehold; yet Geddæus saith, *emphyteusis est possessio, et dominium possessionis*, and may be granted for ever, as long as rent is paid; so hard it is for the customary estates of tenants in several kingdoms, although acknowledging one supreme law or foundress, the civil, or feudistical laws, to agree amongst themselves; as by their law *emphyteusis* may be granted for ever, or for lives, or for years, above ten; if under ten, *utile dominium* doth not pass; it is accounted rather *contractus locationis, quam emphyteuticus:* although *emphyteuta* be *usufructuarius*, he cannot give, or assign his right over, or sell it: the *emphyteuticarius* may, without license of the lord, and he that buys it hath the interest, performing the conditions annexed: the ordinary *ususfructus* is determined by the death of the usufructuary: the *emphyteuta* doth descend, (except it be especially granted for life,) and descends (by Alciat) as well to female as to the heir male. The ordinary *ususfructus* may be moveable goods, the *emphyteuta* is only immoveable goods, that is to say, in lands.

Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, at the request of Palladius, wrote a book called Anchoratus, because as an anchor it would settle the man who doubted in matters of faith. The willinglier I pursue the description of these particulars, in that I imagine our common lawyers will thereby receive some light, if not satisfaction, when they have occasion to speak of foreign inheritances in land.

To give an exact description of FEUDUM, which is so ordinary an estate of land in France, Germany, and Italy, is impossible; insomuch as . . . . . writes, that *jus feudorum* is rather the custom of a country, than any written law; and by Baldus, *feudum* is *genus*, and *investituræ species;* and although Baldus would have the feudal laws, established by Frederick *in insubribus* in Lombardy, to direct to feudal rites, among all nations having no particular rite, yet Faber sheweth you they hold not in France on this behalf; where Julius Clarus saith, this *liber feudorum* is authentic, and may be allowed for law, beyond, and

on this side the mountains: yet tramontane, as well as ultramontane civilians will deem it otherwise; but for my purpose Julius Clarus's description of *feudi* is the best; where he saith, it is a free and perpetual grant of an immoveable thing, with the transferring the *utile dominium*; the propriety is retained, reserving fealty, and exhibition of services. The proper difference between *emphyteuta* and *feudum* is, that *emphyteuticarius*, in acknowledgment *directi dominii*, paid yearly some rent, or other real thing; *feudatarius* is only to do service, homage, and fealty. Bartolus saith well; although *emphyteuta* and *feudatarius* enjoy their land in their own name, yet because they have not *directum dominium*, but *utile dominium*, they pass *contemplatione alterius*; and *in feudis* they properly descend only to the heirs male: therefore the fourth of the Partidas tell you, that the word *heirs* in feudal grants is as much as to say only heirs male. Cynus saith, the propriety of the *feudi* doth not belong unto the tenant, but unto the chief lord, to whom that is *allodium* which to the vassal is *feudum*, the propriety with the landlord: accordingly I remember the duchy of Parma and Placenza being anciently parcel of the duchy of Milan, until the duke of Milan gave it to the see of Rome, as Platina mentioneth in the Life of pope Julius the Second and pope Leo the Tenth; after, by the pope it was erected into the duchy given unto Farnesius; therefore, by Bartolus, and Baldus, and Ludovicus, Sacca the duke of Parma is the direct lord of all feudatories within the said state; yet, in respect of the church of Rome he is *utilis tantum dominus*, as having only a possession; the freehold being in the pope and his clergy.

*Libello datum prædium* signifieth no more, generally, but land let out at rent; but properly *libellarius* is he to whom *emphyteuticarius*, or *feudatarius* lets out his land, yielding rent, as you would say, an undertenant; Sabellicus having . . . . . .

The divine Power, saith Chrysostom, draws his bow that he may not shoot, whets his sword that he may not strike, by sparing, to shew his kindness; yet if I, having drawn

my bow, should not shoot, that is, having a former show of describing and paralleling the estates of foreign tenures or land with ours, my sparing would make me unkind; wherefore I remember *HEREDITAS*, by the way, is accounted amongst incorporeal things.

*ALLODIUM*, by Hottoman, is the proper patrimony of any freeman, not subject to rent, or *emphyteuticarii*, or tenures, as *feudatarii*.

*MAJORATUS*, which is the worthier holding in Spain, and almost peculiar to that country, by Anton. Gomez, in L. Tauri, by Couarruvias, and others, is described to be an estate of land, freed from service or rent, and not to be aliened, so that the heir is to succeed unto it, as was ordained by the first donor.

*DOMINIUM*, generally, is but the freehold right or interest which a man hath in a thing: Bartolus his description of *dominium* is the right of disposing any corporate thing, unless it be forbidden by the law of rights, or thing incorporate; by them a man hath but *quasi dominium*; ye may see in the Digests sometimes they have *dominium possessionis*. Suarez, the Jesuit, saith *dominium* is but the faculty, or using a thing to any purpose. This word *dominium*, and most of the rest, are equivocal words, and have a manifold homonymia in them; although the grammarians say, to go about to define an equivocal word, formally giving no distinctions thereof, is but lost labour. This only truth, if by your definition or description you mean at once to unfold all the signification or nature the word hath in it; otherwise it is distinction enough to say, I mean to describe them as they are taken in the civil law or the feudal.

*LOCATIO* is defined to be a contract, by which an immoveable thing is let or demised, under term of ten years, for a sum of money, *ad usum aut fructum*.

The making of such a bargain is called *CONDUCTION*; so that one and selfsame contract, on the one part of him that grants any thing *ad usum aut fructum*, for money, is called *locatio*; on the part of him that takes any thing for money, it is called *conductio*. Antonius Pius, the emperor,

forbad the bestowing of any large cost upon shows; these particulars not being common law, purposely I have shortly delivered them.

Howsoever, lest my succeeding paper might make me resemble to the sepulchre of Carolus Martellus, which was made by Emilius, it contained nothing; therefore Martin Chronicon censures him to have been a robber of churches; seeing likewise the civilians are courteous, as ..... they will suffer any to gather their fruit, I shall pick out some short misresemblances, or disagreements, between the common law and the civil law, to the former described particulars; I say but some few, because it rather becometh some exquisite common lawyer, or civil lawyer, to handle this argument.

Accordingly, a schism being whether Victor or Alexander (after the Third) should be pope, the emperor appointed a council at Byzantium in the imperial Burgundy; the kings of Spain and England refused to come; ..... the king of France was bound by his promise to be there; he cometh in the evening to the gates of Byzantium, and washed his hands in the great river, and presently went away, affirming it did not belong to the emperor to summon general councils, yet he had performed his promise. For my purpose, particularly to the civilians; *usus*, *ususfructus*, *emphyteusis*, and *feudum;* an absolute resemblance (as I have said) of the particulars, is impossible; that our law is so unlike unto theirs; herein appeareth some of the glory and riches of the common law above the civil or feudal laws; for these laws (in their *usus*, *ususfructus*, *emphyteusis*, *feudum*, of lands or goods in one and the same thing, admitting several interests or rights in the thing, *dominium utile*, and *dominium directum*, to several persons) hammer out plenty of legal or chymical distinctions ..... the alchymist, they distil fountain waters; by reason whereof the poor clients in their courts roll the stone of Sysiphus: but the motions of the civil lawyers in their courts are like the glorious motion of the sun in his orb, who although he professeth to move continually from

the east to the west, yet before the year go about will shew you, and run a quite contrary motion from the west unto the east, reciprocate *per eandem serram:* not without cause then Budæus complains the judgments in their courts to be *securi littoris scopulos, patrimoniorum naufragia.* Plainly, by the common law, in lands or goods, several men by several titles cannot lawfully have interest, possession, or freehold; the *dominium utile*, and *dominium directum* (as the actual estates of inheritance) are as inseparable, and twined together, as English ..... twins. The error of Dr. Cowel is so gross and dangerous, insomuch that it may be questioned whether every subject of England, that hath any land of inheritance, may not bring an action of the case against him, if he were alive, for his strange assertion in print; as that the subjects of England in their land have only *utile dominium*, and not *dominium directum:* this doctor's words (in his word *feuda*) are, (if we will reckon with our host, as the proverb is,) there is "no man in Eng-"land hath *dominium directum*, i. e. the very property or "demesne in any land, but the prince in the right of his "crown; and the pleading thus imports; which is *seisitus* "*in dominico suo ut de feodo;* which is as much as to say, "mine after a sort, but not absolutely mine, because I hold "in nature of a benefit from another."

By the laws of Spain and Portugal it is not lawful to sell poison; and by ..... *cogitationes aeriæ* are not to be admitted, especially when they concern our freehold. To confute him, by the same reason he might affirm the king himself hath not the absolute propriety, the *dominium directum* in any land, because in pleading for any land he saith he is seised *in dominico suo ut de feodo*, to which purpose are infinite records of pleading in the courts of Westminster; which Mr. Doctor not perceiving, (he might have seen it in the English statutes, to instance in one, the statute of the 37 Hen. VIII. c. 16. or 10.) saith, the king is seised in his demesne as of fee in the manor of Rippon in Yorkshire, and of land called Wacchary, in Sussex: plainly the words *dominico suo ut de feodo* is as much as to say, as

a man is seised of land, or corporate inheritance, in fee-simple, or to him and his heirs of his body; then the pleading is, he was seised in his demesne as of fee-tail; if one have land but for life, he saith he was seised in his demesne as of freehold: the doctor, in many places of his book, quoteth Bracton; but viewing him only as the dogs did the river Nilus, he hath fallen into so great and dangerous an error. For Bracton at large discourses in Henry III.'s time of the reason of the pleading in common law courts, *scisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo;* as it signifies sometimes *de similitudine*, sometimes *de veritate*, that a man may be seised in his demesne as of fee; as when one hath the inheritance in lands one may be seised of a fee, and not of demesne, as of things incorporate, as advowsons or the like; and one may be seised in demesne and not as of fee, as tenant for life; for *feudum*, or fee, by the laws of England, is not the tenure of knight's-service or soccage, and answerable to *feudum* of the emperor Frederick, but, as appeareth by the first words of Littleton, and by Bracton's definition of *feudum*, the actual estate of inheritance which a man hath in land or rent: this formerly in the tenth chapter I have treated of, and I say no more here thereof; for readers are not, or ought not to be, like unto the Athenians, who (by the text) desired to hear again of St. Paul the things he formerly delivered: the reason of the word *demesne* in pleadings is for land or inheritance corporate, or visible; you might so plead *in dominico, ut de feodo*, for inheritance incorporate or invisible, as if one have a rent, a market, an advowson, a warren, or fair, to him and his heirs, or in fee-tail, he must say only he was seised of fee, leaving out the word demesne.

That the pleading was accordingly, many hundred years past, in Edward's time, I will recite a part of a manuscript of Peterborough, whereby it is remembered that Geoffrey de la Mare, by a record in 34 Edw. I. had by inheritance the constablewick of the abbey of Peterborough, by reason whereof he had the conduction of the men of the abbot sent into the wars of the king, and he was to serve in the first course of meat at the installing of the abbot, and to have all

the gold and silver plate set that day upon the abbot's table, and the esquires and servants of the said Geoffrey were to lodge in the abbey; Geoffrey de la Mare was fain to sue the abbot for his fees belonging to his tenure; but, saith the book, tricked him upon his plea for saying he was seised thereof in demesne as of fee, whereas he should have pleaded he was only seised of fee, because the service was a thing incorporate; yet the abbot, to be released of the right and tenure, gave Geoffrey de la Mare 600 marks.

Notwithstanding the foundation of the civil law, as well as of the common law, is firm, yet I am to prove the upper building thereof is weak, and discommodious to dwell in, and must give place to the common law: by St. Augustine, although in the heavens the sun overrunneth the moon in light, it is no dispraise to the moon; this will appear by the nimble or wrangling distinctions that this difference of *directum* and *utile dominium* breedeth in the civil law. First for *usus*, as may appear by Justinian's institutions; he that hath *usus* in any goods; there *bona* comprehends chattels real, and personal, and freeholds, and estates of inheritance; although he have interest, and right to use another man's lands, yet he may only take the flowers, apples, olives, woods, for his daily use: this *usuarius* may walk or dwell upon the ground, so that he be not troublesome to the owner or possessor of the ground, or hinder the servants which manure the land; he cannot give or sell away the profits he may take himself, or do any other thing which *usufructuarius* may do; for he that hath the use of cattle may only labour them; he shall not have the wool, or milk, or rear of them; yet, saith the text of the civil law, he shall have a little milk, and the dung of the cattle to muckle or composture his land: if this civil law were the law of England, what work would it make for cursitors? then would it be said of our law books, as Eunapius speaks of theirs, they were *multorum camelorum onus*.

Further to instance in this particular; that one may have *usus rei alienæ, salva substantia*, what chimeras, ideas, and diversities, in the states of men's lands or goods by reason

hereof have been transferred unto the pope and his canon laws. Hereupon the order of friar minors; that, of all other especially, [to] vow and profess poverty, (to seem more religious unto the people,) give out; and so the canon law adjudgeth; as you may see by the decrees of pope Nicholas the Third, and Gregory the Ninth, and Clement the Ninth, although they are in possession of fair houses, they have but Justinian's use; the dominion, or freehold, or interest of them is in the pope, who may take from them; nay, they say that they have not so much as the interest or propriety in wine, bread, or money, which is given them in alms; and although *usus* and *consumptio* are not different, yet say, that they have but the use, as the civil law imports; the interest, propriety, and dominion, until they have drank their wine, and eat their meat, or spent their money, remaineth in the giver.

The common lawyers, when they hear these distinctions of propriety or interest, use Aristotle's phrase; we understand not the meaning in this respect; those popes, it may be with their commentators; as the fellow in Lucian, which was called blind, because he could not see Plato's idea, which had a thin and airy substance. By better reason was Augustus the emperor blamed by Suetonius Marcus Antonius for writing these things, when men rather wondered at them than understood them: we may find fault with them, and that in the note of Basil, whom Nyssen calls the golden nightingale of the church: it is evident, saith Basil, those subtilties are the foundation of wicked learning: apparently the friars minors, their gluttony or superfluity, do but mask with poverty, or . . . . . their assertion cannot by any natural supposition be held for truth; for in these things, whereof the use and spending do not differ, as in old wine, corn, meat, and the like, the faculty, or right to the use of them, cannot be separated from the interest or propriety of them. And of this opinion is Thomas Aquinas; for, saith he, if one sell the use of the wine severally, and severally sell the wine itself, he selleth the selfsame thing twice: this was so palpable a fancy, that pope John XXII. made

an express constitution against this opinion of pope Nicholas and other popes: pope John holding the friars minors have *verum dominium* in the things they spend, because it is impossible to distinguish in things which are spent in using *ipsum jus utendi a dominio;* yet the late Jesuits are angry with this pope for this constitution.

The *ususfructus* of the civilians, although exploded at this day in most states, admits more reason, as carrying more interest; but in our state, he must be a poet, and not a common lawyer, that can parallel; for although Bracton, writing of the common laws of England in Hen. the Third's time, saith, in one and the same tenement a man may have the freehold, and another man may have the *usum fructum, et usum;* Bracton, when he comes to explain these words of the civil law by common law cases, meaneth only, when one hath a lease at will, or a lease for years, and recites the writ *ejectione firmæ;* so that the particular of *ususfructus*, I will only exemplify out of divine St. Augustine, in an epistle which he writes concerning the land of the church. He saith we are upon the matter but procurators, for the poor taking sufficient for themselves, we challenge not the propriety thereof by a damnable usurpation: this is as much as to say the clergy in their land had only an estate of *ususfructus*.

The *emphyteusis* or *feudum*, which manner of interest, for the most part, grew unto the inhabitants of Europe upon the overthrow of the Roman empire, wherein the possessor had *utile dominium*, that is to say, the *superficiem*, or *vesturam terræ*, and the giver *directum dominium*, who is therefore called *in feudis dominus directus*, *feudatarius*, or *seignieur tres* . . . . . as the Frenchman speaks, for understanding sake may be exemplified to an estate at this day allowed; but before the statute 27 Hen. VIII. if a man made a feoffment to his use, *cestui qui use*, had not so much as *emphyteuta*, or *feudatarius*, not *utile dominium*, he a mere tenant at will, or firmor of the profits, all the interest, or *dominium*, was in the feoffee. The case of *Prima Tonsura* . . . . . will not exemplify this, it being an interest and profit *apprender;* but the case which at this

day corresponds, and serves to enlighten the estates that some foreigners have in their lands, is the estate that copyholders of inheritance have in their lands: for although at the beginning there were tenants at will, yet in prescription of time in copyhold lands the lord hath *directum dominium*, the freehold of the land in him; and the copyholder by custom hath the *utile dominium*, the *superficies*, in the land, descendible to him and his heirs, not removeable by the lord, doing his services; but this is only by custom, for the common law so abhors this distinction of *utile* and *directum dominium*, that at this day one cannot create a copyholder. And in the further parts of Italy, that their feudatory tenant is like our copyholder, in other respects, in part appeareth by the constitutions of Robert II. king of Naples. And Andreas mentioning such a tenant, after the death of his ancestors must pay investiture, and paid relief; . . . . . may well affirm many nations of Europe are ignorant at this day of *contractus emphyteuticus* or *feudatarius;* among which is England in respect of the *utile*, and *directum dominium*, of severing the *superficies* of land by inheritance from the freehold or interest in the land, making land answerable to Euclid's geometrical body; yet I observe in some sort anciently more than now, our land by inheritance, held by homage, or knights'-service, answered their *feudum;* for as Lucas de Penna and Julius Clarus write, the feudal or emphiteutical law-tenant by inheritance cannot commit waste or cut down trees and the like, for impossibilities of escheats, or interest, or *directum dominium;* so it appears by Glanvil and Briton, land which was held by fealty and homage, although the tenant hath an estate of inheritance in it, yet it was subject to the like condition; the former words in the civil or feudal law being again to be delivered, (as Pindarus's phrase is,) makes chained labour.

The next word or link in the chain is *hereditas*, which in the civil law, by Julianus the lawyer, and others, is the right and title which the heir hath to his land; but in the common is natural seisin, and descendible possession and freehold, which a man hath in land. Nachill, some write in Hebrew, is *hereditas*, and signifieth *torrens*, as a full water

descending and spreading itself unto the proper arms. Tully speaks of an house had *hereditario jure;* this a common lawyer would translate a house in *fee-simple.* Molinæus writes, the *hereditas* is only of him that was dead, and not of him that is alive; the common law is quite contrary, and the first article of *Speculum Saxoniæ* saith, all *bona*, of him that is dead, are called *hereditas*, except his *feuda* . . . . . saith . . . . . are called *heredum*, because they follow the heir *heredum;* but by reason of the *feuda*, our estates of inheritance in the common law are patrimonial, and want the distinction of *directum* and *utile dominium;* our common law *feuda* may be said to be our *hereditas.*

Benedictus the monk was frighted; king . . . . . made a vessel which was empty to be instantly replenished with oil by his prayers, as Gregorius Turonensis reports it; but without any miracle my words will fill the empty remaining particulars. Your *allodium*, in the civil, or present law of their countries, are *immunia prædia*, land of inheritance, least subject to tenures, or if any the most easiest, or wherein the inheritance of the possession, *vestura terræ*, or *utile dominium*, is joined in one person, confusedly with the inheritance of the freeholder, or *directum dominium;* of which kind I take it at this day is all the land in England, Scotland, Denmark, and the northern countries, and most of Spain, and especially Portugal, as appeareth by the second book of the ordinations of Portugal: thereby Alvarez de Valasco saith, these kind of free tenants have a peculiar name, *reuengi.* Damanianus a . . . . . the Portugal knight, notes the . . . . . men of Spain are called *reguli*, and of this nature, as I guess, is all the land of France, Italy, and Germany, which is not let in *emphyteusi*, or *feodo*, or *rotruriers.*

In England likewise *allodia* are taken for the land of the best estate or tenure; as may appear by many places of Doomsday to this purpose: the charter of king William Rufus unto Westminster Abbey, where he giveth land.

*Thurstanus, hurscarlus Ed. regis cognat. de eodem*

*rege tenuit libere in allodio.* *Hurscarlus* is a Danish word for servant, *hidal* is a Spanish word for gentleman. Some hold, that they are *allodia, quia minime indigent laude;* but it cometh from a German word, importing land free from taxes. Rhenanus, being no lawyer, holds, *allodia* are lands entailed and inseparably united to a family: Ægidius and Molinæus, although land be *allodia*, yet it is not exempted from the supreme sort of justice; and though the oath of fealty, where Cicero *de L. Agrar.* intimates the Romans had three sorts of *prædia, optimo jure, libera, servilia;* at this day in England, I fancy, the land in fee-simple, which is held in soccage, may be esteemed *optimo jure prædia*, contrary to the ancient nature and privileges *militum*, of soldiers; the fee-simple of knights'-service land, *libera prædia;* copyhold land, *servilia prædia.* By the civil law, the propriety, freehold, or *allodium* of land cannot be sold except a man have a good right to it; the common law is contrary.

*Majoratus*, or the Spanish *primogenia*, an estate tail male inalienable, being a late invention; as may appear by Gomez; as land which came from the crown, which as long as it continues in a posterity, makes their minds as valorous as the prime founder of their fortune, their ancestor's. On this behalf Pindarus calls Pluto the god of riches; as they do increase, so will a man's stomach evidently; these *majoratus* resemble the appennages given out to the heir male of the royal blood in France, or the . . . . . which *semper stirpi adhæret*, and agreeth with the Bockland estate of perpetuity, mentioned by king Alured, or our estate tails created to the heirs males of the body by the statute of Westminster 2 in Edw. I. time, which likewise were . . . . . but remained indissoluble in the blood, until lately in king Edw. IV. time, by the judges of the common place, a common recovery was suffered to cut them off. Doctor Cowel, who in Tertullian's phrase, *scintillas conflabat*, blows up the sparks, writes it to be considered, with what conscience the judges have invented these recoveries to cut off estates tail, to the end they may rub their teeth

with the powder and water Tertullian and Hippolitus write of, and hereafter have a sweet mouth; who take upon them to examine the consciences of judges, who have as much preeminency by their virtue and wisdom, (as Nazianzen writes of Athanasius,) by their dignity and degrees, (as a Greek father writes of Basil,) their words are thunder, their lives lightning, that is, so pure.

I shall deliver reasons, that it is fit perpetuities in estate tail may be cut off by recoveries: my reasons I shall collect out of foreign laws, and out of the common law: as I am to produce some of the former, I think of the close rolls of the tower, where it is commanded, that those who come from beyond sea, and bring liquors with them, should be forced first to taste of their new liquors; in this place voluntarily I have done it; wherefore I may set them on sale; but, (as Horace saith, *mea sum pauper in arte*,) if a man, by this trespassing, act against the statute, may lawfully forfeit the estate tail barr, which is at present and the ancient policy of states, as in other countries more at large I shall unfold, by as good reason by the legal act is to have power in him to dispose of his inheritance.

In Spain they allow it for good law, that the house where false money is shall be forfeited unto the exchequer, although the owner were ignorant thereof; but this is an hard law: anciently, two foreign lawyers, Caius and Barbatias, affirm, perpetuities weed out virtue and industry, by taking away their reward, and they sow the seed of idleness and contempt. Again, it is lawful for a man by foreign examples to disinherit his son; by better reason one may sell his own estate: to instance it out of profane and divine stories.

For profane; Themistocles was disinherited by his father; (as . . . . . writes,) he thought the boy would prove prodigal; so Pompeius Rheginus by Valerius Maximus was disinherited of his brother; yet if a man were unjustly, as Terentius was by some, there Piso, *præfectus urbis*, did not only put Terentius in possession of the lands and goods, but would [not] suffer the heir or legatary to bring any action for his right by Valerius; for the last

point the common law is contrary; the king cannot hinder the subject from bringing this action.

In the divine law; not to speak of David's disinheriting an elder son of a kingdom; by the text, it appeareth generally in the tribes of Israel, the father whilst he lived ruled the family, and left, of course, his power to his eldest son; yet he might disinherit him, as is to be gathered out of 1 Chron. xxvi. 10. in the case of Simri of the family of Merari, who was not the eldest son, yet his father made him head of the family: but as the [xxi.] of Deutr. imports, without cause the father would not disinherit his son.

In the parliament rolls, 1 Hen. IV. it appears, the commons of England put up a petition, that our own commodities and goods should be laden in our own ships and bottoms; and so is the law of England at this day, although practice be against it; I obey our laws and the succeeding reasons.

I copy out of the statute of Hen. VIII. c. 27. about uses, and Chudleigh's case; and the rest adjudged against the perpetuities; yet I also agree unto our chancellor, sir Thomas More: the maxims or reasons of the common law, in foreign matters, or pleas, have not the same force as when they are used in the courts of Westminster, when custom giveth the grace.

Out of our printed cases and statutes, I infer, these recoveries against estates tail stand both with reason and conscience: in that, to embrace a vain and titulary conceit of land continuing a name, intimateth paganism rather than Christianity: if by law the father could not disinherit his son upon any reason, or dispose of his own land, the parents would be least regarded of their children, and many men die in prison for want of means to defray their necessary occasions; and children, be they drunken, (as Bracton discovereth,) or madmen, or bastards, in deed, though not in law, to the unconscionable grief of the parents, must succeed them, when other children are more virtuous; although they be perpetual Lucifers, they must always be angels, and live in plenty.

Again; if these recoveries be not justifiable *in foro con-*

*scientiæ*, then it will be good conscience, that the tenant shall be evicted of leases by the heirs of the grantor, the lord should be defeated of wardships, and the king lose his escheats in case of high treason. A further motive to justify the act of the judges in Edw. IV. was, in that although their common recoveries shewed themselves more frequently, and with more allowance than before, yet ever since the making of the statute of Westm. 2. recoveries I take it were had, and were upon ancient titles; for all the judges know this may be in some fashion collected out of the parliament rolls of the 17 Edw. III.; wherein the commons desire to have it explained, in what degrees the alienation of tenant in tail bindeth the issue, and when not; the king answered, the laws used for the degrees are to be observed.

Dr. Cowel treats only of the conscience, not of the power of the judges, else I might have been subject to a further labour: for these reasons; I doubt but the perpetuities recited by me in the Saxon times, and the perpetuities in the civil law, mentioned in the Digests, and in the 119 and in the 120 Novels, might be cut off, as well as any perpetuities in the common law, although not by the party's own private act, yet by judicial recoveries: and the opinion in a printed treatise called, An Addition to Doctor and Student, "if a "statute were made, there should be no sale of land in "England, that is a good statute;" questionless it is a void statute. I may say also in . . . . . words, who dedicated his works to Carolus Crassus; these things as it were by excess be remembered, *ad cognominalem vestrum Carolum, jam Olienus accedebat notatus*, for *Olerinus notatus*, is in respect of last mention rather than the voice.

Dion Prusæensis writes, those sail quickliest, and safeliest arrive at the haven, who look upon the lights of the watchtower; with more speed and credit I shall accomplish my designs, if I direct my course to the so much admired *dominium*.

The civilians and French lawyers say, there is *plenum, et non plenum dominium*, of such land where is *utile*, and

*directum* [*dominium*] the several owners in that case have not *plenum dominium:* and by Bartolus it is properly of corporal things, or right: but as in the common law we have no such difference of *plenum et non plenum dominium*, so a man hath as much *dominium*, or interest, or right descendible in incorporate things, as in tithes, rents, offices, and the like, as in corporate things; and herein the common law resembles divinity, for God is as much *Dominus*, and hath *dominium* over angels, which are incorporate, as over men, which are corporate. *Dominium* in the common law, as it is sometimes taken for the seignory, or right in possession, which a man hath in any thing corporate or incorporate, so anciently *dominium* and *domanium* with us being one, it signifieth the land a man kept in his own hands in demesne for the present nourishment of his family, as it may appear by Doomsday and Ingulphus. At this day in pleading it is called *dominicum*, which is the phrase of Simonius the monk.

The Frenchmen call it *domanium*. Theodorus Balsamon calls it *dominium; translationis dominium in synodo Laodiceno, et sexto synodo in Trullo*, is the place where *dominica vasa* are kept, which is our vestry; more often *dominic* . . . is taken for the church *titulus* or *martyrium*.

*Locatio* and *conductio* is but the letting of land under the space of ten years, and needeth not much resemblance.

By Feronius, if the tenant have a lease in writing he is to be called properly *libellarius*, because *libello scribitur contractus;* by Gregory the ninth, in the Decretals, in respect of the barrenness, or fruitfulness of the year, the rent is abated; our law was never so.

In Spain, if one buy the king's lands, and a subject, and give not the half value thereof, the sale is not good; but by . . . . . if one take a lease of the king of Spain's land, or take it as a farmer, although he gain half in half, yet the lease shall stand: for pure contracts or leases came in by the law of nations, whereby in this kind it was lawful for any to deceive one another: but this reason is against the former part of the Spanish law, which agreeth with the

civil law, and the law of France: one in buying and selling must gain half in half.

. . . . . in his French Pladoys hath this case: one sold a horse to a young gallant, to be paid five times the worth of him at the day of death or marriage of the buyer. This by the judgment of the court of parliament of Paris was adjudged a contract against good manners; but the court allowed the true value of the horse. By the capitulations of Charles the Great, *conductionis titulo habere*, is to have a lease for years. So in a synod . . . . . in France, anno Domini 1404: no person or persons shall let *per admediationem fructus beneficii*, that is, to let out his benefice for years. Balsamon calls letting out of years the possessor; the lessee the taker of leased lands by Alciat may be called, and by the Novels is Colonarius. These premises I would have to enforce your opinions, that I am an alien, if not an alien to the mind of Peter Blesensis in our Henry the Second's time, who writes, " I read the " code and the pandects in the vacation time for some so- " lace, but not to reap any profit."

Jonathan, when he came into a wood where was great store of honey, took only a little upon the point of a stick; for provisions which were reserved in foreign states as well as ours, the auctorities are so plentiful that I will write only one or two.

Cæsar, being consul with Tibullus, in the year 601 of the city, made a law to the magistrates of the city of Rome, when they passed by any province, the towns and the people should furnish them with hay and victuals: this is called *Julia de magistratibus*. An ancient by her husband had Egypt given her . . . . . .

Themistocles had Lansaica.

Magnesia was given . . . . . .

The Jews likewise, as upon their leases, sometimes reserved provision.

To give an instance in each out of the text; for the former, by the Canticles; Solomon had a vineyard in Balhamon, he gave the vineyard unto the keepers, every one

brought for his part a thousand pieces of silver, but the provision was reserved.

Christ himself proveth it, where he shews the vineyard, whereof rent-grapes were reserved, the tenants killed the heir apparent of their landlord; where the crafty steward in the Gospel bid the debtors of his master write down so many ton of oil less than was owing his master, and so many quarters of wheat. I were a . . . . . I should write these oils and wheat was due to the master in respect of rent and provision, and not for any personal or collateral contract. Varro, saith Plebei . . . . . that is as much as to say, he let out soccage land, yielding yearly the third or half sheaves of corn, or provision, or victual: and as the religious houses in England in the Saxons' time, as formerly appeareth, procured deeds for being discharged from the entertaining the king and his officers of provisions, and from taking up of their houses by their harbingers; generally in other countries of Europe they procure like deeds. Sigonius observes, that Charles the Great, being at . . . . . ., at the request of Germanus the bishop, gave unto Clero Mutinensi the lands which were formerly given by the king of the Longobards, and also provided that this judge or officer should *feudum erigere aut mansiones aut paratus aut fide jussores acceperit.* Choppine recites the letters of Ludovicus Pius, the emperor, to the church of St. Maurice in Anjou, wherein it is ordained no judges shall enter in the lands belonging to the church to hear causes, *vel feuda exigenda, aut mansiones, aut paratus faciendos, aut fidejussores tollendos, aut homines ecclesiæ distringendos.* The like words are in the charter of Dagobert king of France, in the year 718, founding *ecclesiæ canonicæ* with further words, *nec ullus pastus dabitur.* The auctorities are plentiful in this kind. I remember Christiana, the wife of Udislaus the Second, king of Poland, craving of her neighbours in kindness to send her some provision for her house; after, *lex regia* ordained it to endure for ever.

# LETTERS.

*To Prince Henry; touching the Model of a Ship.*

Most excellent prince,

IF the ship your highness intends to build be bigger than the Victory, then her beams which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her timbers and other stuff will not serve; whereas if she be a size less, the timber of the old ship will serve well to the building of a new.

If she be bigger, she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, our channels decaying every year; less nimble, less manageable, and seldom to be used: *Grande navio grande fatica,* saith the Spaniard.

A ship of six hundred tons will carry as good ordnance as a ship of twelve hundred tons, and where the greater hath double her ordnance, the less will turn her broadside twice before the great ship can wind once, and so no advantage in that overplus of guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare; whereas the greater is slow, unmanageable, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned ship these things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.
2. Swift in sail.
3. Stout-sided.
4. That her ports be so laid as that she may carry out her guns all weathers.
5. That she hull and try well.
6. That she stay well when boarding or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of

the workman; to make her swift is to give her a large run or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion; and that in laying out her bows before, and quarters behind, the shipwright be sure that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it; wherein shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off from above water to the lower edge of the ports, which done, then will she carry out her ordnance all weathers.

To make her to hull and to try well, which is called a good sea ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not overcharged: and this is seldom done in the king's ships, and therefore we are forced to lie, or try in them with our main course and mizzen, which with a deep keel and standing streak she would perform.

The extreme length of a ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floaty, and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such overlong ships are fitter for the narrow seas in summer than for the ocean, or long voyages; and therefore an hundred foot by the keel, and thirty-five foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ship.

It is to be noted, that all ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the sea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of ships is that that brings many ill qualities; it makes them extreme leeward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oft-times overset. Safety is more to be respected than shows, or niceness for ease; in sea journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two decks and a half is enough, and no building at all above that but a low master's cabin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them.

But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rolling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Besides those high cabin works aloft are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things have care that the great guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or else these best pieces are idle at sea: for if the ports lie lower and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly ship, and many gallant gentlemen lost in the days of Henry the Eighth, before the Isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of Mary Rose.

---

*To Mr. Secretary Winwood, before his Journey to Guiana.*

Honoured sir,

I WAS lately persuaded by two gentlemen, my ancient friends, to acquaint your honour with some offers of mine made heretofore for a journey to Guiana, who were of opinion, that it would be better understood now than when it was first propounded, which advice having surmounted my despair, I have presumed to send unto your honour the copies of those letters which I then wrote, both to his majesty and to the treasurer Cecil, wherein as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: because those that had the greatest trust were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the truth, but because they doubted my disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the enterprise) I had recovered his majesty's favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion, they never had any. Our late worthy prince of Wales was extreme curious in searching out the nature of my offences: the queen's majesty hath informed herself from the beginning; the king of Denmark at both times of his being here

was thoroughly satisfied of my innocency; they would otherwise never have moved his majesty on my behalf.

The wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect; but, sir, since they all have done it out of their charity, and but with references to me alone, your honour, (whose respect hath only relation to his majesty's service,) strengthened by the example of those princes, may with the more hardiness do the like, being princes to whom his majesty's good estate is no less dear, and all men that shall oppugn it no less hateful than to the king himself.

It is true, sir, that his majesty hath sometimes answered, that his counsel knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them; and it was indeed my infelicity; for had his majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His majesty not knowing of me hath been my ruin, and his majesty misknowing of them hath been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate: but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his majesty's knowledge. But, sir, how little soever his majesty knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his majesty both for my life and all that remains, of which, but for his majesty, nor life nor ought else had remained. In this respect, sir, I am bound to yield up the same life, and all I have for his majesty's service: to die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition I have in the world.

WALTER RALEGH.

---

*To his Wife, from Guiana.*

Sweet heart,

I CAN yet write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture for fifteen days that ever man did, and lived: but God, that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship,

of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick, but having yet recovered the land of Guiana, this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of the fleet reasonable strong, strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spaniard by his ambassador have not taught the Spanish king to fortify all the entrances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure, and if we perish it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his majesty, to lose among many other one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it.

Of captain Baylies base running from us at the Canaries see a letter of Kemish's to Mr. Story, and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds. He hath in the same letter given a touch of the way, that, which ever hath been sailed in fourteen days, we hardly performed in forty days. God, I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passing by the Canaries I stayed at Gomerah, where I took water in peace, because the country durst not deny it me. I received there from the countess (of an English race) a present of oranges, lemons, quinces[a], and pomegranates, without which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh sand, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your son had never so good health, having no manner of distemper in all that heat under the line. My servants have escaped but Crab and my cook, yet all have had the sickness. Crofts, and March, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my lord Carew and Mr. secretary Winwood.

I wrote not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries yet. Of men of sort, we have lost our sergeant-major captain Piggot, and his lieutenant, captain Edward Hastings, who would have died had he stayed in London, for both his liver, spleen, and brains, were rotten. My son's lieutenant Payton, and my cousin Mr. Hews, Mr.

[a] Citrons, MS. Ashm. 781. Limes, ibid. 830.

Mordant, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hayward, captain Jenning, the merchant, Kemish of London, and the master chirurgeon, Mr. Refiner, Mr. Moor the governor of the Barmoudas, our provost marshal William Steed, lieutenant Vescie, but to mine extraordinary grief, Hammon and Talbot. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us; in God's hands we are, and in him we trust.

This bearer, captain Alley, for his infirmity of his head, I have sent back, an honest, valiant man; he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Lothbury, to John Leigh and Mr. Bower, whose nephew Knevit is well, and to my cousin Blundel, and my most devoted and humble service to the queen's majesty.

To tell you that I might be here king of the Indians were a vanity; but my name hath still lived amongst them; here they feed me with fresh water and meat, and all that the country yields; all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor Carew my son.

Your ever loving husband,

WALTER RALEGH.

From Calliana in Guiana, the
fourteenth of Nov. 1617.

---

*To Sir Ralph Winwood.*

Sir,

As I have not hitherto given you any account of our proceedings and passages towards the Indies, so have I no other subject to write of, since our arrival, than of the greatest and sharpest misfortunes that have ever befallen any man: for whereas, for the first, all those that navigate between Cape de Verd and America do pass it in fifteen or twenty days at most, we found the winds so contrary, and (which is also contrary to nature) so many storms and rains, as we spent six weeks in the passage, by reason whereof, and that in so great heat, we wanted water: for at the isle of Prano, [Praya, St. Jago,] off Cape de Verd, we lost our anchors and cables, and our water-casks, being driven from the island with a hurricano, and were like all to have pe-

rished. Great sickness also fell amongst us, and carried away great companies, and numbers of our ablest men both for sea and land. The seventeenth of November, [1617,] we had sight of the coasts of Guiana, and soon after came to anchor in five degrees at the river Calliana; here we stayed till the fourth of December, landed our sick men, set up the barges and shallops which we brought out of England in quarters, washed our ships, and took in fresh water, being fed and cherished by the Indians of my old acquaintance, with a great deal of love and respect. Myself having been sick and in the hands of death, without any hope, some six weeks, (and yet not able otherwise to move, than as I was carried in a chair,) gave order to five small ships to sail into Oroonoko, having captain Keymis for their conductor towards the mines; and in those five ships five companies of fifty under the command of captain Parker and captain North, brethren to the lord Mounteagle and the lord North, valiant gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured; my son had the third company; captain Thornix of Kent the fourth company; captain Chudley, by his lieutenant, the fifth: but as my sergeant-major, captain Piggot of the Low Countries, died in the former miserable passage, so now my lieutenant, sir Warham Saint Leger, lay sick without hope of life, and the charge was conferred on my nephew George Ralegh, who had also served long with singular commendations in the Low Countries, but by reason of my absence, and of sir Warham's, was not so well obeyed as the enterprise required. As they passed up the river, the Spaniards began the war, and shot at us both with their ordnance and muskets, whereupon the companies were forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the town. In the assault whereof my son (having more desire of honour than safety) was slain, and with him (to say truth) all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five captains had as weak companies as ever followed any valiant leaders, yet were there amongst them some twenty or thirty very adventurous gentlemen,

and of singular courage; as of my son's company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his officers, sir John Heydon, Mr. Simon Leak, corporal of the field, Mr. Hammond's elder brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. William Herbert, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mollineaux, Mr. Winter and his brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, captain Hall, and others.

Sir, I have set down the names of these gentlemen, to the end that if his majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient men. The other five ships stayed at Trinidado, having no other port capable of them near Guiana. The second ship was commanded by my vice-admiral captain John Pennington, of whom (to do him right) I must needs confess he is one of the sufficientest gentlemen for the sea England hath. The third by sir Warham Saint Leger, an exceeding valiant and worthy gentleman. The fourth by sir John Fern; the fifth by captain Chudley of Devon. With these five ships I daily attended the armado of Spain, which had they set upon us, our force being divided, the one half in Oroonoko, an hundred and fifty miles from us, we had not only been torn in pieces, but all those in the river had also perished, being of no defence at all for sea-fight; for we were resolved to have burnt by their sides, and to have died there, had the armado arrived: but belike they stayed for us at Margarita, by which they knew we must pass towards the Indies; for it pleased his majesty to value us at so little, as to command me upon my allegiance to set down under my hand the country and the very river by which I was to enter it, to set down the number of my men, and the burden of my ships, with what ordnance every ship carried; which being made known to the Spanish ambassador, and by him, in post, sent to the king of Spain, a despatch was made and letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames; for his first letter, sent by a bark of advice, was dated the 14th of March, 1617, at Madrid, which letter I have here enclosed sent your honour; the

rest I reserve, not knowing whether this may be intercepted or not. The second by the king, dated the 17th of May, sent also by a carvel to Diego de Palomeque, governor of Guiana, Elderedo, and Trinidado. The third by the bishop of Puerto Ricco, and delivered to Palomeque the 15th of July, at Trinidado. And the fourth was sent from the farmer or secretary of his customs in the Indies. At the same time, by that of the king's hand, sent by the bishop, there was also a commission for the speedy levying of three hundred[b] soldiers, and ten pieces of ordnance, to be sent from Puerto Ricco for the defence of Guiana; an hundred and fifty[c] from Nuevo Regno de Granada, under the command of captain Anthony Massica; and the other hundred and fifty[d] from Puerto Ricco, to be conducted by captain Fran. Lanchio.

Now, sir, if all that have traded to the Indies since his majesty's time know it, that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but merchants men, what death and torment shall we expect, if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, we being set out unto them as we were, and discovered, both for number, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an apology for not working the mine, although I know not (his majesty excepted) whom I am to satisfy so much as myself, having lost my son and my estate in the enterprise; yet it is true that the Spaniards took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, than they did their town, which, having the king's instructions, they might easily do, the countries being *aspera et nemorosa*[e].

But it is true, that when captain Kemish found the river low, and that he could not approach the banks in most places near the mine by a mile, and when he found a descent, a volley of muskets came from the woods upon the boat, and slew two of our rowers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant gentleman, captain Thornix, in the head, of which wound he languisheth to this day; he, to wit Kemish, fol-

[b] Three thousand, MS. Ashm.
[c] Fifteen hundred, MS. Ashm.
[d] Fifteen hundred, MS. Ashm.
[e] Fragosa, MS. Ashm. and Tanner.

lowing his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the mine; for he gave me this for an excuse at his return, that the companies of English in the town of St. Thome were hardly able to defend it against the daily and nightly allarums and assaults of the Spaniards; that the passages to the mines were of thick and unpassable woods; and that the mine being discovered, they had no men to work it, and therefore he did not discover it at all: for it is true, the Spaniards having two gold mines near the town, the one possessed by Pedro Rodrigo de Parama, the second by Harman Franchino, the third, of silver, by captain Francisco Fachardo, they complain for want of negroes to work them; for as the Indians cannot be constrained by a law of Charles the Fifth, so the Spaniards will not, neither can they, endure the labour of these mines, whatsoever that braggadocia, the Spanish ambassador, saith; as I shall prove under the proprietor's hand by the custom-books, and the king's quinto, of which I recovered an ingot or two: I shall also make it appear, to any prince or state that will undertake it, how easily those mines and five or six more of them may be possessed, and the most of them in those places which never as yet have been attempted by any enemy, nor any passage to them ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch. But at Kemish's return from Oroonoko, when I received his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the king past recovery, he slew himself: for I told him, that, seeing my son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an hundred more in opening of the mine, so my credit had been saved: for, I protest before God, had not captain Whitney (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the captains of my fleet) run from me at the Granadoes, and carried another ship with him of captain Wollaston's, I would have left my body at St. Thomes by my son's, or have brought with me out of that or other mines so much gold ore, as should have satisfied the king that I had propounded no vain thing. What shall become of me now, I know not; I am unpardoned in England, and my poor estate consumed; and

whether any other prince or state will give me bread or no, I know not. I desire your honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my service to my lords of Arundel and Pembroke, to take some pity on my poor wife, to whom I dare not write, for renewing the sorrow of her son; and beseech you to give a copy of this to my lord Carew: for to a broken mind, a sick body, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weakness of the Indies, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful servant,

WALTER RALEGH.

*A postscript.*

SINCE the death of Kemish, it is confessed by the sergeant-major and others of his inward friends, that he told them, when he was at the river's mouth coming thence, that he could have brought them unto the mine within two hours' march from the river side; but because my son was slain, myself unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the mine either for the Spaniard or for the king. They answered, that the king (though I were not pardoned) had granted me a patent under the great seal. He replied, that the grant to me was to a man *non ens* in the law, and therefore of no force. This discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was resolved to write unto your honour, he prayed me to join with him in excusing his not going to the mine. I answered him, I would not do it; but if himself could satisfy the king and state that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow it that he knew it, and that he might with very little loss have done it; other excuse I would not frame: he told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was not sooner come from him into my cabin, but that I heard a pistol go off over my head, and sending to know who shot it; word was brought me that Kemish shot it out of his cabin window to cleanse it; and his boy, going into

his cabin, found him lying upon his bed with much blood by him, and looking in his face saw him dead; the pistol being but little, the bullet did but crack his rib, but turning him over, he found a long knife in his body, all but the handle. Sir, I have sent into England a fly-boat with my cousin Harbert, (a very valiant, honest gentleman,) divers unworthy persons, good for nothing, neither by sea nor land, and, though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your honour, that these scum of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest rascal in the ship; these being gone, I shall be able, if I live, to keep the sea until the end of August, with some four reasonable good ships. Sir, whensoever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not fail to let your honour know what we have done; till then and ever I remain

Your honour's

Servant,

WALTER RALEGH.

From St. Christopher's, out of
the island of the Antilles,
the 21st of March, 1618.

---

*To his Wife.*

I WAS loath to write, because I know not how to comfort you; and God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is this; that you must obey the will and providence of God; and remember, that the queen's majesty bare the loss of prince Henry with a magnanimous spirit, as the lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, (dearest Bess,) I shall sorrow for us both; and I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretary Winwood's letter, who will give you a copy of it, if you send for it; therein you shall know what hath passed. I have written but that letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery. I

have desired Mr. Secretary to give my lord Carew a copy of his letter. I have cleansed my ship of sick men, and sent them home; and hope that God will send us somewhat before we return. Commend me to all at Lothbury. You shall hear from me, if I live, from Newfoundland, where I mean to clean my ships and revictual; for I have tobacco enough will pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your most valiant son.

This 22d of March, 1618, from the isle of Christophers, yours,

WALTER RALEGH.

*Postscript.*

I PROTEST before the majesty of God, that as sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins died heartbroken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you, to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true, that Kemish might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it; but, after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river, and, counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered, that seeing my son was slain, and that he left me so weak that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after my son's death, made no account of him. He further told me, that the English sent up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish town of St. Thome which they had taken, and therefore for them to pass through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible to have victuals brought them to the mountains. And it is true, that the governor Diego Palomeque, and other four captains, being slain, whereof my son Wat slew one, Plessington, Wat's sergeant, another, and John of Mo-

roccoes, one of his men, slew two other. I say, five of them being slain in the entrance into the town, the rest went off in a whole body, and took more care to defend the passages to their mines, (of which they had three within a league of the town, besides a mine[f] that was about five miles off,) than they did of the town itself. Yet Kemish at the first was resolved to go to the mine; but when he came to the bank-side to land, he had two of his men slain outright from the bank, and six others hurt, and captain Thornix shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when Kemish came back, and gave me the former reasons which moved him not to open the mine; the one, the death of my son; a second, the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work it, and to be victualled; a third, that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards; and, lastly, my weakness, and being unpardoned; and that I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that I must leave him to himself, to answer it to the king and state, he shut himself into his cabin, and shot himself with a pocket pistol, which broke one of his ribs; and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died. Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose letters I refer you; but because I think my friends will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth, I did after the sealing break open the letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my lord of Northumberland, and Silvanus Scorie, and to sir John Leigh.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine allegiance to set down, not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my ships' number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master the king of Spain. The king wrote his letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the governor Palameque, of Guiana, Eldorado, and Trinadado; of which the

[f] Other mines five miles without the town, MS. Ashm. 781. 98.

first letter bore date 19th of March, 1617, at Madrid, when I had not yet left the Thames, which letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also two other letters of the king's, which I reserve, and one of the council's. The king also sent a commission to levy three hundred soldiers out of his garrisons of Nuevo Regno de Granada and Puarto Richo, with ten pieces of brass ordnance to entertain us; he also prepared an armada by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved; if I live, I shall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much; I live yet, and I told you why. Witney, for whom I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadoes, and Woolenston with him; so as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home; and in my fly-boat a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me; but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the fleet had taken the pains and care that I have done, that hath slept so little, and travailed so much; my friends will not believe them; and for the rest I care not; God in heaven bless you and strengthen your heart.

Yours,

WALTER RALEGH.

---

*To King James at his Return from Guiana.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

If in my journey outward-bound I had my men murdered at the islands, and yet spared to take revenge; if I did discharge some Spanish barks taken without spoil; if I forbore all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the sea coasts, and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana; where, without any directions from me, a Spanish village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the mine: by your majesty's favour, I find no reason why the Spanish ambassador should complain of me. If it were

lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword amongst them all; and that it may not be lawful to your majesty's subjects, being charged first by them, to repel force by force; we may justly say, O miserable English!

If Parker and Metham took Campeachy and other places in the Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish Indies, burnt towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their return; and myself forbore to look into the Indies, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Ralegh!

If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by sickness and otherwise a world of miseries; if I have resisted with the manifest hazard of my life the robberies and spoils with which my companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor I could have made myself rich; if when I had gotten my liberty, which all men and nature herself do much prize, I voluntary lost it; if when I was master of my life I rendered it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my purse, and yet brought them into England; I beseech your majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your majesty, that your majesty had given liberty and trust to a man, whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your majesty's trust.

My mutineers told me, that if I returned for England I should be undone; but I believed in your majesty's goodness more than in all their arguments. Sure I am, that I am the first who, being free and able to enrich myself, have yet embraced poverty and peril. And as sure I am, that my example shall make me the last. But your majesty's wisdom and goodness I have made my judges, who have ever been, and shall ever remain,

Your majesty's most humble vassal,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To his Majesty before his Trial at Winchester, anno Dom.* 1603.

It is one part of the office of a just and worthy prince to hear the complaints of his vassals, especially of such as are in great misery. I know that amongst many other presumptions gathered against me, your majesty hath been persuaded that I was one of them who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal; but the great God of heaven and earth so relieve me in both worlds as I was the contrary; and I took it as a great comfort to behold your majesty, always learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing your majesty discourse. I do therefore most humbly beseech your majesty not to believe any of those, in my particular, who under pretence of offences to kings do easily work their particular revenge. I trust that no man, under colour of making examples, shall persuade your majesty to leave the word *merciful* out of your style; for it will no less profit your majesty, and become your greatness, than the word *invincible*. It is true, that the laws of England are no less jealous of the king, than Cæsar was of Pompey's wife; who notwithstanding that she was cleared of having accompanied Claudius, yet for being suspected he condemned her: for myself, I protest before the everliving God, (and I speak it to my master and my sovereign,) that I never intended treason, consented to treason, nor performed treason against him; and yet I know I shall fall *in manus eorum a quibus non possum exurgere*, unless by your majesty's gracious compassion I be sustained. Our law, therefore, most merciful prince, knowing her own cruelty, and knowing that she is wont to compound treasons out of presumptions and circumstances, doth give this charitable advice to the king her supreme: *Non solum sapiens esset rex, sed et misericors, ut cum sapientia misericordetur, sit justus; cum tutius, sit reddere rationem misericordiæ quam judicii.* I do therefore, on the knees of my heart, beseech your majesty to take counsel from your own sweet and comfortable

disposition, and to remember that I have loved your majesty twenty years, for which your majesty hath yet given me no reward: and it is fitter I should be indebted to my sovereign lord, than the king to his poor vassal. Save me therefore, (most merciful prince,) that I may owe your majesty my life itself, than which there cannot be a greater debt; lend it me at least, (my sovereign lord,) that I may pay it in your service when your majesty shall please to command it. If the law destroy me, your majesty shall put me out of your power; and I shall have none to fear, none to reverence, but the King of kings.

Your majesty's most humble vassal,

WALTER RALEGH.

---

*To the Earls of Southampton, Suffolk, and Devonshire, and to the Lord Cecil, declaring his innocency in the two points wherewith he was charged, as in point of treason, the 14th of August* 1603.

I do not know whether your lordships have seen my answers to all the matters which my lord Henry Howard, my lord Wotton, and sir Edward Cooke have examined me on, upon Saturday the 14th of this present, which makes me bold to write unto your lordships at this time; the two principal accusations being these: the first, that money was offered me with a pretence to maintain the amity; but the intent was to have assisted his majesty's surprise: the other, that I was privy to my lord Cobham's Spanish journey. For the first, I beseech your lordships to weigh it seriously before there be any further proceeding: for to leave me to the cruelty of the law of England, and to that *summum jus*, before both your understandings and consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the father and fatherless; and you may be assured that there is no glory, nor any reward that can recompense the shedding of innocent blood. And whereas it seemeth to appear that this money was offered to others long after it was offered to me, and upon some other considerations than it was unto

me; for myself, I avow upon my allegiance that I never either knew or suspected either the man or the new intention. To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness. For, if that word (amity) had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true end for which it should have been given, which it seemeth was for the surprise: but of any such horrible and fearful purpose if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your lordship's favours and the king's mercy. I know that your lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth hereof. But as you have not erred, like ill surgeons, to lay on plaisters too narrow for so great wounds, so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself.

For the journey into Spain, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto: but I know your lordships have a reputation of conscience as well as of industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, you, my lord Cecil, know right well, that it was my letter about Kemish; and your lordships all know whether it be maintained, or whether, out of truth and out of a Christian consideration, it be revoked. I know that to have spoken it once is enough for the law, if we lived under a cruel prince; but I know that the king is too merciful to have or suffer his subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved or can persuade his religious heart of the equity: I know that the king thinks (with all good princes) *satius est peccare in alteram partem*. God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent forty thousand pounds of mine own against that king and nation; that I never reserved so much of all my fortunes as to purchase forty pounds per ann. land; that I have been a violent persecutor and furtherer of all enterprises against that nation; I have served against them in person; and how, my lord admiral and my lord of Suffolk can witness. I discovered myself the richest part of all his Indies: I have planted in

his territories: I offered his majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry two thousand men to invade him without the king's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word; and in this time when we have a generous prince, from whom to purchase honour and good opinion I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent nation. Think therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great affliction with compassion, who have lost my estate and the king's favour upon one man's word; and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me; you all know that the law of England hath need of a merciful prince, and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive his majesty's least grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true honour, and as you would yourselves be used in the like. Forget all particular mistakes, *multos clementia honestavit, ultio nullum.* Your lordships know that I am guiltless of the surprise intended: your lordships know, or may know, that I never accepted of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill; and of the Spanish journey I trust your consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my answers and humble desires from my sovereign lord, *qui est rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus.* Thus humbly beseeching your lordships to have a merciful regard of me, I rest

Your lordships' humble and miserable suppliant,

WALTER RALEGH.

---

*To the King, after his condemnation at Winchester*, 1603.

THE life which I had (most mighty prince) the law hath taken from me; and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was first framed. If my offence had any proportion with your majesty's mercy, I might despair; or if my deserving had any quantity with your majesty's

unmeasurable goodness, I might yet have hope; but it is your great majesty that must judge of both, and not I. Blood, name, gentry, or estate have I (now) none, no, not so much as a being, no, not so much as *vita plantæ*. I have only a penitent soul in a body of iron, which moveth towards the loadstone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your majesty's mercy turn the point towards me which repelleth. Lost I am for hearing a vain man, for hearing only, and never believing or approving; and so little account I made of that speech of his, which was my condemnation, (as the living God doth truly witness,) that I never remembered any such thing, until it was at my trial objected against me. So did he repay my care who cared to make him good, which (now too late) I see no care of man can effect. But God (for mine offence towards him) hath laid this heavy burden upon me, miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am; but not for loving you (my sovereign) hath God laid this sorrow on me; for he knoweth (with whom I may not dissemble) that I honoured your majesty by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge; so as whether I live or die, your majesty's true and loving servant, and loyal subject, I will live and die. If I now write what doth not become me (most merciful prince) vouchsafe to ascribe it to the counsel of a dead heart, and a mind which sorrow hath broken and confounded; but the more my misery is, the more is your majesty's mercy, if you please to behold it; and the less I can deserve, the more liberal your majesty's gift shall be. God only your majesty shall imitate herein, both in giving freely, and by giving to such a one as from whom there can be no retribution, but only a desire to repay a lent life with the same great love which the same great goodness shall please to bestow it. This being the first letter that ever your majesty received from a dead man, I humbly submit myself to the will of my supreme lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your majesty to lay upon me.

WALTER RALEGH.

*To his Wife, the night before he expected to be put to death at Winchester*, 1603.

You shall now receive (my dear wife) my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, (dear Bess,) let them go to the grave, and be buried with me in the dust: and seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself.

First, I send you all the thanks my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and cares taken for me; which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days, but by your travail seek to help your miserable fortune and the right of your poor child: thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand that my land was conveyed (*bona fide*) to my child; the writings were drawn at midsummer was twelvemonths; my honest cousin Brett can testify so much, and Dalberie too can remember somewhat therein: and I trust my blood will quench their malice that have thus cruelly murdered me; and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial: [a] and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, (as God knows,) that, being thus surprised by death, I can leave you no better estate; God is my witness, I meant you all my office of wines, or that I could have purchased by selling it; half my stuff and all my jewels, but some one for the boy; but God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that great God that worketh all in all; but if you live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity; love God,

[a] and I——first day] Not in MS. Ashm.

and begin betimes to repose your trust on him; therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitation, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilst he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him; and then will God be a husband unto you, and a father unto him; a husband and a father which can never be taken from you. Bayly oweth me two hundred pounds, and Adrian Gilbert six hundred pounds. In Jersey also I have much money owing me; besides, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts; and howsoever you do, for my soul's sake pay all poor men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich: but take heed of the pretences of men and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befall you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this (God knows) to dissuade you from marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me.

Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters (if it be possible) which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life: but it is true that I disdain myself for begging it, for know it (dear wife) that your son is the son of a true man, and one who in his own respect despiseth death, and all his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God he knoweth how hardly I steal this time while others sleep; and it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay it at Sherborn, (if the land continue,) or in Exeter church by my father and mother; I can say no more, time and death call me away.

The everlasting God, infinite, powerful, and inscrutable;

that Almighty God which is goodness itself, mercy itself, the true life and light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and false accusers, and send us to meet again in his glorious kingdom! My true wife, farewell: bless my poor boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms.

Written with the dying hand of sometime thy husband, but now (alas!) overthrown.

Yours that was, but now not my own,

WALTER RALEGH.

---

*To Sir Robert Car, after Earl of Somerset.*

SIR,

AFTER many losses, and many years' sorrows, of both which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in their ends, it is come to my knowledge that yourself (whom I know not but by an honourable fame) hath been persuaded to give me and mine my last fatal blow, by obtaining from his majesty the inheritance of my children and nephews, lost in law for lack of a word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the name of life; his majesty, whom I never offended, (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodness,) stayed me at the grave's brink; not that I thought his majesty thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold all mine cast out of the world with myself, but as a king, who knowing the poor in truth, hath received a promise from God that his throne shall be established for ever.

And for you, sir, seeing your fair day is but in the dawn, mine drawn to the setting; your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many good fortunes and much honour; I beseech you begin not your first building upon the ruins of the innocent, and let not mine and their sorrows attend your first plantation. I have ever been bound to your nation, as well for many other graces as for the true report of my trial to the king's majesty; against whom had I been found malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion,

and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature of foul treason to beget such fair passions; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithful subjects (especially of your nation) to bewail his overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal lord. I therefore trust that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless: which, if it please you to know the truth, are far less in value than in fame. But that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to your service, (being six gentlemen not base in birth and alliance,) which have interest therein: and myself with the uttermost thankfulness will remain ready to obey your commandments.

WALTER RALEGH.

*To the Duke, 12th of August.*

If I presume too much, I humbly beseech your lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthy a person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but most happy had I been, if I might have disapproved that villainy against me, when there had been no suspicion that the desire to save my life had presented my excuse.

But, my worthy lord, it is not to excuse myself that I now write: I cannot, for I have now offended my sovereign lord: for all past, even all the world, and my very enemies, have lamented my loss, whom now if his majesty's mercy alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence itself I had no other intent than his majesty's service, and to make his majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth, and which, with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died: being resolved (as it is well known) to have done it from Plymouth, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only

to recover his majesty's gracious opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my keeper,) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testify, and wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness: yea, that gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards London, I desired to have no other treasure than the exact description of those places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God, I trust, and mine own actions, will dissuade his majesty; whom neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years' imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon, could beat from his service. And the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did unpardoned, balanced with my love to his majesty's person and estate, had no place at all in my heart.

It was that last severe letter from my lords, for the speedy bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented resolution, if his majesty's mercy do not abound: if his majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my errors: if his majesty in his great charity do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving, natural impulsion, without ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my intercessor, whereby your lordship shall bind an hundred gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memory, and bind me for all the time of that life, which your lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and ever bind me to remain

Your most humble servant,

WALTER RALEGH.

## ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENCE.

*To the Earl of Leicester.*

I MAY not forget continually to put your honour in mind of my affection unto your lordship, having to the world both professed and protested the same. Your honour having no use of such your followers hath utterly forgotten me; notwithstanding, if your lordship shall please to think me yours, as I am, I will be found as ready, and dare do as much in your service as any man you may command; and do neither so much despair of myself, but that I may be some way able to perform as much. I have spent some time here under the deputy in such poor place and charge, as were it not for that I knew him to be as if yours, I would disdain it as much as to keep sheep. I will not trouble your honour with the business of this lost land; for that sir Warram Sentleger can best of any man deliver unto your lordship, the good, the bad, the mischiefs, the means to amend, and all in all of this common-wealth, or rather common-woe. He hopeth to find your honour his assured good lord, and your honour may most assuredly command him. He is lovingly inclined toward your honour, and your lordship shall win by your favour toward him, a wise, faithful, and valiant gentleman, whose word and deeds your honour shall ever find to be one. Thus having no other matter, but only to desire the continuance of your honour's favour, I humbly take my leave. From the camp of Kismore in Ireland, August the 25th.

Your honour's faithful and obedient,

WALTER RALEGH.

I am bold, being bound by very conscience, to commend unto your honour's consideration the pitiful estate of John Fitz-Edmonds of Cloyne, a gentleman, and the only man untouched and proved true to the queen both in this and the last rebellion. Sir Warram can deliver his services, what he is, and what he deserveth.

*To Sir Humphrey Gilbert.*

[No date, but written in 1583.]

BROTHER,

I HAVE sent you a token from her majesty, an anchor guided by a lady as you see; and further, her highness willed me to send you word, that she wished you as great good hap and safety to your ship, as if herself were there in person, desiring you to have care of yourself as of that which she tendereth; and therefore, for her sake, you must provide for it accordingly. Further, she commandeth that you leave your picture with me. For the rest I leave till our meeting, or to the report of this bearer, who would needs be the messenger of this good news. So I commit you to the will and protection of God, who send us such life or death as he shall please, or hath appointed. Richmond, this Friday morning.

Your true brother,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To the Earl of Leicester.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

YOU wrote unto me in your last letters for pioneers to be sent over; whereupon I moved her majesty, and found her very willing, insomuch as order was given for a commission; but since, the matter is stayed, I know not for what cause. Also, according to your losdship's desire, I spoke for one Jukes for the office of the back-house, and the matter well liked. In ought else your lordship shall find me most assured to my power to perform all offices of love, honour, and service toward you. But I have been of late very pestilent reported in this place to be rather a drawer-back, than a furtherer of the action where you govern. Your lordship doth well understand my affection toward Spain, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune, hurting the tyrannous prosperity of that estate, and it were now strange and monstrous that I should become an enemy to my country and conscience. But all that I have desired at your lordship's hands is, that you will evermore deal directly

with me in all matter of suspect doubleness, and so ever esteem me as you shall find my deserving, good or bad. In the mean time, I humbly beseech you, let no poetical scribe work your lordship by any device to doubt that I am a hollow or cold servant to the action, or a mean well-willer and follower of your own. And even so, I humbly take my leave, wishing you all honour and prosperity. From the court, the 29th of March, 1586.

Your lordship, to do you service,

WALTER RALEGH.

The queen is on very good terms with you, and, thank be to God, well pacified, and you are again her sweet Robin.

*To Sir Robert Cecil*, July 1592.

SIR,

I PRAY be a mean to her majesty for the signing of the bills for the guards' coats, which are to be made now for the progress, and which the clerk of the check hath importuned me to write for. My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet nigher at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less: but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus: behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory, that only shineth in misfortune, what is become of thy assurance! all wounds have scars, but that of fantasy; all affections their relenting, but that of woman kind. Who is the judge of friendship but adversity, or

when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *spes et fortuna, valete.* She is gone in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was. Do with me now therefore what you list. I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish, which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born.

Yours, not worthy any name or title,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To my honourable friend, Sir Robert Cecil, knight of her majesty's most honourable privy-council.*

---

*To Sir Robert Cecil,* July 1592.

SIR,

I WROTE unto your father how I am dealt withal by the deputy, to whom my disgraces have been highly commended. He supposed a debt of four hundred pounds to the queen for rent, and sent order to the sheriff to take away all the cattle my tenants had, and sell them the next day, unless the money were paid the same day. All Munster hath scarce so much money in it; and the debt was indeed but fifty marks, which was paid, and it was the first and only rent that hath yet been paid by any undertaker. But the sheriff did as he commanded, and took away five hundred milch kine from the poor people; some had but two, and some three, to relieve their poor wives and children, and in a strange country newly set down to build and plant. He hath forcibly thrust me out of possession of a castle, because it is in law between me and his cousin Winckfeld, and will not hear my attorneys speak. He hath admitted a ward, and given it his man, of a castle which is

the queen's, and hath been by me new built and planted with English this five years; and to profit his man with a wardship, loseth her majesty's inheritance, and would plant the cousin of a rebel in the place of English men, the castle standing in the most dangerous place of all Munster. Besides there is a band of soldiers, which a base fellow O'donell hath in Yoholl, which doth cost the queen twelve hundred pound a year, and hath not ten good men in it; but our poorest people muster and serve him for threepence a day, and the rest of his soldiers do nothing but spoil the country, and drive away our best tenants. If the queen be over rich, it may be maintained; but I will, at three days' warning, raise her a better band, and arm it better tenfold, and better men, whensoever she shall need it. And in the mean time it may either be employed in the north, or discharged; for there is in Munster besides a band of horse, and another of foot, which is more than needeth. In this, if you please to move it, you may save her majesty so much in her coffers. For the rest I will send my man to attend you, although I care not either for life or lands; but it will be no small weakening to the queen in those parts, and no small comfort to the ill-affected Irish, to have the English inhabitants driven out of the country, which are yet strong enough to master the rest without her charge.

Yours, to do you service,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To my honourable friend Sir R. Cecil, knight of her majesty's most honourable privy-council.*

---

*To Sir Robert Cecil*, July 1592.

SIR,

I PRAY send me the news of Ireland. I hear that there are three thousand of the Burghs in arms, and young O'donell and the sons of Shane Oneale. I wrote in a letter of Mr. Killegrew's ten days past a prophecy of this rebellion, which when the queen read, she made a scorn at my conceit; but you shall find it but a shower of a further tempest.

If you please to send me word of what you hear, I will be laughed at again in my opinion touching the same, and be bold to write you my further suspicion. Your cousin, the doting deputy, hath dispeopled me, of which I have written to your father already. It is a sign how my disgraces have past the seas, and have been highly commended to that wise governor, who hath used me accordingly. So I live to trouble you at this time, being become like a fish cast on dry land, gasping for breath with lame legs and lamer lungs.

Yours, for the little while I shall desire to do you service,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To my very loving friend, Sir Robert Cecil, knight of her majesty's most honourable privy-council.*

---

*To Sir Robert Cecil*, March 10, 1592.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letters this present day at Chatham, concerning the wages of the mariners and others. For mine own part, I am very willing to enter bond, as you persuaded me, so as the privy seal be first sent for my enjoying the third; but I pray consider that I have laid all that I am worth, and must do, ere I depart on this voyage. If it fall not out well, I can but lose all; and if nothing be remaining, wherewith should I pay the wages? Besides, her majesty told me herself that she was contented to pay her part, and my lord admiral his, and I should but discharge for mine own ships. And further, I have promised her majesty, that if I can persuade the companies to follow sir Martin Furbresher, I will without fail return and bring them out into the sea but some fifty or threescore leagues, for which purpose my lord admiral hath lent me the Disdain; which to do her majesty many times, with great grace, bade me remember, and sent me the same message by Will. Killegrewe, which, God willing, if I can persuade the companies, I mean to perform, though I dare not be acknown thereof to any creature. But, sir, for me then to be

bound for so great a sum, upon the hope of another man's fortune, I will be loath; and besides, if I were able, I see no privy seal for my thirds. I mean not to come away, as they say I will, for fear of a marriage, and I know not what. If any such thing were, I would have imparted it unto yourself before any man living; and therefore I pray believe it not, and I beseech you to suppress what you can any such malicious report. For I protest before God, there is none on the face of the earth that I would be fastened unto. And so in haste I take my leave of your honour, from Chatham the 10th of March.

Your's ever to be commanded,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To Sir Robert Cecil*, May 10, 1593.

SIR,

I AM very sorry for Mr. Wilkinson and the rest, that I hear are lost in the river of Burdens; but for my part I was resolved of the success beforehand, and so much I told Wilkinson before his departure. Of this Irish combination her majesty shall find it remembered to herself not long since; but the Trojan soothsayer cast his spear against the wooden horse, but not believed. I did also presume to speak somewhat how to prevent this purpose, and I think it not overhard to be yet done; and if I had by any chance been acquainted with the lord Burgh's instructions, I would have put you in mind to have won the earl of Argyle rather than all the rest of Scotland; for by him this fire must be only maintained in Ulstell. But for me to speak of the one or the other, I know my labours are prejudicate, and I cannot hereafter deserve either thanks or acceptance. Less than that number of men appointed, I take it, will serve the turn, if the garrisons be placed aright to impeach the assemblies, and some small pinnaces ordered to lie between Cautirr's and O'donell's country; but herein the order of the time hath most power. There be also others in Ireland that lie in wait, not suspected, which I most fear, and others most able and fit to make them neglected and dis-

couraged; which small matters would have hardened to great purpose, as the time will better witness. I had been able myself to have raised two or three bands of English well armed, till I was driven to relinquish and recall my people, of which the loss shall not be alone to me, howsoever I am tumbled down the hill by every practice. We are so busied and dandled in these French wars, which are endless, as we forget the defence next the heart. Her majesty hath good cause to remember that a million hath been spent in Ireland not many years since. A better kingdom might have been purchased at a less price, and that same defended with as many pence, if good order had been takēn. But the question now may be, whether for so great expense the estate be not less assured than ever? If her majesty consider it aright, she shall find it no small dishonour to be vexed with so beggarly a nation, that have neither arms nor fortification; but that accursed kingdom hath always been but as a traffick, for which her majesty hath paid both freight and custom, and others received the merchandise; and other than such shall it never be. The king of Spain seeketh not Ireland for Ireland, but having raised up troops of beggars in our back, shall be able to enforce us to cast our eyes over our shoulders, while those before us strike us on the brains. We have also known the level of his subversion; but destiny is stronger than council, and good advice, either neglected or weakly executed, hath taught our enemies to arm those parts, which before lay bare to the sword. Prevention is the daughter of intelligence, which cannot be born without a mother; and the good woman hath so many patrons, as the one referreth her cherishing to another's trust, and in the meanwhile she liveth barren and fruitless. Sir, these poor countries yield no news. I hear of a frigate that taketh up fishermen for pilots in the west. I am myself here at Sherborne, in my fortune's fold. Wherever I be, and while I am, you shall command me. I think I shall need your further favour for the little park; for law and conscience is not sufficient in these days to uphold me. Every fool knoweth that hatred

are the cinders of affection, and therefore to make me a sacrifice shall be thanksworthy. Sir, I pray remember my duty to my lord admiral, and to your father, if it please you. From Sherborne this 10th day of May, 1593.

Yours, most assured to do you service,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, knight of her majesty's most honourable privy-council.*

I am the worse for the bath, and not the better.

---

*To Queen Elizabeth.*

I presumed to present your majesty with a paper, containing the dangers which might grow by the Spanish faction in Scotland. How it pleased your majesty to accept thereof I know not. I have since heard that divers ill-disposed have a purpose to speak of succession. If the same be suppressed, I am glad of it; yet, fearing the worst, I set down some reasons to prove the motive merely vain, dangerous, and unnecessary. And because I durst not myself speak in any matter without warrant, I have sent your majesty these arguments, which may perchance put others in mind of somewhat not impertinent; and who, being graced by your majesty's favour, may, if need require, use them among others more worthy. Without glory I speak it, that I durst either by writing or speech satisfy the world in that point, and in every part of their foolish conceits, which, for shortness of time, I could not so amply insert. This being upon one hour's warning, but one hour's work, I humbly beseech your majesty not to acquaint any withal, unless occasion be offered to use them. Your majesty may perchance speak hereof to those seeming my great friends, but I find poor effects of that or any other supposed amity; for your majesty having left me, I am left all alone in the world, and am sorry that ever I was at all. What I have done is out

of zeal and love, and not by any encouragement; for I am only forgotten in all rights, and in all affairs; and mine enemies have their wills and desires over me. There are many other things concerning your majesty's present service, which methinks are not, as they ought, remembered; and the times pass away unmeasured, of which more profit might be taken. But I fear I have already presumed too much, which love stronger than reason hath encouraged; for my errors are eternal, and those of others mortal, and my labours thankless, I mean unacceptable, for that too belongeth not to vassals. If your majesty pardon it, it is more than too great a reward. And so most humbly embracing and admiring the memory of the celestial beauties, (which with the people is denied me to view,) I pray God your majesty may be eternal in joys and happiness.

Your majesty's most humble slave,

WALTER RALEGH.

*For the Queen's most excellent Majesty.*

---

*To the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THERE hath been a subpœna granted out of the star-chamber for the appearance of one Thomas Whitford and William Dobb, before your lordship and the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy-council, for verifying their knowledge in a stannary cause, as witnesses in an action upon the case between one Denshire and Stevens. The trial and penalty of the offence (if any shall be proved) is to be censured in her majesty's absolute jurisdiction of the stannary; and her majesty hath been pleased of late, upon complaint by me made unto her, to signify to my honourable good lord the lord treasurer, that the stannary authority shall consist and continue according to the ancient custom and prerogative, and not to be contradicted by private censure; and that all abuses upon my information shall be presently reformed. I think your lordship is not thoroughly ac-

quainted herewith, because a stannary cause is suffered to be prosecuted in that court; and therefore I am bold to put you in mind thereof, and to pray you to dismiss the same out of the star-chamber, to be tried in the stannaries where it is determinable. And so I humbly take my leave. From my castle at Sherborne, the 2d of May, 1594.

Your lordship's most humble at commandment,

WALTER RALEGH.

*To the Right Honourable my very good Lord, the lord keeper of the great seal of England.*

---

*To Sir Robert Cecil.*

SIR,

I AM not wise enough to give you advice; but if you take it for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it when it shall be too late. His malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of your mild courses; for he will ascribe the alteration to her majesty's pusillanimity, and not to your good nature, knowing that you work upon her humour, and not out of any love towards him. The less you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and yours; and if her majesty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common person. For after-revenges, fear them not; for your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's[g] ruin, yet his son[h] followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not, but grow by occasion, and accidents of time and power. Somerset[i]

[g] Thomas duke of Norfolk, beheaded June 2, 1572.

[h] Probably his second son, lord Thomas Howard, who was restored in blood by an act of parliament, and summoned in 1597 to parliament by the title of lord Howard of Walden. In July 1603 he was created earl of Suffolk, and in July 1614 was made lord treasurer.

[i] Edward Seymour, son of the protector duke of Somerset, by his second wife Anne Stanhope. This Edward seems to be called Somerset in this letter, because he actually enjoyed for some time that title, as well as the lands of his father, as not forfeited by the crime, for which the latter suffered death: but in the session of parliament in the fifth and sixth years of king Edward VI. there passed an act by the influence of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, by which this Edward Seymour

made no revenge on the duke of Northumberland's heirs. Northumberland[k], that now is, thinks not of Hatton's[l] issue. Kelloway lives, that murdered the brother of Horsey; and Horsey let him go by all his lifetime. I could name a thousand of those; and therefore after-fears are but prophecies, or rather conjectures, from causes remote: look to the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be the youngest earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down, Will. Cecil[m] shall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also match in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches, and pull up the tree, root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I read your destiny.

Let the queen hold Bothwell[n] while she hath him; he will ever be the canker of her estate and safety. Princes are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good days and all ours after his liberty.

Yours, &c.

WALTER RALEGH.

was deprived of his titles and lands. However, queen Elizabeth, in the first year of her reign, created him earl of Hertford.

[k] Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, son of that earl Henry, who being imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of being in a conspiracy with the Guises for invading England, and setting free the queen of Scots, was found, June 21, 1585, dead in his bed, shot with three bullets under his left pap; the verdict of the coroner's inquest being, that he had killed himself: but the Roman catholics, according to Camden, cast some suspicion upon a servant of sir Christopher Hatton, which servant had been charged with the custody of the earl just before his death.

[l] Sir Christopher Hatton dying 20 November 1591, unmarried, left his nephew by his sister sir William Newton his heir, who took the name of Hatton.

[m] William, only son of sir Robert Cecil, and afterwards earl of Salisbury.

[n] This name seems to have been given to the earl of Essex by sir Walter Ralegh from Francis Stuart, earl of Bothwell, son of John Stuart, one of the natural sons of king James V. of Scotland. This earl, who had been created so by king James VI. and likewise made lord admiral of Scotland, not thinking that he had the power at court which his birth and place deserved, joined with the popish lords, who had been banished, and afterwards occasioned much trouble during that king's reign. He was first condemned for treason 24 May 1589; and that sentence was renewed in 1591. After this he made two several attempts upon the king, one at Holyrood-house, and the other at Falkland; but was soon after pardoned for all his offences in 1593. Notwithstanding which he was immediately again declared rebel; whereupon he raised a small army, and fought the king on the Borrow-muir near Edinburgh: but being obliged to retire, fled to England, from whence he went to France, and afterwards to Naples, where he died about December 1612.

*To Prince Henry.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

THE following sheets are addressed to your highness, from a man who values his liberty and a very small fortune, in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honours that he could anywhere enjoy under any other establishment. You see, sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father God's vicegerent; which ill men have turned both to the dishonour of God, and the impeachment of his majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare that may lie under gross adulations; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers, who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, O my prince, hear them not, fly from their deceits! You are in the succession to a throne from whence no evil can be imputed to you, but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called the vicegerent of Heaven. While he is good he *is* the vicegerent of Heaven. Shall man have authority from the fountain of good to do evil? No, my prince, let mean and degenerate spirits, which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

Let me not doubt but all plans which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature.

Exert yourself, O generous prince, against such sycophants, in the glorious cause of liberty; and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery; from a condition as much below that of brutes, as

to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it! Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free-agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, my prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While your highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many common places in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice, they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages which will ever attend your highness, while you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your subject when you have lost his inclination; you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose therefore to be the king or the conqueror of your people; it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience, that is passive.

I am,

Sir,

Your Highness' most faithful servant,

WALTER RALEGH [o].

*London,*

*August* 12, 1611.

[o] See Steele's Englishman, a sequel to the Guardian, 12mo. 1714. p. 9. I am not, however, so well convinced, as sir Richard seems to have been, that this letter is justly ascribed to Ralegh. CAYLEY.

A

# RELATION OF CADIZ ACTION,

IN THE YEAR 1596.

WRITTEN BY SIR WALTER RALEGH.

TRANSCRIBED FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE HANDS OF HIS GRANDCHILD, MR. RALEGH.

YOU shall receive many relations, but none more true than this. May it please your honour therefore to know, that on Sunday, being the 20th of June, the English fleet came to anchor in the bay of St. Sebastian, short of Cales half a league. My lord admiral, being careful of her majesty's ships, had resolved with the earl of Essex that the town should be first attempted; to the end that both the Spanish galleons and galleys, together with the forts of Cales, might not all at once beat upon our navy. Myself was not present at the resolution; for I was sent the day before toward the main, to stop such as might pass out from St. Lucar, or Cales, along the coast. When I was arrived back again, (which was two hours after the rest,) I found the earl of Essex disembarking his soldiers; and he had put many companies into boats, purposing to make his descent on the west side of Cales; but such was the greatness of the billows, by reason of a forcible southerly wind, as the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the earl; and indeed divers did so, and in them some of the armed men: but because it was formerly resolved, (and that to cast doubts would have been esteemed an effect of fear,) the earl purposed to go on, until such time as I came aboard him, and in the presence of all the colonels protested against the resolution; giving him reasons, and making apparent demonstrations that he thereby ran the way of our general ruin, to the utter overthrow of the whole armies,

their own lives, and her majesty's future safety. The earl excused himself, and laid it to the lord admiral, who, he said, would not consent to enter with the fleet till the town were first possessed. All the commanders and gentlemen present besought me to dissuade the attempt; for they all perceived the danger, and were resolved that the most part could not but perish in the sea, ere they came to set foot on ground; and if any arrived on shore, yet were they sure to have their boats cast on their heads; and that twenty men in so desperate a descent would have defeated them all. The earl hereupon prayed me to persuade my lord admiral, who, finding a certain destruction by the former resolution, was content to enter the port. When I brought news of this agreement to the earl, calling out of my boat unto him, *Intramus*, he cast his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor.

The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships; so as we could not that night attempt the fleet, although many (seeming desperately valiant) thought it a fault of mine to put it off till the morning; albeit we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who should second, whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our fleet possibly recover all their men in before sunset: but both the generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to an anchor in the very mouth of the harbour: so that night, about ten of the clock, I wrote a letter to the lord admiral, declaring therein my opinion how the fight should be ordered; persuading him to appoint to each of the great galleons of Spain two great fly-boats to board them, after such time as the queen's ships had battered them; for I knew that both the St. Philip and the rest would burn, and not yield; and then to lose so many of the queen's, for company, I thought it too dear a purchase, and it would be termed but a lamentable victory.

This being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge for the perform-

ance thereof was (upon my humble suit) granted, and assigned unto me. The ships appointed to second me were these: the Mary Rose, commanded by sir George Carew; the Lion, by sir Robert Southwell; the Rainbow, by the marshal sir Francis Veare; the Swiftsure, by captain Cross; the Dreadnought, by sir Conyers, and Alexander Clifford; the Nonparilla, by Mr. Dudley; the twelve ships of London, with certain fly-boats.

The lord Thomas Howard, because the Mere-Honour, which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships, was also left behind with the generals; but being impatient thereof, pressed the generals to have the service committed unto him, and left the Mere-Honour to Mr. Dudley, putting himself into the Nonparilla. For mine own part, as I was willing to give honour to my lord Thomas, having both precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honoured, so yet I was resolved to give and not take example for this service, holding mine own reputation dearest, and remembering my great duty to her majesty. With the first peep of day therefore, I weighed anchor, and bare with the Spanish fleet, taking the start of all ours a good distance.

Now, sir, may it please you to understand, that there were ranged under the wall of Cales, on which the sea beateth, seventeen galleys, which lay with their prows to flank our entrance, as we passed towards the galleons. There was also a fort called the Philip, which beat and commanded the harbour. There were also ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the sea: there were also divers other pieces of culverin, which also scoured the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the St. Philip perceived one of the admirals under sail approaching, she also set sail, and with her the St. Matthew, the St. Thomas, the St. Andrew, the two great galleons of Lisbon, three frigates of war, accustomed to transport the treasure, two argosies, very strong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Espana, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico, and other places. Of all which,

the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Thomas, being four of the royal ships of Spain, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntall, in a strait of the harbour which leadeth toward Puerto Reall. On the right hand of them they placed the three frigates; on the back the two galleons of Lisbon and the argosies; and the seventeen galleys, by three and three, to interlace them, as occasion should be offered. The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Espana, with the body of the fleet, were placed behind them towards Puerto Reall; hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point than that these did in effect stretch over as a bridge, and had besides the fort of Puntall to their guard. But the seventeen galleys did not at the first depart with the rest, but stayed by the town with all their prows bent against us as we entered; with which, together with the artillery of the town and forts, they hoped to have stumbled the leading ship, and doubted not thereby but to have discouraged the rest.

Having, as aforesaid, taken the leading, I was first saluted by the fort called Philip, afterward by the ordnance on the curtain, and lastly by all the galleys in good order. To show scorn to all which, I only answered first the fort, and afterward the galleys, to each piece a blur with a trumpet; disdaining to shoot one piece at any one or all of those esteemed dreadful monsters. The ships that followed beat upon the galleys so thick as they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the galleons in the strait, as aforesaid; and then, as they were driven to come near me, and enforced to range their sides towards me, I bestowed a benediction amongst them.

But St. Philip, the great and famous admiral of Spain, was the mark I shot at; esteeming those galleys but as wasps in respect of the powerfulness of the other; and being resolved to be revenged for the Revenge, or to second her with mine own life, I came to anchor by the galleons; of which the Philip and Andrew were two that boarded the Revenge. I was formerly commanded not to board,

but was promised fly-boats, in which, after I had battered a while, I resolved to join unto them.

My lord Thomas came to anchor by me, on the one hand, with the Lion; the Mary Rose, on the other, with the Dreadnought; the marshal toward the side of Puntall; and towards ten of the clock my lord general Essex, being impatient to abide far off, hearing so great thunder of ordnance, thrust up through the fleet, and headed all those on the left hand, coming to anchor next unto me on that side; and afterward came in the Swiftsure, as near as she could. Always I must, without glory, say for myself, that I held single in the head of all.

Now after we had beaten, as two butts, one upon another almost three hours, (assuring your honour that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers,) and finding myself in danger to be sunk in the place, I went to my lord general in my skiff, to desire him that he would enforce the promised fly-boats to come up, that I might board; for as I rid, I could not endure so great a battery any long time. My lord general was then coming up himself; to whom I declared that if the fly-boats came not, I would board with the queen's ship; for it was the same loss to burn or sink, for I must endure the one. The earl finding that it was not in his power to command fear, told me that whatsoever I did, he would second me in person upon his honour. My lord admiral, having also a disposition to come up at first, but the river was so choked as he could not pass with the Ark, came up in person into the Nonparilla, with my lord Thomas.

While I was thus speaking with the earl, the marshal, who thought it some touch to his great esteemed valour, to ride behind me so many hours, got up ahead my ship; which my lord Thomas perceiving, headed him again, myself being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding myself from being the first to be but the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrust in between my lord Thomas and the marshal, and went up further ahead than all them before, and thrust myself athwart the channel, so

as I was sure none should outstart me again for that day. My lord general Essex, thinking his ship's sides stronger than the rest, thrust the Dreadnought aside, and came next the Warspite on the left hand, ahead all that rank but my lord Thomas. The marshal, while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side towards him, to draw himself up equally with me; but some of my company advertising me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place; whom I guarded, all but his very prow, from the sight of the enemy.

Now if it please you to remember, that having no hope of my fly-boats to board, and that the earl and my lord Thomas both promised to second me, I laid out a warp by the side of the Philip to shake hands with her: (for with the wind we could not get aboard:) which when she and the rest perceived, finding also that the Repulse (seeing mine) began to do the like, and the rear-admiral my lord Thomas, they all let slip, and came aground, tumbling into the sea heaps of soldiers, so thick as if coals had been poured out of a sack in many ports at once, some drowned and some sticking in the mud. The Philip and the St. Thomas burnt themselves: the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were recovered by our boats ere they could get out to fire them. The spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many, half-burnt, leaped into the water; very many hanging by the ropes' ends by the ships' sides, under the water even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, strucken under water, and put out of their pain; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great Philip, and the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see hell itself, it was there most lively figured. Ourselves spared the lives of all after the victory; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were by myself, and afterward by my lord admiral, beaten off.

The ships that abode the fight in the morning till ten o'clock, were the Warspite, the Nonparilla, the Lion, the

Mary Rose, the Rainbow, and the Dreadnought. To second these came up the earl and the Swiftsure; and these were all that did ought against six goodly galleons, two argosies, three frigates, seventeen galleys, and the fort of Puntall, backed by the admiral of Nueva Espana, and others; in all, fifty-five or fifty-seven.

This being happily finished, we prepared to land the army, and to attempt the town; in which there were, of all sorts, some five thousand foot burghers, one hundred and fifty soldiers in pay, and some eight hundred horse of the gentry, and cavalleros of Xeres, gathered together upon the discovery of our fleet two days before, while we were becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horsemen sallied out to resist the landing; but were so well withstood, that they most took their way toward the bridge which leadeth into the main, called Puento Souse; the rest retired to the town, and so hardly followed, as they were driven to leave their horses at the port, (which the inhabitants durst not open, to let them in,) and so they leaped down an old wall into the suburbs; and being so closely followed by the vanguard of our footmen, as when the general perceived an entrance there, he thought it was possible for ours to do the like; upon which occasion the town was carried with a sudden fury, and with little loss; only sir John Wingfield was slain, sir Edward Wingfield, captain Bagnall, and captain Medick hurt; other men of quality, few or none.

For the particular behaviour of any that entered, I cannot otherwise deliver than by report; for I received a grievous blow in my leg, interlaced and deformed with splinters, in the fight; yet being desirous to see every man's disposition, I was carried ashore on men's shoulders; and as soon as my horse was recovered, my lord admiral sent one unto me, but I was not able to abide above an hour in the town, for the torment I suffered, and for the fear I had to be shouldered in the press, and among the tumultuous, disordered soldiers, that, being then given to spoil and rapine, had no respect. The same night I returned, chiefly for that there was no admiral left to order the fleet, and,

indeed, few or no people in the navy; all running headlong to the sack; and, secondly, because I was unfit for ought but ease at that time.

At the break of day following I sent to the generals, to have order to follow the fleet of ships bound for the Indies; which were said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto Reall road, where they could not escape. But the town was taken, and the confusion great: it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once; so as I could not receive any answer to my desire.

The afternoon of the same day, those which were merchants of Cales and Sevill offered the generals two millions to spare that fleet; whereupon there was nothing done for the present: but the morning following, being the twenty-third of June, the D. of Medina caused all that fleet of merchants to be set on fire; because he was resolved that they must needs have fallen into our hands. So as now both galleons, frigates, argosies, and all other ships of war, together with the fleet of Nueva Espana, were all converted into ashes; only the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were in our possession. Much of the ordnance of the St. Philip hath been saved by the Flemings, who have had great spoil. There is embarked good store of ordnance out of the town; and the two apostles aforesaid are well furnished, which (God willing) we purpose to bring into England. The town of Cales was very rich in merchandise, in plate, and money; many rich prisoners given to the land commanders, so as that sort are very rich. Some had prisoners for sixteen thousand ducats; some for twenty thousand; some for ten thousand; and besides, great houses of merchandise. What the generals have gotten, I know least; they protest it is little: for mine own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed: for the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usage; but I have possession of nought but poverty and pain. If God had spared me that blow, I had possessed myself of some house.

## *Articles propounded by the Earl of Essex upon the Alarum given by the Spaniards in the year* 1596.

BESIDES many advertisements of the great preparations of Spain, of their forwardness or rather full readiness to set sail, of their purpose to come for England; it is now told us by two of our own countrymen, captains of two English barks, and confessed by the Portingals whom they took prisoners upon the coast, that the adelantado in person, with twenty ships of the king's and seventy others, transporters of soldiers, did set out of Lisbon more than three weeks since, and that the eighteenth of the last month, after our account, he was near the cape Finisterræ and did the next day put into the Groine or Ferrol. To this, which they deliver upon knowledge, they add reports, that there were many other ships to join with their fleet, which came out of the straits, some from Andalusia and some from Biscay and the north.

Upon these advertisements may grow two questions:

1. The first, whether they will come presently, hoping to take us unprovided, or stay till the spring, when they may come in greater strength, and have a better season of the year?

2. The other, whether they intend an invasion, or only an incursion?

3. If incursion, (though it be impossible to provide every where,) yet how he is to be impeached from making any dangerous incursion to us or greatly prejudicial to our estate?

4. If invasion, which are the ports he is likest to lodge in?

5. Whether any places that are of importance near to those ports, being now undefensible, should be fortified or not?

6. How if the Spaniard be lodged in any port we shall seek to dispossess him?

7. Whether if he be on foot with great forces we shall hazard a battle with him, and if at all, at what time?

8. What must be our stores of munition, and magazines of victual, and where they are to be kept?

9. What may be added to our former directions for the disciplining or training of those men, who shall make the body of the army that shall first encounter the enemy?

10. Whether the said numbers that were appointed in the year eighty-eight to be assembled, and to make a head, may not be changed, lessened, or increased, by the discretion of him unto whom her majesty gives her commission.

## *The Opinion of Sir Walter Ralegh upon the same Articles.*

First, if we consider without further circumstance that the fleet which was at Lisbon is already gone to Groine, and has doubled cape Finisterræ, we may then with good reason conceive that they purpose to be on our coast forthwith: but there are three reasons that may again hold us in doubt that they will not set out till the spring or summer.

First, it is very certain that there is great scarcity of victual in Lisbon, and therefore the army (not being able to be sustained there) the same is drawn into Biscay, where there is great plenty of all things.

Secondly, because there is a better outlet from the Groine than from the river of Lisbon; for the winds take them short within the bay, if they fall not again directly with the mouth of Lisbon they shall be in danger of shipwreck: that may be the second cause of their coming thither.

The third reason is, that it seemeth by the intelligence that they expect ships out of the straits from Andalusia, and now therefore the Groine being found fitter both for ford and outlet, their coming thither doth not so certainly prove any sudden approach, which together with the expectation of forces far off,

doth promise and assure us a longer time to prepare for defence, and that their necessities have drawn them thither, rather than that they are so far onward in their way.

Secondly, whether they intend invasion or incursion I will not presume to judge. I have not known or read that any prince hath invaded without these two, *able power* and *party*. How the Spanish king can gather such an army and fleet together in so short time, considering his late losses, I conceive not. He was three years in the preparation for Portugal, and yet had a strong party, and entered upon the same continent. The enterprise of eighty-eight required no less time. The garrisons of Naples and Milan were then drawn down, which we hear not of at this time. On the other side, it is unlikely that the Spanish king will undertake any small affair, and it is safe to provide for the worst. But if we shall believe it to be an invasion, I am of opinion that it will be late in the summer ere the same be attempted, and the enterprise will be by this observation made most manifest. If the army of the Low Countries shall be used upon any part of France or the Low Countries, whereby it may be wasted or receive loss, I do then, under correction, assure myself that there will be no invasion. If the same rest, and hold itself in strength, and withal draw down towards the sea-side, the invasion may be then very much doubted.

To the third article, I think it is impossible to provide safely for an incursion, because the purpose and counsel is unknown. There is order already for interchangeable succour between the lieutenants. It were withal in mine opinion very requisite that there be view taken how the forts upon the coast be provided of munitions, and that the captains of the same be not only commanded to repair unto them, but charged to keep their full numbers, and that those companies appointed to succour the forts be directed to come unto them armed, whereas now they make repair without weapon. And if there were a sufficient fleet of ships to lie in the entrance of the channel, then the enemy shall not dare

to engage himself in any port, and so the hope of incursion made frustrate.

To the fourth: I am of opinion that the enemy will not seek to possess any port in the west, by reason of the impassibility of the ways, and the length of the march. Neither do I conceive that they will attempt the Isle of Wight, or any other port or place of the south; for I hold it for a principle, that there is no enemy so ill advised to offer to hold any port or piece of ground upon the coast where her majesty, with the help of the Low Countries, may command the sea. The reasons are manifold manifest, and therefore superfluous to insert; but that if any such thing be intended, they will enter by the river of Thames, and make descent near London or at London itself. To prevent which, I think it very requisite to describe an army; that the same may be drawn together on the sudden. And that there be a magazine of victual for her majesty's fleet made ready, and I am of opinion, under correction, that the setting out of her majesty's [ships] by two and three at a time is not safe, for by that time the last shall be prepared the victual of the first shall be spent, and so there will be no able strength in order at any time; for if it prove an invasion, there will be time given to provide sufficiently for all. If the attempt be sudden, a lesser number shall be in danger of being lost or beaten.

To the fifth: I do not think it necessary to fortify any where but upon the Thames; for the rest, either the enemy will give us time to prepare our navy, and then it shall not need, or he will give us no time, and then we shall but begin a work of our own perils.

To the sixth: *De hoc in campis consultabimus;* and those which shall command the army, when they shall see what the enemy intendeth, themselves with their commanders of the army shall best judge of necessary counterwork.

To the seventh: the ways to hinder any enemy from progress are manifold, as by taking away all means of victual, I mean such provision as shall be of corn and the like,

by carriage; the rest alive, as sheep and cattle, by driving the countries with light horses. It hath been also the manner to make head upon the straits, to defend passages, bridges, and rivers, with the like; yet I do not find that an enemy hath been stayed in any passage, either in ours or former times upon any invasion. For the Switzers sought to impeach Francis the French king, in the journey of Italy; but they failed. The Spaniards resolved to impeach the constable of France at Susa, where they had fortified themselves; but it availed not. The duke of Guise passed the river of Behamby, notwithstanding that the Spaniards, with an army on the other bank, sought to give impediment. The duke of Lancaster forced his passage upon the river of Dyrne, in spite of the army of Castile. Dandelot passed at Orleans, in spite of the earl of Nemours. And the duke of Beaupont came over the Loire in my own time in France, and won La Charite, in spite of D'Aumall. So did Charles the Fifth on the river Elba, against the duke of Saxony, with many more too tedious and impertinent to remember.

To the eighth: to hazard a battle with an enemy invading is very dangerous; yet the question hath been largely disputed among those that have written of the wars, but by the greater party held perilous. Many things may be said for both opinions; but I will leave it to better judgment; only I will remember this principle; that the invader can lose nothing but his men, the defendant may lose the kingdom; and that withal the defendant hath many helps by time, the invader many wants and impediments.

To the ninth: for our store of munition I will leave the judgment to those whom it shall concern, who are to deliver in fit proportions both for land and sea. That any great quantity of munition should be left in any place but London I do not (for my poor conceit) much allow of, because we have few places guardable, Portsmouth excepted. That there be a magazine of victuals at this time, and so long as her majesty shall stand in terms with Spain, I think the most safe and most necessary counsel of all other; for with-

out it we can neither defend on the sudden, nor attempt any thing without giving the enemy sufficient time to provide. And as it is said by those that have written of the wars, *Celuy qui ne donne point d'ordre à la munition de vivres, veult estre vaincu sans costeau.*

To the tenth: there may be used in training of all such numbers as shall compound the army, such a form as shall answer to a late kind of embattling practised by the earl of Essex in the journey of Cales, or otherwise, according to the direction of the general of the army.

To the eleventh: I think it fit, that because the army may receive sudden loss upon any encounter, that the lieutenant-general of the army may have commission to authorize any lieutenant of the several counties to send either the one half or more of the forces within his lieutenancy, because it may be dangerous to attend a second warrant from her majesty. But if the enemy happen to take land in any of the south or west parts, I do think it very dangerous to draw the strength either from the east or west countries together, and to compound the army of these; but that the strength of the country itself in which the enemy maketh descent be only a part of the general army, and the rest to be taken from the countries next adjoining northward, and into the land. My reason is, that an enemy coming into the channel, may by accident of wind and weather enter with his fleet into such a port where he hath no determination to make the war. As for example; if the enemy shall be driven into Plymouth, if we then draw thither the forces of Dorset, Hampshire, and Sussex, and, upon the change of wind or weather, the enemy proceed to the eastward, and land in any of those counties so disfurnished, there can be no resistance made by the rest remaining; and before the proper forces of the country can be recalled, the enemy shall have time either to destroy or possess the same. Lastly, I think it, under correction, very inconvenient that all such colonels and captains which now command regiments and companies in the counties, should not hold the same commandment in the army;

for besides that it will take away the employments of all our best captains that follow the wars abroad, so will it withal breed great confusion in the army, because that most of all those gentlemen have never seen the wars in any sort, and therefore I think it meet to leave the choice to the lieutenant of the army to allow or change of the one or the other at his discretion. That the lieutenant of the county into which the lieutenant-general of the army shall enter, be lieutenant to the general of the army, I think it a very wise and honourable allowance and consideration.

## *Orders to be observed by the Commanders of the Fleet and Land Companies, under the Charge and Conduct of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, bound for the south parts of America or elsewhere. Given at Plymouth in Devon the third of May,* 1617.

FIRST, because no action nor enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and strength of hosts and armies, you shall not fail to cause divine service to be read in your ship morning and evening, in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper, or at least (if there be interruption by foul weather) once in the day, praising God every night with singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch.

Secondly, you shall take especial care that God be not blasphemed in your ship, but that after admonition given, if the offenders do not refrain themselves, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures, by which course, if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal. For if it be threatened in the scriptures, that *the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer*, much less from the ship of the swearer.

Thirdly, no man shall refuse to obey his officer in all that he is commanded, for the benefit of the journey: no man (being in health) shall refuse to wait his turn as he shall be directed; the sailors by the master and boatswain; the landmen by their captain, lieutenant, and others.

You shall make in every ship two captains of the watch, who shall make choice of two soldiers every night to search between the decks, that no fire nor candlelight be carried about the ship, after the watch set; nor that any candles be burning in any cabin without a lantern, and that neither

but while they are to make themselves unready. For there is no danger so inevitable as the ship's firing, which may as well happen by taking of tobacco between the decks, and therefore forbidden to all men but aloft the upper deck.

You shall cause the landmen to learn the names and places of the ropes, that they may assist the sailors in their labours upon the decks, though they cannot go up to the tops and yards.

You shall train and instruct your sailors (so many as shall be found fit) as you do your landmen, and register their names in the lists of your companies, making no difference of professions; but that all be esteemed sailors and all soldiers: for your troops will be very weak when you come to land, without the assistance of your seafaring men.

You shall not give chase, or send aboard any ship, but by order from the general: and if you come near any ship in your course, if she be belonging to prince or state in league or amity with his majesty, you shall not take any thing from them by force, upon pain of punishment as a pirate; although in manifest extremity or want you may (agreeing for the price) relieve yourselves with things necessary, giving bond for the same, provided that it be not to the disfurnishing of any such ship, whereby the owner or merchants be endangered for the ship or goods.

You shall every night fall astern the general's ship, and follow his light, receiving instructions in the morning what course to hold; and if you shall at any time be separated by foul weather, you shall receive certain billets sealed up, the first to be opened on this side the north cape, if there be cause; the second to be opened at the south cape; the third, after you shall pass twenty-three degrees; and the fourth from the height of Cape de Verd.

If you discover any sail at sea, either to windward or to leeward of the admiral, or if any two or three of our fleet shall discover any such sail which the admiral cannot discern; if she be a great ship, and but one, you shall strike your maintopsail, and hoist it again so often as you shall judge it to be an hundred tons of burden; as if you judge

her to be two hundred tons, to strike and hoist twice, if three hundred, thrice; and so answerable to her greatness.

If you discern a small ship, you shall do the like with your foretopsail; but if you discover many great ships, you shall not only strike your maintopsail often, but put out your ensign in the maintop; and if such ships or fleet go large before the wind, you shall also (after your signs given) go large, and stand as any of the fleet doth, I mean no longer than that you may judge the admiral and the rest have seen your signs and your so standing. And if you went large at the time of the discovery, you shall hale aft your sheets for a little time, and then go large again, that the rest may know that you go large, to shew us that the ships or fleet discovered keep that course; so you shall do if the ships or fleet discovered have their tacks aboard, namely, if you had also your tacks aboard at the time of the discovery, you shall bear up for a little time, and after hale your sheet aft again, to shew us what course the ship or fleet holds.

If you discover any ship or fleet by night, if the ship or fleet be to windward of you, and you to windward of the admiral, you shall presently bear up, to give us knowledge; but if you think you might speak with her, then you shall keep your loof, and shoot off a piece of ordnance, to give us knowledge thereby.

For a general rule, let no man presume to shoot off any piece of ordnance but in discovering a ship or fleet by night, or by being in danger of the enemy, or in danger of fire, or in danger of sinking; it may be unto us all a most certain intelligence of some matter of importance, and you shall make us know the difference by this; for if you give chase, and, being near a ship, you shoot to make her strike, we shall see and know you shoot to that end; (if it be by day;) if by night, we shall then know that you have seen a ship or fleet more than our own; and if you suspect we do not hear the first piece, then you may shoot a second, but not otherwise, and you must take almost a quarter of an hour between your two pieces: if you be in danger by a leak, (I mean in pre-

sent danger,) you shall shoot two pieces presently one after another; and if in danger of fire, three pieces presently one after another.

In foul weather every man shall fit his sails to keep company with the rest of the fleet, and not run so far ahead by day, but that he may fall astern the admiral before night. In case we should be set upon by sea, the captain shall appoint sufficient company to assist the gunners; after which, if the fight require it, the cabins between the decks shall be taken down, and all beds and sacks employed for bulwarks; the musketeers of every ship shall be divided under captains, or other officers, some for the forecastle, others for the wast, the rest for the poop, where they shall abide, if they be not otherwise directed. The gunners shall not shoot any great ordnance at other distance than pointblank. An officer or two shall be appointed to take care that no loose powder be carried between the decks, or near any linstock or match in hand. You shall saw divers hogsheads in two parts, and filled with water, set them aloft the decks. You shall divide your carpenters, some in the hold, if any shot come between wind and water, and the rest between the decks, with plates of lead, plugs, and all things necessary laid by them. You shall also lay by your tubs of water certain wet blankets to cast upon and choke any fire. The master and boatswain shall appoint a certain number of sailors to every sail, and to every such company a master's mate, boatswain's mate, or quartermaster, so as when every man knows his charge and place, things may be done without noise or confusion, and no man to speak but the officers: as for example, if the master or his mate bid heave out the maintopsail, the master's mate, boatswain's mate, or quarter master which hath charge of that sail, shall with his company perform it without calling out to others; and so for the foresail, foretopsail, spritsail, and the rest; the boatswain himself taking no particular charge of any sail, but overlooking all, and seeing every one do his duty.

No man shall board a ship of the enemy without order, because the loss of a ship to us is of more importance than

of ten to the enemy; as also by one man's boarding all our fleet may be engaged, it being a great dishonour to lose the least of our fleet. Every ship being under the lee of the enemy, shall labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it, and we find an enemy to leeward of us, the whole fleet shall follow the admiral, vice-admiral, or other leading ships within musket shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading ships after her broadside discovered, as she may stay and trim her sails; then is the second ship to give her side, and the third and fourth, which done they shall all take as the first ship, and giving the enemy the other side, shall keep him under a perpetual volley: thus must you do to the windermost ship of the enemy, which you shall batter in pieces, or force her to bear up and entangle the rest, falling foul one of another to their great confusion.

If the admiral give chase and be headmost man, the next ship shall take up his boat if other order be not given: or if any other ship be appointed to give chase, the next ship, if the chasing ship have a boat at her stern, shall take her up. If any make a ship to strike, he shall not enter her till the admiral come up.

The musketeers, divided into certain quarters of the ship, shall not deliver their shot but at such distances as their commander shall direct them. You shall take a special care for the keeping of the ship clean between the decks, to have your ordnance in order, and not cloyed with trunks and chests. Let those that have provision of victuals, deliver it to the steward; and every man put his apparel in canvas cloakbags, except some few chests which do not pester the ship. Every one that useth any weapon of fire, be it musket or other piece, shall keep it clean, and if he be not able to amend it, being out of order, he shall presently acquaint his officer therewith, who shall command the armourer to amend it.

No man shall keep any feasting or drinking between meals, nor drink any healths on the ship's provision. Every captain, by his purser, steward, or other officer, shall take a

weekly account how the victuals waste. The steward shall not deliver any candles to any private man, or to any private use.

Whosoever shall steal from his fellows either apparel or any thing else, shall be punished as a thief; or if any one steal any victuals, either by breaking into the hold or otherwise, he shall receive the punishment of a thief and the murderer of his fellows.

There is no man shall strike any officer, be he captain, lieutenant, ensign, sergeant, corporal of the field, a quartermaster, nor the master of any ship, master's mate, boatswain, or quartermaster; I say, no man shall offer any violence to any of these, but the supreme officer to the inferior, in time of service, upon pain of death. No private man shall strike one another, upon pain of receiving such punishment as a martial court shall think him worthy of.

No man shall play at cards or dice, either for his apparel or arms, upon pain of being disarmed, and made a swabber. And whoever shall shew himself a coward upon any landing or otherwise, he shall be disarmed, and made a labourer and carrier of victuals for the rest.

No man shall land any men in any foreign parts without order from the general, the sergeant-major, or other chief officer, upon pain of death: and wheresoever we shall have cause to land, no man shall force any woman, be she Christian or heathen, upon pain of death. And you shall take especial care, when God shall suffer us to land in the Indies, not to eat any fruits unknown; such fruits as you do not find eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under the tree, you shall avoid.

You shall not sleep on the ground, nor eat any new flesh, till it be salted two or three hours, which otherwise will breed a most dangerous flux; so will the eating of overfat hogs or turkeys. You shall also have a great care that you swim not in any rivers, but where you see the Indians swim, because most of the rivers are full of alligators. You shall not take any thing from any Indian by force, for from

thenceforth we shall never be relieved; but you must use them with all courtesy. And for trading or exchanging with them, it must be done by one or two of every ship for all the rest, and the price to be directed by the Cape merchant, for otherwise all our commodities will be of small price, and greatly to our hinderance.

For other orders on the land we will establish them (when God shall send us thither) by general consent: in the mean time I will value every man's honour according to their degree and valour, and taking care for the service of God and prosperity of our enterprise.

When the admiral shall hang out a flag or ensign on the mizen shrouds, you shall know it to be a flag of counsel to come aboard.

THE

# DUTIFUL ADVICE

OF

## A LOVING SON

TO

## HIS AGED FATHER[a].

SIR,

I HUMBLY beseech you, both in respect of the honour of God, your duty to his church, and the comfort of your own soul, that you seriously consider in what terms you stand, and weigh yourself in a Christian balance; taking for your counterpoise the judgments of God. Take heed in time, that the word *Tekel*, written of old against Belshazzar, and interpreted by Daniel, be not verified in you, whose exposition was, *You have been poised in the scale, and found of too light weight.*

Remember that you are now in the waning, and the date of your pilgrimage well nigh expired, and now that it behoveth you to look towards your country, your force languisheth, your senses impair, your body droops, and on every side the ruinous cottage of your faint and feeble flesh threateneth the fall: and having so many harbingers of death to premonish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadful a stranger? The young man may die quickly, but the old man cannot live long: the young man's life by casualty may be abridged, but the old man's by no physic can be long adjourned; and therefore, if green years

[a] This piece has always passed among sir Walter Ralegh's remains, as written by himself; but it appears rather to be a libel against him, written by some of his enemies. For this reason it is taken from his works, and added here, for the satisfaction of those who may be of another opinion. BIRCH.

should sometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of old age should continually dwell in the same.

The prerogative of infancy is innocency; of childhood, reverence; of manhood, maturity; and of old age, wisdom.

And seeing then that the chiefest properties of wisdom are to be mindful of things past, careful for things present, and provident for things to come; use now the privilege of nature's talent, to the benefit of your own soul, and procure hereafter to be wise in welldoing, and watchful in the foresight of future harms. To serve the world you are now unable; and though you were able, yet you have little cause to be willing, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtful entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate farewell.

You have long sowed in a field of flint, which could bring nothing forth but a crop of cares, and afflictions of spirit; rewarding your labours with remorse, and affording, for your gain, eternal danger.

It is now more than a seasonable time to alter the course of so unthriving a husbandry, and to enter into the field of God's church, in which, sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering them with the tears of humble contrition, you may hereafter reap a more beneficial harvest, and gather the fruits of everlasting comfort.

Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent, your summer overpast, you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf; yea, and winter colours have long since stained your hoary head.

"Be not careless," saith St. Augustine, "though our "loving Lord bear long with offenders; for the longer he "stays, not finding amendment, the sorer he will scourge "when he comes to judgment; and his patience in so strong "forbearing, is only to lend us respite to repent, and not in "any wise to enlarge us leisure to sin."

He that is tossed with variety of storms, and cannot come to his desired port, maketh not much way, but is much turmoiled. So he, that hath passed many years, and purchased little profit, hath a long being, but a short life: for

life is more to be measured by welldoing than by number of years; seeing that most men by many days do but procure many deaths, and others in short space attain to the life of infinite ages. What is the body without the soul but a corrupt carcass? and what is the soul without God but a sepulchre of sin?

If God be the way, the life, and the truth, he that goeth without him strayeth; and he that liveth without him dieth; and he that is not taught by him erreth.

Well saith St. Augustine, "God is our true and chiefest "life, from whom to revolt is to fall; to whom to return "is to rise; and in whom to stay is to stand sure."

God is he, from whom to depart is to die; to whom to repair is to revive; and in whom to dwell is life for ever. Be not then of the number of those that begin not to live till they be ready to die: and then, after a foe's desert, come to crave of God a friend's entertainment.

Some there be that think to snatch heaven in a moment, which the best can scarce attain unto in the maintenance of many years; and when they have glutted themselves with worldly delights, would jump from Dives's diet to Lazarus's crown, from the service of Satan to the solace of a saint.

But be you well assured, that God is not so penurious of friends, as to hold himself and his kingdom saleable for the refuse and reversions of their lives, who have sacrificed the principal thereof to his enemies, and their own brutish lust; then only ceasing to offend, when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is that a thief may be saved upon the cross, and mercy found at the last gasp: but well saith St. Augustine, "Though it be possible, yet it is scarce credible, that he in "death should find favour whose whole life deserved death; "and that the repentance should be more accepted, that "more for fear of hell and love of himself, than for the "love of God and loathsomeness of sin, crieth for mercy."

Wherefore, good sir, make no longer delays; but, being so near the breaking up of your mortal house, take time before extremity to pacify God's anger.

Though you suffered the bud to be blasted, though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to dry up; yea, though you let the boughs to wither, and the body of your tree to grow to decay; yet (alas!) keep life in the root, for fear lest the whole tree become fuel for hell-fire. For surely, where the tree falleth there it shall lie, whether towards the south or to the north, to heaven or to hell; and such sap as it bringeth forth, such fruit shall it ever bear.

Death hath already filed from you the better part of your natural forces, and left you now to the lees and remissals of your wearyish and dying days.

The remainder whereof, as it cannot be long, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses; for what is age but the calends of death? and what importeth your present weakness but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? You are now embarked in your final voyage, and not far from the stint and period of your course.

Be not therefore unprovided of such appurtenances as are behoveful in so perplexed and perilous a journey; death itself is very fearful, but much more terrible in respect of the judgment it summoneth us unto.

If you were now laid upon your departing bed, burdened with the heavy load of your former trespasses, and gored with the sting and prick of a festered conscience; if you felt the cramp of death wresting your heartstrings, and ready to make the rueful divorce between body and soul; if you lay panting for breath, and swimming in a cold and pale sweat, wearied with struggling against your deadly pangs, O what would you give for an hour's repentance; at what a rate would you value a day's contrition! then worlds would be worthless in respect of a little respite; a short truce would seem more precious than the treasures of an empire; nothing would be so much esteemed as a short time of truce, which now by days, and months, and years, is most lavishly mispent.

O how deeply would it wound your woful heart, when, looking back into your former life, you considered many

heinous and horrible offences committed, many pious works and godly deeds omitted, and neither of both repented, your service to God promised, and not performed!

O, how inconsolable were your case, your friends being fled, your senses affrighted, your thoughts amazed, your memory decayed, and your whole mind aghast, and no part able to perform what it should; but only your guilty conscience pestered with sin, that would continually upbraid you with many bitter accusations!

O, what would you think then, being stripped out of this mortal weed, and turned both out of service and house-room of this wicked world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and strange paths, and with unknown and ugly company, to be convented before a most severe judge, carrying in your conscience your indictment, written in a perfect register of all your misdeeds, when you shall see him prepared to give sentence upon you, against whom you have so often transgressed, and the same to be your umpire, whom by so many offences you have made your enemy, when not only the Devil, but even the angels would plead against you, and your ownself, in despite of yourself, be your own most sharp impeacher!

O, what would you do in these dreadful exigents, when you saw the ghastly dragon, and huge gulf of hell, break-in gout with most fearful flames; when you heard the weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, the rage of those hellish monsters, the horror of the place, the terror of the company, and the eternity of all those torments!

Would you then think them wise that should delay in so weighty matters, and idly play away the time allotted, to prevent these intolerable calamities? would you then count it secure, to nurse in your own bosom so many serpents as sins, and to foster in your soul so many malicious accusers, as mortal and horrible offences? would you not think one life too little to repent in for so many and so great iniquities, every one whereof were enough to throw you into those unspeakable and intolerable torments?

And why then (alas!) do you not at the least devote that

small remnant, and surplusage of these your latter days, procuring to make an atonement with God; and to free your soul and conscience from that corruption which by your fall hath crept into it? Those very eyes that behold and read this discourse, those very ears that are attentive to hear it, and that very understanding that considereth and conceiveth it, shall be cited as certain witnesses of these rehearsed things. In your own body shall you experience these deadly agonies, and in your soul shall you feelingly find these terrible fears; yea, and your present estate is in danger of the deepest harms, if you do not the sooner recover yourself into that fold and family of God's faithful servants.

What have you got by being so long a customer to the world, but false ware, suitable to the shop of such a merchant, whose traffick is toil, whose wealth is trash, and whose gain is misery? What interest have you reaped, that might equal your detriment in grace and virtue? or what could you find in the vale of tears, that was answerable to the favour of God, with loss whereof you were contented to buy it?

You cannot now be inveigled with the passions of youth, which, making a partiality of things, sets no distance between counterfeit and current; for these are now worn out of force, by tract of time are fallen into reproof, by trial of their folly.

O let not the crazy cowardice of flesh and blood daunt the prowess of an intelligent person, who by his wisdom cannot but discern how much more cause there is, and how much more needful it is, to serve God than this wicked world!

But if it be the ungrounded presumption of the mercy of God, and the hope of his assistance at the last plunge, (which indeed is the ordinary lure of the Devil to reclaim sinners from the pursuit of repentance:) alas! that is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and sensible man, howsoever it may prevail with sick and ill-affected judgments. Who would rely in eternal affairs upon the gliding

slipperiness and running streams of our uncertain life? who, but one of distempered wits, would offer fraud to the Decipherer of all thoughts; with whom dissemble we may to our cost, but to deceive him is impossible?

Shall we esteem it cunning to rob the time from him, and bestow it on his enemies, who keepeth tale of the least minutes, and will examine in the end how every moment hath been employed? It is a preposterous kind of policy, in any wise conceit to fight against God till our weapons be blunted, our forces consumed, our limbs impotent, and our best time spent; and then when we fall for faintness, and have fought ourselves almost dead, to presume on his mercy.

O! no, no; the wounds of his most sacred body, so often rubbed and renewed by our sins, and every part and parcel of our bodies so divers and sundry ways abused, will be then as so many whetstones and incentives to edge and exasperate his most just revenge against us.

It is a strange piece of art, and a very exorbitant course, when the ship is sound, the pilot well, the mariners strong, the gale favourable, and the sea calm, to lie idly in the road, during so seasonable weather: and when the ship leaketh, the pilot sick, the mariners faint, the storms boisterous, and the seas a turmoil of outrageous surges, then to launch forth, hoist up sail, and set out for a long voyage into a far country.

Yet such is the skill of these evening repenters, who though in the soundness of their health, and perfect use of their reason, they cannot resolve to cut the cables, and weigh the anchor that withholds them from God.

Nevertheless they feed themselves with a strong persuasion that when they are astonished, their wits distracted, the understanding dusked, and their bodies and souls racked and tormented with the throbs and gripes of a mortal sickness; then, forsooth, they will begin to think of their weightiest matters, and become sudden saints, when they are scarce able to behave themselves like reasonable creatures.

No, no; if neither the canon, civil, nor the common law will allow that man (perished in judgment) should make any testament of his temporal substance, how can he that is animated with inward garboils of an unsettled conscience, distrained with the wringing fits of his dying flesh, maimed in all his ability, and circled in on every side with many and strange encumbrances, be thought of due discretion to dispose of his chiefest jewel, which is his soul; and to despatch the whole manage of all eternity, and of the treasures of heaven, in so short a spurt!

No, no; they that will loiter in seed-time, and begin to sow when others reap; they that will riot out their health, and begin to cast their accounts when they are scarce able to speak; they that will slumber out the day, and enter upon their journey when the light doth fail them, let them blame their own folly if they die in debt, and be eternal beggars, and fall headlong into the lap of endless perdition.

Let such listen to St. Cyprian's lesson: "let," saith he, "the grievousness of our sore be the measure of our sor-"row; let a deep wound have a deep and diligent cure; "let no man's contrition be less than his crime."

# POEMS.

*A Description of the Country's Recreations.*

QUIVERING fears, heart-tearing cares,
Anxious sighs, untimely tears,
  Fly, fly to courts;
  Fly to fond worldlings' sports,
Where strain'd Sardonic smiles are glosing still,
And grief is forc'd to laugh against her will;
   Where mirth's but mummery;
 And sorrows only real be!

 Fly from our country pastimes! fly,
 Sad troop of human misery;
   Come serene looks,
   Clear as the crystal brooks,
Or the pure azur'd heaven, that smiles to see
The rich attendance of our poverty.
  Peace and a secure mind,
Which all men seek, we only find.

  Abused mortals! did you know
  Where joy, heart's-ease, and comforts grow,
    You'd scorn proud towers,
    And seek them in these bowers,
Where winds sometimes our woods perhaps may shake,
But blustering care could never tempest make;
    Nor murmurs e'er come nigh us,
  Saving of fountains that glide by us.

  Here's no fantastic masque, nor dance,
  But of our kids, that frisk and prance:
    Nor wars are seen,
    Unless upon the green

Two harmless lambs are butting one the other,
Which done, both bleating run, each to his mother;
And wounds are never found,
Save what the plough-share gives the ground.

Here are no false entrapping baits,
To hasten too too hasty fates;
Unless it be
The fond credulity
Of silly fish, which worldling-like, still look
Upon the bait, but never on the hook:
Nor envy, unless among
The birds, for prize of their sweet song.

Go! let the diving negro seek
For gems hid in some forlorn creek;
We all pearls scorn,
Save what the dewy morn
Congeals upon each little spire of grass,
Which careless shepherds beat down as they pass;
And gold ne'er here appears,
Save what the yellow Ceres bears.

Blest silent groves! O may ye be
For ever mirth's best nursery!
May pure contents
For ever pitch their tents
Upon these downs, these meads, these rocks, these mountains,
And peace still slumber by these purling fountains!
Which we may every year
Find when we come a fishing here!

*Dispraise of Love, and Lovers' Follies.*

If love be life, I long to die,
  Live they that list for me:
And he that gains the most thereby,
  A fool at least shall be.
But he that feels the sorest fits,
'Scapes with no less than loss of wits.
    Unhappy life they gain,
    Which love do entertain.

In day by feigned looks they live,
  By lying dreams in night;
Each frown a deadly wound doth give,
  Each smile a false delight.
If't hap their lady pleasant seem,
It is for others' love they deem:
    If void she seem of joy,
    Disdain doth make her coy.

Such is the peace that lovers find,
  Such is the life they lead,
Blown here and there with every wind,
  Like flowers in the mead.
Now war, now peace, now war again,
Desire, despair, delight, disdain,
    Though dead in midst of life,
    In peace and yet at strife.

---

*Phillida's Love-call to her Coridon, and his Replying.*

*Phil.* Coridon, arise my Coridon;
    Titan shineth clear.
*Cor.* Who is it that calleth Coridon?
    Who is it that I hear?
*Phil.* Phillida, thy true love, calleth thee;
    Arise then, arise then;
      Arise, and keep thy flock with me.

*Cor.* Phillida, my true love, is it she?
I come then, I come then,
I come and keep my flock with thee!
*Phil.* Here are cherries ripe for my Coridon;
Eat them for my sake.
*Cor.* Here's my oaten pipe, my lovely one,
Sport for thee to make.
*Phil.* Here are threads, my true love, fine as silk,
To knit thee, to knit thee
A pair of stocking white as milk.
*Cor.* Here are reeds, my true love, fine and feat,
To make thee, to make thee,
A bonnet, to withstand the heat.
*Phil.* I will gather flowers, my Coridon,
To set in thy cap.
*Cor.* I will gather pears, my lovely one,
To put in thy lap.
*Phil.* I will buy my true love garters gay,
For Sundays, for Sundays,
To wear about his legs so tall.
*Cor.* I will buy my true love yellow say,
For Sundays, for Sundays,
To wear about her middle small.
*Phil.* When my Coridon sits on a hill
Making melody:
*Cor.* When my lovely one goes to her wheel,
Singing cherily,
*Phil.* Sure methinks my true love doth excel
For sweetness, for sweetness,
Sir Pan, that old Arcadian knight:
*Cor.* Sure methinks my true love bears the bell
For clearness, for clearness,
Beyond the nymphs that Syren hight.
*Phil.* Had my Coridon, my Coridon,
Been, alack, my swain:
*Cor.* Had my lovely one, my lovely one,
Been in Ida plain:
*Phil.* Cynthia Endymion had refus'd,

Preferring, preferring,
My Coridon to play with-all:
*Cor.* The queen of love had been excus'd
Bequeathing, bequeathing,
My Phillida the golden ball.
*Phil.* Yonder comes my mother, Coridon!
Whither shall I fly?
*Cor.* Under yonder beech, my lovely one,
While she passeth by.
*Phil.* Say to her thy true love was not here:
Remember, remember,
To-morrow is another day!
*Cor.* Doubt me not, my true love; do not fear;
Farewell then, farewell then;
Heaven keep our loves alway!

---

*The Shepherd's Slumber.*

In Pescod time, when hound to horn
Gives ear till buck be kill'd,
And little lads with pipes of corn
Sate keeping beasts a-field,
I went to gather strawberries tho',
By woods and groves full fair;
And parch'd my face with Phœbus so,
In walking in the air,
That down I laid me by a stream,
With boughs all over clad;
And there I met the strangest dream,
That ever shepherd had.
Methought I saw each Christmas game,
Each revel all and some;
And every thing that I can name,
Or may in fancy come.
The substance of the sights I saw,
In silence pass they shall;
Because I lack the skill to draw
The order of them all;

But Venus shall not pass my pen,
  Whose maidens, in disdain,
Did feed upon the hearts of men,
  That Cupid's bow had slain.
And that blind boy was all in blood
  Be-bath'd up to the ears:
And like a conqueror he stood,
  And scorned lovers' tears.
" I have," quoth he, " more hearts at call,
  Than Cæsar could command,
And like the deer I make them fall,
  That runneth o'er the lawnd[c].
One drops down here, another there,
  In bushes as they groan;
I bend a scornful, careless ear,
  To hear them make their moan."
" Ah, sir!" quoth Honest Meaning then,
  " Thy boy-like brags I hear,
When thou hast wounded many a man,
  As huntsman doth the deer.
Becomes it thee to triumph so?
  Thy mother wills it not:
For she had rather break thy bow,
  Than thou should'st play the sot."
" What saucy merchant speaketh now?"
  Said Venus in her rage:
" Art thou so blind thou knowest not how
  I govern every age?
My son doth shoot no shaft in waste;
  To me the boy is bound:
He never found a heart so chaste,
  But he had power to wound."
" Not so, fair goddess", quoth Free Will:
  " In me there is a choice:
And cause I am of mine own ill,
  If I in thee rejoice.

[c] For " lawn."

And when I yield myself a slave,
  To thee, or to thy son,
Such recompense I ought not have,
  If things be rightly done."
" Why fool," stept forth Delight, and said,
  " When thou art conquer'd thus:
Then lo dame Lust, that wanton maid,
  Thy mistress is, I wus:
And Lust is Cupid's darling dear,
  Behold her where she goes;
She creeps the milk-warm flesh so near,
  She hides her under close,
Where many privy thoughts do dwell,
  A heaven here on earth:
For they have never mind of hell,
  They think so much on mirth."
" Be still, Good Meaning," quoth Good Sport,
  " Let Cupid triumph make:
For sure his kingdom shall be short,
  If we no pleasure take.
Fair Beauty, and her play-feres gay,
  The virgin's vestals too,
Shall sit, and with their fingers play,
  As idle people do.
If Honest Meaning fall to frown,
  And I Good Sport decay:
Then Venus' glory will come down,
  And they will pine away."
" Indeed," quoth Wit, " this your device,
  With strangeness must be wrought:
And where you see these women nice,
  And looking to be sought,
With scowling brows their follies check,
  And so give them the fig:
Let Fancy be no more at beck,
  When Beauty looks so big."
When Venus heard how they conspir'd
  To murder women so,

Methought, indeed, the house was fir'd,
  With storms and lightning tho';
The thunder-bolt through windows burst,
  And in there steps a wight,
Which seem'd some soul or sprite accurst,
  So ugly was the sight!
" I charge you, ladies all," quoth he,
  " Look to yourselves in haste,
For if that men so wilful be,
  And have their thoughts so chaste,
That they can tread on Cupid's breast,
  And march on Venus' face,
Then they shall sleep in quiet rest,
  When you shall wail your case."
With that had Venus, all in spite,
  Stirr'd up the dames to ire;
And Lust fell-cold, and Beauty white,
  Sat babbling with Desire,
Whose muttering words I might not mark;
  Much whispering there arose:
The day did lower, the sun wax'd dark;
  Away each lady goes.
But whither went this angry flock?
  Our Lord himself doth know:
Wherewith full loudly crew the cock,
  And I awaked so.
" A dream!" quoth I, " a dog it is,
  I take thereon no keep:
I 'gage my head, such toys as this
  Doth spring from lack of sleep!"

---

*De Morte.*

MAN's life's a tragedy: his mother's womb,
From which he enters, is the tiring room;
This spacious earth the theatre; and the stage
That country which he lives in: passions, rage,

Folly, and vice are actors: the first cry
The prologue to the ensuing tragedy.
The former act consisteth of dumb shows;
The second, he to more perfection grows;
I'th third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin:
I'th the fourth declines; i'th fifth diseases clog
And trouble him; then death's his epilogue!

---

*A Nymph's Disdain of Love.*

HEY, down, a down, did Dian sing,
Amongst her virgins sitting:
Than love there is no vainer thing,
For maidens most unfitting:
And so think I, with a down, down, derry.

When women knew no woe,
But liv'd themselves to please,
Men's feigning guiles they did not know
The ground of their disease.
Unborn was False Suspect,
No thought of Jealousy:
From wanton toys and Fond Affect,
The virgin's life was free.
Hey, down, a down, did Dian sing, &c.

At length men used charms,
To which what maids gave ear,
Embracing gladly endless harms,
Anon, enthralled were.
Thus women welcom'd woe,
Disguis'd in name of love:
A jealous hell, a painted show,
So shall they find that prove.

Hey, down, a down, did Dian sing,
Amongst her virgins sitting:

Than love there is no vainer thing,
For maidens most unfitting:
And so think I, with a down, down, derry.

---

*The Shepherd's Description of Love.*

*Melibeus.* SHEPHERD, what's love, I pray thee tell?
*Faustus.* It is that fountain, and that well,
Where pleasure and repentance dwell:
It is, perhaps, that sauncing[d] bell,
That tolls all into heaven or hell:
And this is love, as I heard tell.
*Meli.* Yet what is love, I prithee say?
*Faust.* It is a work on holyday,
It is December match'd with May,
When lusty bloods in fresh array
Hear ten months after of the play:
And this is love, as I hear say.
*Meli.* Yet what is love, good Shepherd sain?
*Faust.* It is a sunshine mix'd with rain;
It is a toothach; or like pain;
It is a game, where none doth gain.
The lass saith no, and would full fain:
And [this] is love, as I hear sain.
*Meli.* Yet, Shepherd, what is love, I pray?
*Faust.* It is a yea, it is a nay,
A pretty kind of sporting fray,
It is a thing will soon away;
Then nymphs take 'vantage while ye may:
And this is love, as I hear say.
*Meli.* Yet what is love, good Shepherd show?
*Faust.* A thing that creeps, it cannot go;
A prize that passeth to and fro,
A thing for one, a thing for mo,
And he that proves shall find it so,
And, Shepherd, this is love I trow.

d "Sounding."

### *Hymn.*

RISE, O my soul, with thy desires to Heaven,
  And with divinest contemplation use
Thy time where time's eternity is given,
  And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuse;
    But down in darkness let them lie:
    So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die!

And thou, my soul, inspir'd with holy flame,
  View and review with most regardful eye
That holy cross, whence thy salvation came,
  On which thy Saviour and thy sin did die!
    For in that sacred object is much pleasure,
    And in that Saviour is my life, my treasure.

To thee, O Jesu! I direct my eye,
  To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees;
To thee my heart shall offer sacrifice,
  To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only sees:
    To thee myself, myself and all I give;
    To thee I die, to thee I only live!

---

## SONG.

### *By Christopher Marlow.*

COME, live with me and be my love,
And we will all the pleasures prove,
That grove or valley, hill or field,
Or wood and steepy mountain yield.

Where we will sit on rising rocks,
And see the shepherds feed their flocks
By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.

Pleas'd will I make thee beds of roses,
And twine a thousand fragrant posies;

A cap of flowers, and rural kirtle,
Embroider'd all with leaves of myrtle.

A jaunty gown of finest wool,
Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
And shoes lin'd choicely for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold.

A belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
With coral clasps, and amber studs;
If these, these pleasures, can thee move,
To live with me, and be my love!

---

## THE ANSWER[c].

*By Sir Walter Ralegh.*

If all the world and love were young,
And truth on every shepherd's tongue,
These pleasures might my passion move
To live with thee, and be thy love.

[c] This poem is printed thus, in "*England's Helicon.*"

*The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd.*

If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

Time drives the flocks from field to fold,
When rivers rage, and rocks grow cold;
And Philomel becometh dumb;
The rest complain of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
To wayward winter reckoning yields;
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
Thy coral clasps, and amber studs,
All these in me no means can move,
To come to thee, and be thy love.

But

But fading flowers in every field
To winter floods their treasures yield;
A honey'd tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gown, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
Are all soon wither'd, broke, forgotten,
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
Thy coral clasps, and amber studs,
Can me with no enticements move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

But could youth last, could love still breed;
Had joys no date, had age no need;
Then those delights my mind might move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

---

*Another of the same nature made since.* 7

Come, live with me, and be my dear,
And we will revel all the year,
In plains and groves, on hills and dales,
Where fragrant air breeds sweetest gales.

There shall you have the beauteous pine,
The cedar and the spreading vine;
And all the woods to be a screen,
Lest Phœbus kiss my summer's queen.

The seat for your disport shall be
Over some river in a tree;

But could youth last, and love still breed;
Had joys no date, nor age no need;
Then these delights my mind might move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

Where silver sand and pebbles sing
Eternal ditties with the spring.

There shall you see the nymphs at play;
And how the satyrs spend the day;
The fishes gliding on the sands,
Offering their bellies to your hands.

The birds, with heavenly-tuned throats,
Possess woods' echoes with sweet notes;
Which to your senses will impart
A music to inflame the heart.

Upon the bare and leafless oak
The ring-dove's wooings will provoke
A colder blood than you possess,
To play with me and do no less.

In bowers of laurel trimly dight
We will outwear the silent night;
While Flora busy is to spread
Her richest treasure on our bed.

Ten thousand glowworms shall attend,
And all their sparkling lights shall spend,
All to adorn and beautify
Your lodging with most majesty.

Then in mine arms will I enclose
Lilies' fair mixture with the rose;
Whose nice perfections in love's play
Shall tune me to the highest key.

Thus as we pass the welcome night,
In sportful pleasures and delight,
The nimble fairies on the grounds
Shall dance and sing melodious sounds.

If these may serve for to entice
Your presence to Love's paradise,
Then come with me, and be my dear,
And we will straight begin the year.

---

*An Heroical Poem.*

My wanton Muse, that whilom wont to sing
Fair Beauty's praise and Venus' sweet delight,
Of late had chang'd the tenor of her string
To higher tunes than serve for Cupid's fight:
Shrill trumpets' sound, sharp swords, and lances strong,
War, blood, and death, were matter of her song.

The God of Love by chance had heard thereof,
That I was prov'd a rebel to his crown;
"Fit words for war," quoth he, with angry scoff,
"A likely man to write of Mars his frown.
Well are they sped whose praises he shall write,
Whose wanton pen can nought but love endite."

This said, he whisk'd his partycolour'd wings,
And down to earth he comes more swift than thought;
Then to my heart in angry haste he flings,
To see what change these news of wars had wrought.
He pries, and looks; he ransacks ev'ry vein;
Yet finds he nought, save love, and lover's pain.

Then I, that now perceiv'd his needless fear,
With heavy smile began to plead my cause:
"In vain," quoth I, "this endless grief I bear;
In vain I strive to keep thy grievous laws:
If after proof, so often trusty found,
Unjust Suspect condemn me as unsound.

Is this the guerdon of my faithful heart?
Is this the hope on which my life is stayed?
Is this the ease of never-ceasing smart?
Is this the price that for my pains is paid?

Yet better serve fierce Mars in bloody field,
Where death, or conquest, end, or joy doth yield!

Long have I serv'd: what is my pay but pain?
Oft have I su'd: what gain I but delay?
My faithful love is 'quited with disdain;
My grief a game, my pen is made a play;
Yea, love, that doth in other favour find,
In me is counted madness out of kind.

And last of all, but grievous most of all,
Thyself, sweet Love, hath kill'd me with suspect:
Could Love believe, that I from love would fall?
Is war of force to make me love neglect?
No, Cupid knows, my mind is faster set,
Than that by war I should my love forget.

My Muse, indeed, to war inclines her mind;
The famous acts of worthy Brute to write:
To whom the gods this island's rule assign'd,
Which long he sought by seas through Neptune's spite.
With such conceits my busy head doth swell;
But in my heart nought else but love doth dwell.

And in this war thy part is not the least:
Here shall my Muse Brute's noble love declare;
Here shalt thou see thy double love increas'd,
Of fairest twins that ever lady bare.
Let Mars triumph in armour shining bright,
His conquer'd arms shall be thy triumph's light.

As he the world, so thou shalt him subdue,
And I thy glory through the world will ring;
So, by my pains, thou wilt vouchsafe to rue,
And kill Despair." With that he whisk'd his wing,
And bid me write, and promis'd wished rest,
But sore I fear, false hope will be the best.

*The Shepherd to the Flowers.*

SWEET violets, Love's paradise, that spread
  Your gracious odours, which you couched bear
    Within your paly faces,
Upon the gentle wing of some calm breathing wind,
    That plays amidst the plain,
If by the favour of propitious stars you gain
Such grace as in my lady's bosom place to find,
    Be proud to touch those places!
And when her warmth your moisture forth doth wear,
    Whereby her dainty parts are sweetly fed,
Your honours of the flowery meads I pray,
    You pretty daughters of the earth and sun,
With mild and seemly breathing, straight display
    My bitter sighs, that have my heart undone!

Vermilion roses, that with new days rise,
  Display your crimson folds fresh looking fair,
    Whose radiant bright disgraces
The rich adorn'd rays of roseate rising morn!
    Ah, if her virgin's hand
  Do pluck your purse, ere Phœbus view the land,
And veil your gracious pomp in lovely Nature's scorn,
    If chance my mistress traces
Fast by the flowers to take the summer's air,
  Then woeful blushing tempt her glorious eyes
To spread their tears, Adonis' death reporting,
  And tell Love's torments, sorrowing for her friend,
Whose drops of blood, within your leaves consorting,
  Report fair Venus' moans to have no end!
Then may Remorse, in pitying of my smart,
Dry up my tears, and dwell within her heart!

---

*Upon Gascoigne's Poem, called "The Steel-glass."*

SWEET were the sauce would please each kind of taste;
  The life likewise was pure that never swerv'd;

For spiteful tongues, in canker'd stomachs plac'd,
Deem worst of things, which best, percase, deserv'd.
But what for that? this medicine may suffice
To scorn the rest, and seek to please the wise.

Though sundry minds in sundry sort do deem,
Yet worthiest wights yield praise for every pain;
But envious brains do nought, or light, esteem
Such stately steps as they cannot attain:
For whoso reaps renown above the rest,
With heaps of hate shall surely be opprest.

Wherefore, to write my censure of this book,
This "*Glass of Steel*" impartially doth shew
Abuses all to such as in it look,
From prince to poor; from high estate to low.
As for the verse, who list like trade to try,
I fear me much, shall hardly reach so high!

---

*Thirsis the Shepherd to his Pipe.*

LIKE desert woods, with darksome shades obscured,
Where dreadful beasts, where hateful horror reigneth,
Such is my wounded heart, whom sorrow paineth.

The trees are fatal shafts, to death inured,
That cruel love within my breast maintaineth,
To whet my grief, when as my sorrow waineth.

The ghastly beasts my thoughts in cares assured,
Which wage me war, while heart no succour gaineth,
With false suspect, and fear that still remaineth.

The horrors, burning sighs, by cares procured,
Which forth I send, whilst weeping eye complaineth,
To cool the heat the helpless heart containeth.

But shafts, but cares, but sighs, honours unrecured,

Were nought esteem'd, if, for these pains awarded,
My faithful love by her might be regarded.

---

*Love the only price of Love.*

The fairest pearls that northern seas do breed,
For precious stones from eastern coasts are sold;
Nought yields the earth that from exchange is freed;
Gold values all, and all things value gold.
Where goodness wants an equal change to make,
There greatness serves, or number place doth take.

No mortal thing can bear so high a price,
But that with mortal thing it may be bought;
The corn of Sicil buys the western spice;
French wine of us, of them our cloth is sought.
No pearls, no gold, no stones, no corn, no spice,
No cloth, no wine, of love can pay the price.

What thing is love, which nought can countervail?
Nought save itself, ev'n such a thing is love.
All worldly wealth in worth as far doth fail,
As lowest earth doth yield to heav'n above.
Divine is love, and scorneth worldly pelf,
And can be bought with nothing, but with self.

Such is the price my loving heart would pay,
Such is the pay thy love doth claim as due.
Thy due is love, which I, poor I, essay,
In vain essay, to 'quite with friendship true:
True is my love, and true shall ever be,
And truest love is far too base for thee.

Love but thyself, and love thyself alone;
For, save thyself, none can thy love requite:
All mine thou hast, but all as good as none;
My small desert must take a lower flight.

Yet if thou wilt vouchsafe my heart such bliss,
Accept it for thy prisoner, as it is.

---

*The Shepherd's Praise of his sacred Diana.*

PRAIS'D be Diana's fair and harmless light;
Prais'd be the dews, wherewith she moists the ground;
Prais'd be her beams, the glory of the night;
Prais'd be her power, by which all powers abound!

Prais'd be her nymphs, with whom she decks the woods;
Prais'd be her knights, in whom true honour lives;
Prais'd be that force by which she moves the floods!
Let that Diana shine, which all these gives!

In heaven, queen she is among the spheres;
She, mistress-like, makes all things to be pure;
Eternity in her oft-change she bears;
She, Beauty is; by her, the fair endure.

Time wears her not; she doth his chariot guide;
Mortality below her orb is plac'd;
By her the virtues of the stars down slide;
In her is Virtue's perfect image cast!

A knowledge pure it is her worth to know:
With Circes let them dwell that think not so!

---

*The silent Lover*[f].

PASSIONS are likened best to floods and streams:
The shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb.
So, when affections yield discourse, it seems
The bottom is but shallow whence they come:
They that are rich in words must needs discover,
They are but poor in that which makes a lover.

[f] This has been much improved from a MS. copy in a very curious collection of contemporary poetry, among Dr. Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian. It is there entitled "Sir Walter Ralegh to Queene Elizabeth."

Wrong not, sweet mistress of my heart!
  The merit of true passion,
With thinking that he feels no smart,
  Who sues for no compassion!

Since, if my plaints serve not to prove
  The conquest of thy beauty,
They come not from defect of love,
  But from excess of duty.

For, knowing that I sue to serve
  A saint of such perfection,
As all desire, but none deserve
  A place in her affection,

I rather choose to want relief
  Than venture the revealing:
Where Glory recommends the grief,
  Despair distrusts the healing!

Thus those desires that aim too high
  For any mortal lover,
When Reason cannot make them die,
  Discretion doth them cover.

Yet when Discretion doth bereave
  The plaints that they should utter,
Then your Discretion may perceive
  That Silence is a suitor.

Silence in love bewrays more woe
  Than words, though ne'er so witty;
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
  Deserveth double pity[8]!

[8] This stanza was, by some strange anachronism, current about seventy years ago, among the circles of fashion, as the production of the late celebrated earl of Chesterfield.

Then misconceive not, dearest heart!
My true, though secret, passion;
He smarteth most that hides his smart,
And sues for no compassion!

---

*A Vision upon the Fairy Queen.*

METHOUGHT I saw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that temple where the vestal flame
Was wont to burn; and, passing by that way,
To see that buried dust of living fame,
Whose tomb fair Love, and fairer V irtue kept:
All suddenly I saw the Fairy Queen;
At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept,
And, from thenceforth, those Graces were not seen:
For they this queen attended; in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse:
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce:
Where Homer's spright did tremble all for grief,
And curs'd the access of that celestial thief!

---

*On the same.*

THE praise of meaner wits this work like profit brings,
As doth the cuckoo's song delight, when Philomela sings;
If thou hast formed right true Virtue's face herein,
Virtue herself can best discern, to whom they written been.
If thou hast Beauty prais'd, let her sole looks divine,
Judge if ought therein be amiss, and mend it by her eyne.
If Chastity want ought, or Temperance her due,
Behold her princely mind aright, and write thy Queen anew.
Meanwhile she shall perceive, how far her virtues soar
Above the reach of all that live, or such as wrote of yore:
And thereby will excuse and favour thy good will;
Whose virtue cannot be express'd but by an angel's quill.

Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price,
Of all which speak our English tongue, but those of thy device.

---

*The Lover's absence kills me, her presence kills me.*

THE frozen snake oppress'd with heaped snow,
By struggling hard gets out her tender head,
And spies far off, from where she lies below,
The winter sun that from the north is fled.
But all in vain she looks upon the light,
Where heat is wanting to restore her might.

What doth it help a wretch in prison pent,
Long time with biting hunger overpress'd,
To see without, or smell within, the scent
Of dainty fare for others' tables dress'd?
Yet snake and prisoner both behold the thing,
The which (but not with sight) might comfort bring.

Such is my taste, or worse, if worse may be;
My heart oppress'd with heavy frost of care,
Debarr'd of that which is most dear to me,
Kill'd up with cold, and pin'd with evil fare;
And yet I see the thing might yield relief,
And yet the sight doth breed my greater grief.

So Thisbe saw her lover through the wall,
And saw thereby she wanted that she saw:
And so I see, and, seeing, want withal,
And, wanting so, unto my death I draw.
And so my death were twenty times my friend,
If with this verse my hated life might end.

---

*A Defiance to disdainful Love.*

Now have I learn'd, with much ado at last,
By true disdain to kill desire;

This was the mark at which I shot so fast;
Unto this height I did aspire.
Proud Love, now do thy worst, and spare not;
For thee and all thy shafts I care not!

What hast thou left wherewith to move my mind?
What life to quicken dead desire?
I count thy words and oaths as light as wind;
I feel no heat in all thy fire.
Go charge thy bows, and get a stronger;
Go break thy shafts, and buy thee longer.

In vain thou bait'st thy hook with Beauty's blaze;
In vain thy wanton eyes allure:
These are but toys, for them that love to gaze:
I know what harm thy looks procure:
Some strange conceit must be devised,
Or thou and all thy skill despised.

*The two following Poems are taken from* CAYLEY'S LIFE OF RALEGH; *but it is not known from which of the authorities referred to by him they are extracted.*

*Dulcina.*

As at noon Dulcina rested
In her sweet and shady bower,
Came a shepherd, and requested
In her lap to sleep an hour.
But from her look
A wound he took
So deep, that for a farther boon
The nymph he prays;
Whereto she says,
"Forego me now, come to me soon!"

But in vain she did conjure him
  To depart her presence so,
Having a thousand tongues t' allure him,
  And but one to bid him go.
    When lips invite,
    And eyes delight,
And cheeks as fresh as rose in June,
    Persuade delay,
    What boots to say,
" Forego me now, come to me soon!"

He demands, what time for pleasure
  Can there be more fit than now?
She says, Night gives love that leisure
  Which the day doth not allow.
    He says, the sight
    Improves delight;
Which she denies; " Night's murky noon
    In Venus' plays
    Makes bold," she says,
" Forego me now, come to me soon!"

But what promise, or profession,
  From his hands could purchase scope?
Who would sell the sweet possession
  Of such beauty for a hope?
    Or for the sight
    Of lingering night,
Forego the present joys of noon?
    Tho' ne'er so fair
    Her speeches were,
" Forego me now, come to me soon!"

How at last agreed these lovers?
  She was fair, and he was young:
The tongue may tell what th' eye discovers;
  Joys unseen are never sung.

Did she consent,
Or he relent?
Accepts he night, or grants she noon?
Left he her maid,
Or not? She said
" Forego me now, come to me soon!"

---

*His Love admits no Rival.*

SHALL I, like a hermit, dwell
On a rock, or in a cell,
Calling home the smallest part
That is missing of my heart,
To bestow it where I may
Meet a rival every day?
If she undervalue me,
What care I how fair she be!

Were her tresses angel gold,
If a stranger may be bold,
Unrebuked, unafraid,
To convert them to a braid;
And with little more ado
Work them into bracelets, too:
If the mine be grown so free,
What care I how rich it be!

Were her lips as rich a prize
As her hairs, or precious eyes,
If she lay them out to take
Kisses, for good manners' sake;
And let every lover skip
From her hand unto her lip:
If she seem not chaste to me,
What care I how chaste she be!

No; she must be perfect snow,
In effect as well as show;

Warming but as snow-balls do,
Not like fire, by burning too;
But when she by change hath got
To her heart a second lot,
Then, if others share with me,
Farewell her, whate'er she be!

---

*His Pilgrimage*[d].

GIVE me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon;
My scrip of joy, immortal diet;
My bottle of salvation;
My gown of glory, (hope's true gage)
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer,
No other balm will here be given,
Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
Travels to the land of heaven,
Over all the silver mountains,
Where do spring those nectar fountains:

And I there will sweetly kiss
The happy bowl of peaceful bliss,
Drinking mine eternal fill
Flowing on each milky hill.
My soul will be adry before,
But after, it will thirst no more.

In that happy, blissful day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparell'd fresh like me;
I'll take them first,
To slake their thirst;
And then taste of nectar suckets,

[d] This has been very much improved by following a copy in the MS. already quoted, p. 716.

At those clear wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

And when our bottles and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,
Then those holy paths we'll travel
Strew'd with rubies thick as gravel;
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire floors,
High walls of coral, and pearly bowers.
From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No conscience molten into gold,
No forg'd accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferr'd, no vainspent journey;
For there Christ is the King's attorney,
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath angels, but no fees.
And when the grand twelve million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury,
'Gainst our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads his death, and then we live.
Be Thou my speaker, taintless pleader,
Unblotted lawyer, true proceeder,
Thou giv'st salvation even for alms,
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.
Then this is mine eternal plea,
To him that made heaven, earth, and sea,
Seeing my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke of death, my arms being spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head.
So shall I ready, like a palmer fit,
Tread those bless'd paths shown in thy holy writ.

Of death and judgment, heaven and hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well[c]!

[c] These two concluding lines not in the Rawlinson MS.

## *The Farewell.*

[The following poem has been given as written by SIR WALTER RALEGH, *the night before his execution;* but it had already appeared in "Davison's "Rhapsody," in 1608[f]; and is also to be found in a MS. collection of Poems in the British Museum, which has the date of 1596.]

Go, soul, the body's guest,
  Upon a thankless errand;
Fear not to touch the best;
  The truth shall be thy warrant.

[f] It is printed by "Davison" with many variations.

*The Lie.*

Go, soul, the body's guest,
  Upon a thankless errand;
Fear not to touch the best;
  The truth shall be thy warrant.
    Go, since I needs must die,
    And give the world the lie.

Say to the court it glows,
  And shines like rotten wood,
Say to the church it shows
  What's good, and doth no good.
    If church and court reply,
    Then give them both the lie.

Tell potentates, they live
  Acting, by others' action;
Not lov'd, unless they give;
  Nor strong, but by affection.
    If potentates reply,
    Give potentates the lie.

Tell men of high condition,
  That manage the estate,
Their purpose is ambition;
  Their practice only hate.
    And if they once reply,
    Then give them all the lie.

Tell them that brave it most,
  They beg for more by spending,
Who in their greatest cost
  Like nothing but commending.
    And if they make reply,
    Then give them all the lie.

Tell zeal it wants devotion;
  Tell love it is but lust;
Tell time it meets but motion;
  Tell flesh it is but dust:
    And wish them not reply,
    For thou must give the lie.

Tell

Go, since I needs must die,
And give them all the lie.

Go, tell the court it glows,
And shines like painted wood;
Go, tell the church it shews
What's good, but does no good.

Tell age it daily wasteth;
Tell honour how it alters;
Tell beauty how she blasteth;
Tell favour how it falters:
And as they shall reply,
Give every one the lie.

Tell wit how much it wrangles
In tickle points of niceness;
Tell wisdom she entangles
Herself in over-wiseness:
And when they do reply,
Straight give them both the lie.

Tell physic of her boldness;
Tell skill it is prevention;
Tell charity of coldness;
Tell law it is contention:
And as they do reply,
So give them still the lie.

Tell fortune of her blindness;
Tell nature of decay;
Tell friendship of unkindness;
Tell justice of delay:
And if they will reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell arts they have no soundness,
But vary by esteeming;
Tell schools they want profoundness,
And stand too much on seeming.
If arts and schools reply,
Give arts and schools the lie.

Tell faith it's fled the city;
Tell how the country erreth;
Tell manhood, shakes off pity;
Tell virtue, least preferred.
And if they do reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

So when thou hast, as I
Commanded thee, done blabbing;
Because to give the lie
Deserves no less than stabbing:
Stab at thee, he that will,
No stab thy soul can kill!

If court and church reply,
Give court and church the lie.

Tell potentates, they live
Acting, but O their actions!
Not lov'd, unless they give;
Nor strong, but by their factions.
If potentates reply,
Give potentates the lie.

Tell men of high condition,
That rule affairs of state,
Their purpose is ambition;
Their practice only hate.
And if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell those that brave it most,
They beg for more by spending;
Who in their greatest cost
Seek nothing but commending.
And if they make reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

Tell zeal it lacks devotion;
Tell love it is but lust;
Tell time it is but motion;
Tell flesh it is but dust:
And wish them not reply,
For thou must give the lie.

Tell age it daily wasteth;
Tell honour how it alters;
Tell beauty that it blasteth;
Tell favour that she falters:
And as they do reply,
Give every one the lie.

Tell wit how much it wrangles
  In fickle points of niceness;
Tell wisdom she entangles
  Herself in over-wiseness:
    And if they do reply,
    Then give them both the lie.

Tell physic of her boldness;
  Tell skill it is pretension;
Tell charity of coldness;
  Tell law it is contention:
    And if they yield reply,
    Then give them still the lie.

Tell fortune of her blindness;
  Tell nature of decay;
Tell friendship of unkindness;
  Tell justice of delay:
    And if they do reply,
    Then give them all the lie.

Tell arts they have no soundness,
  But vary by esteeming;
Tell schools they lack profoundness,
  And stand too much on seeming.
    If arts and schools reply,
    Give arts and schools the lie.

Tell faith it's fled the city;
  Tell how the country erreth;
Tell manhood, shakes off pity;
  Tell virtue, least preferreth.
    And if they do reply,
    Spare not to give the lie.

So, when thou hast, as I
  Commanded thee, done blabbing;

Although to give the lie
Deserves no less than stabbing
Yet stab at thee who will,
No stab the soul can kill!

---

### *On the Snuff of a Candle.*

The night before he died.

COWARDS fear to die; but courage stout,
Rather than live in snuff, will be put out.

---

### *Sir Walter Ralegh the night before his death.*

[In some copies thus entitled; "Verses said to have been found in his Bible "in the Gate-house at Westminster;" archbishop Sancroft, who has transcribed the lines, calls them his "Epitaph made by himself, and given to one of his the night before his suffering."]

EVEN such is time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days!
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust!

# ADDITIONAL POEMS.

## *The Lover's Maze.*

[From Le Prince d'Amour.]

| 1. | 2. | 3. |
|---|---|---|
| Her face, | Her tongue, | Her wit, |
| So fair, | So sweet, | So sharp, |
| First bent, | Then drew, | Then hit, |
| Mine eye, | Mine ear, | Mine heart. |
| 2. | 2. | 2. |
| Mine eye, | Mine ear, | Mine heart, |
| To like, | To learn, | To love, |
| Her face, | Her tongue, | Her heart, |
| Doth lead, | Doth teach, | Doth move. |
| 3. | 3. | 3. |
| O face, | O tongue, | O wit, |
| With frowns, | With checks, | With smart, |
| Wrong not, | Vex not, | Wound not, |
| Mine eye, | Mine ear, | Mine heart. |
| 4. | 4. | 4. |
| Mine eye, | Mine ear, | Mine heart, |
| To learn, | To know, | To fear, |
| Her face, | Her tongue, | Her wit, |
| Doth lead, | Doth fear, | Doth swear. |

## *Farewell to the Court.*

[From Le Prince d'Amour.]

LIKE truthless dreams so are my joys expir'd,
And past return are all my dandled days,
My love misled, and fancy quite retir'd,
Of all which past, the sorrow only stays.

My lost delights, now clean from sight of land,
Have left me all alone in unknown ways,

My mind to woe, my life in fortune's hand,
Of all which past, the sorrow only stays.

As in a country strange without companion,
I only wait the wrongs of death's delays,
Whose sweet spring spent, whose sound well nigh is done,
Of all which past, the sorrow only stays,
Whom care forewarns, ere care or winter's cold,
To haste me hence to find my fortune's fold.

---

*The Advice.*

[From Le Prince d'Amour.]

MANY desire, but few or none deserve
To win the fort of thy most constant will;
Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve
But unto him that will defend thee still.
For this be sure, the fort of fame once won,
Farewell the rest, thy happy days are done!

Many desire, but few or none deserve
To pluck the flowers and let the leaves to fall;
Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve,
But unto him that will take leaves and all.
For this be sure, the flower once pluckt away,
Farewell the rest, thy happy days decay!

Many desire, but few or none deserve,
To cut the corn, not subject to the sickle.
Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve,
But constant stand, for mowers' minds are fickle.
For this be sure, the crop being once obtain'd,
Farewell the rest, the soil will be disdain'd.

---

*Verses by Sir Walter Ralegh.*

[From the Ashmolean MSS.]

CALLING to mind, mine eye went long about
To cause my heart for to forsake my breast,

All in a rage I thought to pluck it out
By whose device I liv'd in such unrest.
What could I say then to regain my grace?
Forsooth that it had seen my mistress' face!

And then again I called unto mind,
It was my heart that all this woe had wrought,
Because that he to love his fort resign'd,
When on such wars my fancy never thought.
What could he say when I would have him slain?
That it was yours, and had forgone me clean.

At length, when I perceiv'd both eye and heart
Excuse themselves as guilty of mine ill;
I found myself the cause of all my smart,
And told myself, myself now slay I will.
Yet, when I saw myself to you was true,
I love myself, because myself loves you.

---

*Moral Advice.*

[From the Ashmolean MSS.]

WATER thy plants with grace divine, and hope to live for aye;
Then to thy Saviour Christ incline, in him make steadfast stay;
Raw is the reason that doth lie within an atheist's head,
Which saith the soul of man doth die, when that the body's dead.

---

*A Lover's Verses.*

[From the Bodleian MSS.]

FAIN would I but I dare not;
I dare, but yet I may not:
I may, although I care not
For pleasure when I play not.

You laugh, because you like not;
I jest, and yet I joy not:

You pierce, although you strike not;
I strike, and yet annoy not.

I spy, whereas I speak not,
For oft I speak and speed not:
But of my wound you reck not,
Because you see they bleed not.

Yet bleed they when you see not,
But you the pain endure not:
Of noble minds they be not
That ever kill and cure not.

I see, whereas I view not;
I wish, although I crave not:
I serve, and yet I sue not;
I hope for that I have not.

I catch, although I hold not;
I burn, although I flame not:
I seem, whereas I would not,
And when I seem, I am not.

Yours am I, though I seem not;
And will be, though I shew not:
Mine outward deeds then deem not,
When mine intent you know not.

But if my service prove not
Most sure, although I sue not,
Withdraw your mind, and love not,
Nor of my ruin rue not.

---

### *False Love and True Love.*

[From the Bodleian MSS.]

As you came from the holy land
Of Walsingham,

Met you not with my true love
  By the way as you came?
How shall I know your true love,
  That have met many one
As I went to the holy land,
  That have come, that have gone.
She is neither white nor brown,
  But as the heavens fair;
There is none hath so divine a form
  In the earth or the air.
Such a one did I meet, good sir,
  Such an angelic face;
Who like a queen, like a nymph did appear,
  By her gait, by her grace:
She hath left me here all alone,
  All alone as unknown,
Who sometimes did me lead with herself,
  And me loved as her own:
What's the cause that she leaves you alone
  And a new way doth take:
Who loved you once as her own
  And her joy did you make?
I have loved her all my youth,
  But now, old as you see,
Love likes not the falling fruit
  From the withered tree:
Know that Love is a careless child
  And forgets promise past,
He is blind, he is deaf, when he list,
  And in faith never fast:
His desire is a dureless content,
  And a trustless joy;
He is won with a world of despair,
  And is lost with a toy:
Of women-kind such indeed is the love,
  Or the word love abused;
Under which many childish desires
  And conceits are excused:

But true love is a durable fire
In the mind ever burning;
Never sick, never old, never dead,
From itself never turning.

---

### *The Answer to the Lie.*

[From the Ashmolean MSS.]

COURT's scorn, state's disgracing,
Potentate's scoff, government's defacing,
Prince's touch, church's unhallowing,
Art's injury, virtue's debacing,
Age's monster, honour's wasting,
Beauty's blemish, favour's blasting,
Wit's excrement, wisdom's vomit,
Physic's scorn, law's comet,
Fortune's child, valour's defiler,
Justice's revenger, friendship's beguiler:
Such is the song, such is the author,
Worthy to be rewarded with a halter.

---

### *Erroris Responsio.*

[From the Ashmolean MSS.]

COURT's commender, state's maintainer,
Potentate's defender, government's gainer,
Prince's praiser, church's preacher,
Art's raiser, virtue's teacher,
Age's rewarder, honour's strengthener,
Beauty's guarder, favour's lengthener,
Wit's admirer, wisdom's scholar,
Physic's desirer, law's follower,
Fortune's blamer, nature's observer,
Justice' proclaimer, friendship's preserver:
Such is the author, such is the song,
Returning the halter, contemning the wrong.

---

### *Epitaph on Secretary Cecil.*

[See Osborne's Traditional Memoires, 1658. p. 89, and Oldys's Life, p. 424.]

HERE lies Hobinall our pastor while ere,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear;

To please us, his cur he kept under clog,
And was ever after both shepherd and dog.
For oblation to Pan his custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us:
And through his false worship such power he did gain,
As kept him o' th' mountain, and us on the plain.
Where many a hornpipe he tun'd to his Phyllis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amaryllis,
Till Atropos clapt him, a p—— on the drab,
For (spite of his tarbox) he died of the scab.

---

*A Riddle.*

[From a MS. in the Bodleian written about 1589.]

Th' offence of the stomach, with the word of disgrace,
Is the gentleman's name with th' effeminate face.

id est RAWLEY.

*The Answer.*

The word of denial, and the letter of fifty,
Is the gentleman's name that will never be thrifty.

id est NOWELL.

# APPENDIX.

## ACCOUNT OF SIR WALTER RALEGH.

[From Aubrey's MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum.]

HE was a tall, handsome, and bold man; but his næve was, that he was damnable proud. Old Sr. Robert Harley, of Brampton-Brian Castle, (who knew him,) would say, 'twas a great question, who was the proudest, Sr. W. or Sr. Thomas Overbury, but the difference that was, was judged on Sr. Tho. side.

He had 2 wives; his first was . . . . . Throckmorton; 2d . . . . . mother of Carew Ralegh, 2d son.

Sr. Carew Ralegh[a], of Downton, in com. Wilts, was his eldest brother, who was gentleman of the horse to sir Jo. Thynne, of Longleate, and after his death maried his lady; by whom he had children as in the pedigree. Walter and Tom, his gr. children, say that sir Carew was the elder knight. I have heard my grandfather say, that Sr. Carew had a delicate cleare voice, and played singularly well on the olpharion[b], (wch was the instrument in fashion in those dayes,) to which he did sing. His grand-children, Walter and Tom (with whom I went to schoole at Blandford, in Dorset. 4 yeares,) had also excellent tuneable voices, and played their parts well on the violin; ingeniose, but all proud and quarrelsome.

Sir Walter Ralegh was of . . . . . in Oxford. Vide de hoc A. Wood's Antiquities.

He went into Ireland, where he served in the warres, and

[a] Mem. He made an excellent cordiall, good in feavers, &c. Mr. R. Boyle has the rec. and makes it, and does great cures with it.

[b] 'Tis as big as a lute, but flatt-bellyed, with wire strings.

shewed much courage and conduct, but he would be perpetually differing with . . . . . I thinke, Gray, then L^d deputy; so that at last the hearing was to be at councill table before the Q. w^ch was w^t he desired, where he told his tale so well, and with so good a grace and presence, that the Q. tooke especiall notice of him, and presently preferred him. So that it must be before this that he served in the French warres. He was a second with the earle of Oxford in a duell. Was acquainted and respected with all the hero's of our nation in his time. Sir Walt. Long, of Draycot (gr. father to this S^r. James Long) maried a daughter of sir Jo. Thynne, by which meanes, and their consimility of disposition, there was a very conjunct friendship between the two brothers S^r. C. and S^r. W. and him; and old John Long, who then wayted on S^r. W. Long, being one time in the privy-garden with his master, saw the earle of Nottingham wipe the dust from sir Walter R.'s shoes with his cloake, in compliment. In the great parlour at Downton, at Mr. Ralegh's, is a good piece (an originall) of sir W. in a white sattin doublet, all embrodered with rich pearles, and a mighty rich chaine of great pearles about his neck. The old servants have told me, that the pearles were neer as big as the painted ones. He had a most remarkable aspect, an exceeding high forehead, long-faced, and sour eie-lidded, a kind of pigge-eie. At . . . . an obscure taverne, in Drury-lane, (a bayliff's,) is a good picture of this worthy, and also of others of his time; taken upon some execution, I suppose, formerly. I have heard my gr. mother say, that when she was young, they were wont to talk of this rebus, viz.

"The enemie to the stomach, and the word of disgrace,
"Is the name of the gentleman with a bold face[c]."

He was the first that brought tobacco into England, and into fashion. In our part of North Wilts,—e. g. Malmesbury hundred,—it came first into fashion by S^r. Walter Long. They had first silver pipes. The ordinary sort made use of a walnut-shell and a strawe. I have heard my gr. father

[c] His beard turned up naturally. [See p. 736.]

Lyte say, that one pipe was handed from man to man round about the table. Sr. W. R. standing in a stand at Sr. Ro. Poyntz parke, at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, wch made the ladies quitt it till he had donne. Within these 35 years 'twas scandalous for a divine to take tobacco. It was sold then for its wayte in silver. I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbours (Josias Taylor) say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco; now, the customes of it are the greatest his majtie hath.

Sir Walter R. was a great chymist, and amongst some MSS. receipts, I have seen some secrets from him. He studyed most in his sea-voyages, where he carried always a trunke of bookes along with him, and had nothing to divert him.

A person so much immerst in action all along, and in fabrication of his owne fortunes (till his confinement in the Tower) could have but little time to study, but what he could spare in the morning. He was no slug; without doubt, had a wonderfull waking spirit, and great judgment to guide it. Durham-house was a noble palace; after he came to his greatness he lived there, or in some apartment of it. I well remember his study, wch was on a little turret, that looked into and over the Thames, and had the prospect, wch is pleasant, perhaps, as any in the world, and which not only refreshes the eie-sight, but cheers the spirits, and (to speake my mind) I believe enlarges an ingeniose man's thoughts.

Shirburne castle, parke, mannor, &c. did belong (and still ought to belong) to the church of Sarum. 'Twas aliened in . . . . . time to . . . . . then . . . . . then sir W. R. begged as a bôn from Q. Eliz. where he built a delicate lodge in the parke of brick, not big, but very convenient for ye bignesse, a place to retire from the court in summer time, and to contemplate, &c. Upon his attainder, 'twas begged by the favourite Carr, E. of Somerset, who forfeited it (I thinke) about the poysoning of sir Tho. Overbury; then Jo. E. of Bristowe had it given him for his good ser-

vice in the ambassade in Spaine, and added two wings to sir W. Ralegh's lodge; in short and indeed 'tis a most sweet and pleasant place and site as any in the west, perhaps none like it. In his youth his companions were boysterous blades, but generally those that had witt, except otherwise upon designe to gett them engaged for him,—e. g. Sr. Charles Snell, of Kington Saint Michael, in North Wilts, my good neighbour, an honest young gent. but kept a perpetual sott, he engaged him to build a ship (The Angel Gabriel) for the designe for Guiana, wch cost him the mannor of Yatton-Keynell, the farme at Easton-Piers, Thornhill, and the church lease of bps. Cannings, wch ship, upon sir W. R.'s attainder, was forfeited; no question he had other such young . . . . .

In his youthfull time, was one Charles Chester, that after kept company with his acquaintance, he was a bold impertinent fellowe, and they could never be at quiet for him; a perpetuall talker, and made a noyse like a drum in a roome, so, one time at a taverne, sir W. R. beates him and seales up his mouth, his upper and neather beard, with hard wax. From him Ben Jonson takes his Carlo Buffono, jester, in Every Man out of his Humour.

I have now forgott whether Sr. Walter was not for the putting of Mary Q. of Scotts to death; I thinke, yea; but, besides that, at a consultation at Whitehall after queen Elizabeth's death, how matters were to be ordered, and what ought to be donne, sir W. R. declared his opinion, 'twas the wisest way for them to keep the staff in their owne hands, and sett up a commonwealth, and not be subject to a needy beggarly nation: it seems there were some of this caball who kept not this so secret, but that it came to king James's eare, who at . . . . . when the English noblesse mett and received him, being told, upon their presentment to his majesty, their names; when sir W. R.'s name was told; "Ralegh," said the king, "O my soule, mon, I have heard "*rawly* of thee." He was such a person (every way), that (as K. Ch. I. says of the lord Strafford) a prince would rather be afrayd of, then ashamed of. He had that awful-

ness and ascendency in his aspect over other mortalls, that the K. . . . . .

It was a most stately sight, the glory of that reception of his maj$^{ty}$, where the nobility and gentry were in exceeding rich equipages, having enjoyed a long peace under the most excellent of queens; and the traine was so exceeding numerous, that their obedience carried a secret dread with it. K. James did not inwardly like it, and with an inward envy sayd, that though so and so as before, he doubted not but he should have been able on his owne strength (should the English have kept him out) to have dealt with them, and got his right. Sayd S$^{r}$. W. R. to him, "Would to God "that had been put to the tryall." "Why doe you wish "that?" sayd the king.—"Because," sayd S$^{r}$. W. "that "then you would have knowne your friends from your foes." But that reason of sir W. was never forgotten nor forgiven.

Old major Stansby, of . . . . . Hants, a most intimate friend and neighbour, and coetanean of the late earle of Southampton (Ld. Treas.), told me from his friend, y$^{e}$ earle, that as to the plott and businesse about the L$^{d}$ Cobham, &c. he being then governor of Jersey, would not fully, or &c.$^{d}$ unless they would goe to his island, and there advise and resolve about it; and that really and indeed sir Walter's purpose was, when he had them there to have betrayed them and the plott, and so have them delivered up to the king, and made his peace.

Q. Elizabeth loved to have all the servants of her court proper men, and, (as before said S$^{r}$. W. R.'s gracefull presence was no mean recommendation to him,) I thinke, his first preferment at court was captaine of her majestie's guard. There came a country gentleman (a sufficient yeoman) up to towne, who had severall sonnes, but one an extraordinary proper handsome fellowe, whom he did hope to have preferred to be a yeoman of the guard. The father (a goodly man himselfe) comes to S$^{r}$. W. R. a stranger to him, and told him that he had brought up a boy, that he would de-

[d] [Sic. Edit.]

sire (having many children) should be one of her majestie's guard; q^th^ S^r^. W. R. "Had you spake for yourselfe I "should readily have graunted your desire, for your person "deserves it, but I putt in no boyes". S^d^ the father, "Boy "come in;" the son enters, about 18 or 19, but such a goodly proper young fellow, as S^r^. W. R. had not seen the like, he was the tallest of all the guard. S^r^. W. R. sweares him immediately; and ordered him to carry up the first dish at dinner, where the Q. beheld him w^th^ admiration, as if a beautifull young giant, like Saul, taller by the head and shoulders then other men, had stalked in w^th^ the service.

In his youth, for severall years, he was under streights for want of money. I remember that Mr. Th. Child, of Worcestershire, told me that S^r^ Walter borrowed a gowne of him when he was at Oxford, (they were both of the same coll.,) which he never restored, nor money for it.

* * * * * * * * * * *

When he was attacked by the officer, about the businesse which cost him his head, he was carryed in a boate (a wherry), I thinke only with two men. K. James was wont to say, that he was a coward to be so taken and conveyed, for else he might easily have made his escape from so slight a guard.

He was a prisoner in the Tower . . . . yeares; quære, where his lodgings were? He there (besides his compiling his History of the World) studyed chymistry. The earle of Northumberland was prisoner at the same time, who was the patrone to Mr. Hariot and Mr. Warner, two of the best mathematicians then in the world, as also Mr. Hues (de Globis). Serjeant Hoskins (the poet) was a prisoner there too.

I heard my cosen Whitney say that he saw him in the Tower. He had a velvet cap laced, and a rich gowne, and trunke hose.

At the end of the History of the World, he laments the death of the most hopefull prince Henry, whose great favourite he was; and who, had he survived his father, would quickly have enlarged him, with rewards of honour. So upon the prince's death ends his first part of his History of

the World, with a gallant eulogie of him, and concludes, *Versa est in luctum cithera mea; et cantus meus in vocem flentium.* He had an apparatus for the second part, which he, in discontent, burnt, and sayd, "If I am not worthy of "the world, the world is not worthy of my workes[e]."

He was sometimes a poet, not often. Before Spenser's Faery Q. is a good copie of verses, which begins thus, "Methinkes I see the grave where Laura lay:" at the bottome W. R. which, 36 yeares since, I was told were his.

His intimate acquaintance and friends were

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . Earle of Oxford. | Mr. Tho. Hariot. |
| Sr. Francis Vere. | Sr. Walter Long of Draycot in Wilts. |
| Sr. Horatio Vere. | Cavaliero Surff. |
| Sr. Francis Drake. | Ben. Johnson &c. |
| Nicholas Hill. | |
| . . . . Cavendish. | |

When serjeant Hoskyns was a prisoner in the Tower he was Sr. Walter's Aristarchus.

Old Sr. Thomas Malett, one of the justices of the king's bench, tempore Car. I. et II. knew Sr. W. and I have heard him say, that notwithstanding his so great mastership in style, and his conversation with the learnedest and politest persons, yet he spake broad Devonshire to his dyeing day. His voice was small, as likewise were my schoolfellows, his gr. nephews.

He was scandalized with atheisme; he was a bold man, and would venture at discourse, which was unpleasant to the church-men. I remember my first Ld Scudamour sayd, "'Twas basely sayd of Sr. W. R. to talke of the anagramme "of dog." In his speech on the scaffold, I heard my cosen Whitney say (and I thinke 'tis printed) that he spake not one word of Christ, but of the great and incomprehensible God, with much zeale and adoration, so that he concluded

[e] His booke sold very slowly at first, and the bookseller complayned of it, and told him that he should be a loser by it, which putt sir W. into a passion; and sayd that since the world did not understand it, they should not have his second part, which he tooke and threw into the fire, and burnt before his face.

he was an a-christ, not an atheist. He took a pipe of tobacco a little before he went to the scaffold, wch some formall persons were scandalized at, but I thinke 'twas well, and properly donne to settle his spirits. I remember I heard old father . . . . . Symonds (è societate Jesu) say, that . . . . . a father, was at his execution, and that to his knowledge he dyed with a lye in his mouth, I have now forgott what 'twas. The time of his execution was contrived to be on my lord mayor's day, (viz. the day, after St. Simon and Jude,) that the pageants and fine shewes might drawe away the people from beholding the tragedie of one of the gallantest worthies that ever England bred. Buryed privately under the high altar[f] at St. Margaret's church, in Westminster, on . . . . in which grave (or neer) lies James Harrington, esq. author of Oceana. * * * *

Mr. Elias Ashmole told me that his son Carew Ralegh told him he had his father's skull, that some yeares since upon digging up the grave his skull and neck-bone being viewed, they found the vertebra of his neck lapped over so that he could not have been hanged.

'Twas St. W. R.'s the epigram on Robert Cecill earle of Salisbury who died in a ditch 3 or 4 miles west from Marleborough, returning from Bathe to London;

"Heere lies Robert our shepherd whilere."

This I had from old Sr. Thomas Malett one of ye judges of the king's bench, who knew sir W. Ralegh and did remember the passages.

A copie of Sr. W. Ralegh's letter, sent to Mr. Duke, in Devon, writt with his owne hand.

Mr. Duke,

I wrote to Mr. Prideaux to move you for the purchase of Hayes[g], a farme sometime in my father's

[f] He was buried as soon as you are removed from the top of the steps towards the altar, not under the altar. From Elias Ashmole, Esq.

[g] Hayes is in the parish of East Budleigh. He was not buryed at Exeter by his father and mother, nor at Shirburne in Dorset; at either of wch places he desired his wife (in his letter the night before he dyed) to be interred. His father had 80 yeares in his farme of Hayes, and wrote esquier.

possession. I will most willingly give whatsoever in your conscience you shall deeme it worth, and if at any time you shall have occasion to use me, you shall find me a thankeful friend to you and yours. I am resolved, if I cannot entreat you, to build at Colliton; but for the naturall disposition I have to that place, being borne in that house, I had rather seate myselfe there than any where els; I take my leave, readie to countervaile all your courtesies to the utter of my power.

Your very willing friend,
In all I shall be able,
WALTER RALEGH.

*Court, ye xxvi of July*, 1584.

## *Two Letters relative to Ralegh, by James Howell, Esquire.*

*To Sir James Crofts, Knight, at S. Osith.*

SIR,

I COULD not shake hands with England, without kissing your hands also: and because, in regard of your distance now from London, I cannot do it in person, I send this paper for my deputy.

The news that keeps greatest noise here now, is the return of Sir Walter Raleigh from his myne of gold in Guiana the south parts of America, which at first was like to be such a hopefull boon voyage, but it seems that that golden myne is proved a meer chymera, an imaginary airy myne; and indeed his majestie had never any other conceipt of it: but what will not one in captivity (as sir Walter was) promise, to regain his freedom? who would not promise not onely mynes, but mountains of gold, for liberty? and 'tis pity but such a knowing well-weighed knight had not had a better fortune; for the Destiny (I mean that brave ship which he built himself of that name, that carried him thither) is like to prove a fatall Destiny to him, and to some of the rest of those gallant adventurers which contributed for the setting forth of thirteen ships more, who were most of them his kinsmen and younger brothers, being led into the said expedition by a generall conceipt the world had of the wisedom of sir Walter Raleigh; and many of these are like to make shipwrack of their estates by this voyage. Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, whence he thought to make an escape; and some say he hath tampered with his body by phisick, to make him look sickly, that he may be the more pitied, and permitted to lie in his own house. Count Gondamar the Spanish ambassador speaks high language,

and sending lately to desire audience of his majestie, he said he had but one word to tell him, his majestie wondring what might he delivered in one word; when he came before him, he said onely, pyrats, pyrats, pyrats, and so departed.

'Tis true that he protested against this voyage before, and that it could not be but for some prædatory designe: and if it be as I hear, I fear it will go very ill with sir Walter, and that Gondamar will never give him over, till he hath his head off his shoulders; which may quickly be done, without any new arraignment, by vertue of the old sentence that lies still dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went; but his majestie could never be brought to it, for he said he would keep this as a curb to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and the good behaviour.

Gondamar cries out, that he hath broke the sacred peace twixt the two kingdoms, that he hath fired and plundred Santo Thoma, a colony the Spaniards had planted with so much blood, neer under the line, which made it prove such a hot service unto him, and where, besides others, he lost his eldest son in the action; and could they have preserved the magazin of tobacco onely, besides other things in that town, something mought have bin had to countervail the charge of the voyage. Gondamar alleadgeth further, that the enterprise of the myne failing, he propounded to the rest of his fleet to go and intercept some of the Plate-galeons, with other designes which would have drawn after them apparant acts of hostility, and so demands justice: besides other disasters which fell out upon the dashing of the first designe, captain Kemish, who was the main instrument for discovery of the myne, pistol'd himself in a desperat mood of discontent in his cabin, in the Convertine.

This return of sir Walter Raleigh from Guiana, puts me in minde of a facetious tale I read lately in Italian (for I have a little of that language already) how Alphonso king of Naples sent a moor who had been his captive a long time, to Barbary, to buy horses, and to return by such a time.

Now there was about the king a kinde of buffon or jester who had a table-book, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage that happened about the court. That day the moor was dispatched for Barbary, the said jester waiting upon the king at supper, the king call'd for his journall, and askt what he had observed that day: thereupon he produced his table-book, and amongst other things, he read how Alphonso king of Naples had sent Beltran the moor, who had been a long time his prisoner, to Morocco (his own countrey) with so many thousand crowns, to buy horses. The king asked him why he inserted that: "because," said he, "I think he "will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you "have lost both man and money. But if he do come, then "your jest is marr'd," quoth the king: "No sir; for if he "return I will blot out your name, and put him in for a "fool."

The application is easie and obvious: but the world wonders extremely, that so great a wise man as sir Walter Raleigh would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock, as I fear he will; and much more, that such choice men, and so great a power of ships, should all come home, and do nothing.

The letter you sent to my father, I conveyed safely the last week to Wales. I am this week, by God's help, for the Netherlands, and then I think for France. If in this my forren employment I may be any way serviceable unto you, you know what power you have to dispose of me; for I honor you in a very high degree, and will live and die.

Your humble and ready servant,

J. H.

---

*To the Honourable Master Car. Ra.*

Sir,

Yours of the seventh current was brought me, whereby I find that you did put yourself to the penance of perusing some epistles that go imprinted lately in my name: I am

bound to you for your pains and patience, (for you write you read them all thorough,) much more for your candid opinion of them; being right glad that they should give entertainment to such a choice and judicious gentleman as yourself: but whereas you seem to except against something in one letter, that reflects upon sir Walter Rawleigh's voyage to Guyana, because I term the gold mine he went to discover, an "airy and suppositious mine," and so infer that it toucheth his honour: truly, sir, I will deal clearly with you in that point, that I never harbour'd in my brain the least thought to expose to the world, any thing that might prejudice, much less traduce in the least degree that could be, that rare and renowned knight, whose fame shall contend in longevity with this island itself; yea, with that great world which he historiseth so gallantly: I was a youth about the town when he undertook that expedition; and I remember most men suspected that mine then to be but an imaginary politic thing; but at his return, and missing of the enterprize, these suspitions turn'd in most to real beliefs that 'twas no other. And K. James in that declaration which he commanded to be printed and published afterwards, touching the circumstances of this action (upon which my letter is grounded, and which I have still by me) terms it no less: and if we may not give faith to such publick, regal instruments, what shall we credit? Besides, there goes another printed kind of remonstrance annex'd to that declaration, which intimates as much. And there is a worthy captain in this town, who was a co-adventurer in that expedition, who, upon the storming of St. Thomas, heard young Mr. Rawleigh encouraging his men in these words, "Come on my noble hearts, this is the mine we come for; "and they who think there is any other, are fools." Add hereunto, that sir Richard Baker, in his last Historical Collections, intimates so much; therefore 'twas far from being any opinion broach'd by myself, or bottom'd upon weak grounds: for I was careful of nothing more, than that those letters, being to breath open air, should relate nothing but what should be derived from good fountains. And truly,

sir, touching that apology of sir Walter Rawleigh you write of, I never saw it; and I am very sorry I did not, for it had let in more light upon me, of the carriage of that great action; and then you might have been assur'd, that I would have done that noble knight all the right that could be.

But, sir, the several arguments that you urge in your letters, are of that strength, I confess, that they are able to rectifie any indifferent man in this point, and induce him to believe that it was no chymera, but a real mine; for you write of divers pieces of gold brought thence by sir Walter himself, and captain Kemy, and of some ingots that were found in the governor's closet at St. Thomas, with divers crusibles, and other refining instruments; yet, under favour, that might be, and the benefit not countervail the charge; for the richest mines that the king of Spain hath upon the whole continent of America, which are the mines of Potasi, yield him but six in the hundred, all expences defrayed. You write how king James sent privately to sir Walter, being yet in the Tower, to entreat and command him, that he would impart his whole design unto him, under his hand, promising upon the word of a king to keep it secret; which being done accordingly by sir Walter Rawleigh, that very original paper, was found in the said Spanish governor's closet at St. Thoma: whereat, as you have just cause to wonder and admire the activeness of the Spanish agents about our court at that time; so I wonder no less at the miscarriage of some of his late majesties ministers, who notwithstanding that he had pass'd his royal word to the contrary, yet they did help count Gondamar to that paper; so that the reproach lieth more upon the English than the Spanish ministers in this particular: whereas you alledge that the dangerous sickness of sir Walter being arriv'd near the place, and the death of (that rare spark of courage) your brother, upon the first landing, with other circumstances, discourag'd captain Kemys from discovering the mine, but to reserve it for another time: I am content to give as much credit to this as any man can; as also that sir Walter, if the rest of the fleet according to

his earnest motion, had gone with him to re-victual in Virginia (a country where he had reason to be welcome unto, being of his own discovery) he had a purpose to return to Guyana, the spring following, to pursue his first design. I am also very willing to believe that it cost sir Walter Rawleigh much more to put himself in equipage, for that long intended voyage, than would have payed for his liberty, if he had gone about to purchase it for reward of money at home; though I am not ignorant that many of the co-adventurers made large contributions, and the fortunes of some of them suffer for it at this very day. But although Gondamar, as my letter mentions, calls sir Walter pyrate; I, for my part, am far from thinking so; because as you give an unanswerable reason, the plundering of St. Thomas was an act done beyond the equator, where the articles of peace 'twixt the two kings does not extend; yet, under favour, though he broke not the peace, he was said to break his patent, by exceeding the bounds of his commission, as the foresaid declaration relates, for king James had made strong promises to count Gondamar, that this fleet should commit no outrages upon the king of Spain's subjects by land, unless they began first; and I believe that was the main cause of his death; though I think if they had proceeded that way against him in a legal course of tryal, he might have defended himself well enough.

Whereas you alledge, that if that action had succeeded, and afterwards been well prosecuted, it might have brought Gondamar's great catholic master, to have been begg'd for at the church-doors by fryars, as he was once brought in the latter end of Q. Elizabeth's days: I believe it had much damnified him, and interrupted him in the possession of his West-Indies; but not brought him, under favour, to so low an ebb. I have observed that it is an ordinary thing in your popish countries, for princes to borrow from the altar, when they are reduc'd to any streights; for they say, "The riches of the church serve as anchors in time of a "storm." Divers of our kings have done worse, by pawning their plate and jewels. Whereas my letter makes men-

tion that sir Walter Rawleigh mainly labor'd for his pardon before he went, but could not compass it; this is also a passage in the foresaid printed relation: but I could have wished with all my heart he had obtain'd it; for I believe, that neither the transgression of his commission, nor any thing that he did beyond the line, could have shortned the line of his life otherwise; but in all probability we might have been happy in him to this very day, having such an heroic heart as he had, and other rare helps, by his great knowledge, for the preservation of health. I believe without any scruple what you write, that sir William St. Geon made an overture unto him, of procuring his pardon for 1500*l.* but whether he could have effected it, I doubt a little, when he had come to negotiate it really. But I extreamly wonder how that old sentence which had lain dormant above sixteen years against sir Walter Rawleigh, could have been made use of to take off his head afterwards, considering that the lord chancellor Verulam, as you write, told him positively (as sir Walter was acquainting him with that proffer of sir William St. Geon, for a pecuniary pardon) in these words, "Sir, the knee-timber of your "voyage is money, spare your purse in this particular, for "upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is "passed already, the king having under his broad seal, "made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of "the martial law over your officers and soldiers." One would think that by this royal patent, which gave him power of life and death over the king's liege people, sir Walter Rawleigh should become *rectus in curia*, and free from all old convictions: but, sir, to tell you the plain truth, count Gondamar at that time had a great stroak in our court; because there was more than a meer overture of a match with Spain, which makes me apt to believe, that that great wise kt. being such an Anti-Spaniard, was made a sacrifice to advance the matrimonial treaty. But I must needs wonder, as you justly do, that one and the same man, should be condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, (which was the ground of his first condemnation) should

afterwards lose his head for being their enemy, by the same sentence: touching his return, I must confess I was utterly ignorant that those two noble earls Thomas of Arundel, and William of Pembrook were engaged for him in this particular, nor doth the printed relation make any mention of them at all; therefore I must say that envy herself must pronounce that return of his, for the acquitting of his fiduciary pledges to be a most noble act, and waving that of K. Alphonso's moor, I may more properly compare it to the act of that famous Roman commander (Regulus as I take it) who to keep his promise and faith, return'd to his enemies where he had been prisoner, though he knew he went to an inevitable death. But well did that faithless cunning knight, who betrayed sir Walter Rawleigh in his intended escape being come ashore, fall to that contemptible end, as to dye a poor distracted beggar in the Isle of Lindey, having for a bag of mony falsified his faith, confirm'd by the tye of the holy sacrament, as you write, as also before the year came about, to be found clipping the same coyn in the K.'s own house, at White-hall, which he had receiv'd as a reward for his perfidiousness, for which being condemn'd to be hang'd, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to purchase his pardon of two knights.

And now, sir, let that glorious and gallant cavalier sir Walter Rawleigh (who lived long enough for his own honour, though not for his country, as it was said of a Roman consul) rest quietly in his grave, and his vertues live in his posterity, as I find they do strongly, and very eminently in you. I have heard his enemies confess, that he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this island ever bred; Mr. Nath. Carpenter, a learned and judicious author, was not in the wrong when he gave this discreet character of him, " Who hath not known or read of this prodigy of wit " and fortune, sir Walter Rawleigh, a man infortunate in " nothing else but in the greatness of his wit and advance- " ment, whose eminent worth was such, both in domestic " policy, forren expeditions, and discoveries, in arts and

" literature, both practic and contemplative, that it might " seem at once to conquer example and imitation."

Now, sir, hoping to be rectified in your judgment, touching my opinion of that illustrious knight your father; give me leave to kiss your hands very affectionately, for the respectful mention you please to make of my brother, once your neighbor; he suffers, good soul, as well as I, though in a differing manner: I also much value that favourable censure you give of those rambling letters of mine, which indeed are nought else than a legend of the cumbersome life, and various fortunes of a cadet; but whereas you please to say, " That the world of learned men " is much beholden to me for them, and that some of them " are freighted with many excellent and quaint passages, " delivered in a masculine and solid stile, adorn'd with " much eloquence, and stuck with choicest flowers, pick'd " from the muses garden:" whereas you also please to write, " That you admire my great travels, my strenuous " endeavours, at all times, and in all places, to accumulate " knowledge, my active laying hold upon all occasions, and " on every handle, that might (with reputation) advantage " either my wit or fortune." These high gallant strains of expressions, I confess, transcend my merit, and are a garment to gawdy for me to put on, yet I will lay it up among my best reliques, whereof I have divers sent me of this kind. And whereas in publishing these epistles at time, you please to say, " That I have done like Hezekiah, when " he shewed his treasures to the Babylonians, that I have " discovered my riches to thieves, who will bind me fast, " and share my goods:" To this I answer, that if those innocent letters (for I know none of them but is such) fall among such thieves, they will have no great prize to carry away; it will be but petty larceny: I am already, God wot, bound fast enough, having been a long time coopt up between these walls, bereft of all my means of subsistence and employment; nor do I know wherefore I am here, unless it be for my sins: for I bear as upright a heart to my king and country, I am as conformable and well affected

to the government of this land, 'specially to the high court of parliament, as any one whatsoever that breaths air under this meridian, I will accept none: and for my religion, I defie any creature 'twixt heaven and earth, that will say, that I am not a true English protestant. I have from time to time employed divers of my best friends to get my liberty; at leastwise leave to go abroad upon bail, (for I do not expect, as you please also to believe in your letter, to be delivered hence as St. Peter was, by miracle,) but nothing will yet prevail.

To conclude, I do acknowledge in the highest way of recognition, the free and nobler proffer you please to make me of your endeavours to pull me out of this doleful sepulcher, wherein you say I am entomb'd alive: I am no less oblig'd to you for the opinion I find you have of my weak abilities, which you pleased to wish heartily, "may be no "longer eclipsed:" I am not in despair but a day will shine, that may afford me opportunity to improve this good opinion of yours (which I value at a high rate) and let the world know how much I am,

Sir,

*Fleet*, 5 *May*, 1645.

Your real and ready servitor,

J. H.

## *A Letter concerning my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Rawley; written probably by Lord Henry Howard to Secretary Cecil.*

[From the Burghley Papers.]

The first thinge that must be done, is to prepare the Q. minde, to accept, more willingly, and more easily believe the proposition, which afterwards invention and opportunity shall cause to be determined; her majesty must knowe the reason of theire discontent, for want of being called to that heyght which they affect, and made to tast the perrill that growes out of discontented mindes. By dewe reverence of loyalty, she must knowe, that the blame is only layed on her, in the opinion of the worlde; though danger make them seeke to cover and disguise their complaints to the forme of ministers of state; and threatening the better sorte with wordes of spleene and passion, to requite their courtesy if occasion be offered. This course, if there were any virtue or valor in the menn, I do confesse, might make a feareful princess more enclinable to give them enterance, for fear of working mischeefe in the state; as the philosopher advisets, *Dare pueris crepitacula, nequid perfringant in domo;* but the Q. doth so well inderstande the levity, indignity, and slender interest, which they holde in the worlde's conceyt, according to the exposition of this worde Tekel by the prophet Daniele, *Appensus es in statera, et inventus minus habeas*, as there is no doubt of his relenting to that remedy, her majesty must dayly, and by diverse meanes, be lett to knowe the worlde's applauding her deepe wisedome, in discerning the secret flawes of theire affections: she must see some advertisements from forraine partes, of the greefe which the queen's enimyes doe take at their setting out;

hoping that theire placing in authority, woulde so farre aliene the people's reverent affections, as some mischeefe woulde succeede of it: she must be caused to see the perrill that growes unto princes, by protecting, countenancing, or entertaining, persons odious to multitudes, without necessity to warrant grace; for there is no question, but Empson and Dudley had a kinde of serviceable inclination to the present state, in the time of the queen's grandefather; and yett at the comming in of Henry the eighth, no sacrifice besides theire lives coulde be found propitiatory for the people's discontent; though Lovell and the bishop of Durham, that weare councellors to the deceased, did all they coulde to putt them of extremities. Some pagants of theires must be brought to light dayly, that may moove her spleene, and cheefely, if it be possible, some devise wherein they seeke to make some benefitt of the Q. by delusion or cousening. It must be tolde the Q. how expedient it is to crush this confident audacity of noblemen, in enabling themselves to honour and authority out of theire own selfe love: that it is not possible to crush the same, with greater ease and safety, then in suche, as not only drawe no perrill by depression, but applause to the prince that disposeth it. The Q. must know the weakness of thease governors in places which they have in charge; and how much is often drawne from the service, by the distast of theire insolency. For as her majesty hath first, as reason is, in the eye of observation, the furtherance of her own endes; so must she be persuaded, that those shrinke by the weakness of the ministers that deale in them. She must be tolde what cannons are concluded in the chapter of Durham, wheare Rawley's wife is president: and with all how weakely Cobham is induced, to commende the courses, that are secretly inspired by the consent of that fellowship; every one having at his harte a mortall gripe of somme particular that vexeth him. Northumberlande is madde that any man shoulde be thought fitt for place of martiall employment as himselfe, having never, before the last yeare's siege, beholden either place or service that might make him capable of any commande in a less

jeopardy. Cobham dyes to thinke, that any man alive shoulde be thought so fitt for any place that falles; viewing both his owne person and quality in glasses of false perspective; snapps like a mad doge or a tyger, that feares stealing of her whelpes; and at every man that doth but only cast a regarde towarde him, or by diligent endeavour to winne that conceipt, that may drawe good opinion: and Rawley, that in pride exceedeth all men alive, findes no view for paradice, out of a councell borde, but holding absolutely lost to him what others gaine, inspireth Cobham with owne passion, that by such a tricke this may be carried to another care; and cares not at what rate he purchase opportunitye to vexe others, having greate hope of ascending to his own altitude. His wife, as furious as Proserpine, which failing of that restitution in courte, which flattery hath moved her to expect, bends her whole witt and industry to the disturbance of all motions by councell and encouragement, that may disturbe the possibility of others' hopes, since her owne cannot be setteled. Order would be taken for the seconding of just complaintes, and for seconding those orderly progressions that followe them. It shoulde be putt in the Q. heade, indirectly, how unable men are to advertise any point of moment that are hated in a state. For intelligence is grounded upon trust; and all men are both farr from trusting persons neither vallewed for worthe, nor affected for courtesy. Thus much touching the discretion, that must be used in distasting the queen's judgement towarde them, in such sorte, as I sayde before, that she may be more apte to receave impression of more importante reasons, when time serveth with opportunity. But of the division of provinces, whereof we spake before, it dothe behoove us to devide our industry; that every motion may be carryed upon his proper pole, every spheare by his owne intelligence, every charriot upon his axelltree. The way that Cobham hath elected to indeere himself, is, by peace with Spayne; which hath so many difficultyes, as will rather confounde his dizzines, than reward his industry. But as my lorde of Leyster dealt with my brother, finding

his humor apt to deale with Scotlande, when he thrust him into a treaty about those affairs, assuring himselfe, that eyther he shoulde loose the Q. for the present, or the other Q. for the future: so muste you embarke this gallant Cobham, by your witt and interest, in some course of the Spanish way; as eyther may reveale his weakeness, or snare his ambition. If the Q. were ever constant to her first ellection, or immoveable by circumstance, from those degrees, wheron she pitcheth her directions *in primo motu*, there were little goode to be done. But since you may be sure of this advantage, first in having eyes, and afterwarde in treating, that if it be likely to come forwarde, you may turne the streame another way; and if they doe not breake the necke of the negotiators, eyther by imputation of wants, or insinuation of inwardness, or ascription of infelicity; bee not unwilling, both before occasion of any further employment, to engage him in the traficke with suspected ministers, and upon the first occasion of false treaty, to make him the minister. For mine owne parte, I count it impossible for him to scape the snares which witt may sett, and weakeness is apt to fall into. The queene did never yett love man, that fayled in a proiect of importance put into her handes; as in this there is greate oddes will fall out; and, therefore, as Themistocles sayde of a youthe, that he desired to supplant; put him into places, where the warres are hott, mishappes will succeed; put him into the ocean, strange accidents will flowe; bringe him into this infinite aimbleness to handle sharpe-edged tooles, and his fingers will bleede. The way to sett him forwarde, is, the tresorer's encouragement; bycause therein humors have accorded *in communi termino:* and if he were but brought into the trade of temporising, his error would, every day, bringe forthe advantages. The right course to putt him out of patience, is, by working opposition in the Q. harte against all thinges that he can demande, for two special endes of consequence; as they stande presently for bothe so longe as *inguis* is in *vulnere:* you shall be sure to cutt of all advantages, that he hath by interest or industry, to crosse the sutes and endes of

others with the Q. and besides so farr to overshoote himselfe in passion and rage, as will leave a smoake of hatred in the Q. conceyte; howsoever for a time the fier may seeme to be slacked with a fewe colde droppes of hipocrisy. This was the course which Cromwell tooke with Winchester, and is ever to be taken with suche persons, as ar fiery in motion and proceeding like Phaeton. To make the flame greater, it must be fedde with fuell sorted to this only ende; and the Q. perswaded to take in unkinde parte, that he will never serve her in place of charge, nor hazarde his person to adventure for the state in this time of scarsity, when the state is poore; and she constrained, for the publicke safety, to sell so muche lande; and forgett what he hath formerly received out of bounty, and seeke out of that empty granary which must be reserved, henceforth, for necessity. Howsoever, heretofore, it skilles not muche, since out of councells soveraine for publicke conservation, it is, and ever hath beene, lawfull to determine particular avayles, and as well to shute in profitt, as industry, it doth appeare that the Q. was no better served, then the state was absolutely saved by this abstinence. And yet you are not ignorant, how odly, upon other slight agreivances, her majesty hath beene content to make a quarrell of these councells actually effecting the security of her person and state, out of enforced illatives of future valuations; in which God hath tempered and qualyfied the courses of thease transitory things to the safest directions, that the witt or apprehension of man can attain unto. Againe, suppose that you shoulde take that liberty, that many worthy councellors have done, in holding backe correspondencyes with neyghbour states; respecting more the oathe to serve with fidelity, than the custome of the courte, or of the time; and shoulde ever keepe a vent open, whereby mallice might evaporate, by cleering doutes and iealousyes, that might cause warres, dissensions and practices, to the wracke bothe of amity against the present humor of the prince; that to please itselfe, woulde wounde the state: suppose, that you knowing what perrill princes bring to themselves by lighting upon ministers, that make

more haste to excequte a rash direction, then to examine a suspicious advise; how farre it will stande with the security that directs; knowing that a man is guilty, that performes a wicked and ungodly trust, which is to binde the handes of a freinde, and to awake him out of a lethargy, as under the appearance of disobedience, an effect of affection shoulde seeke to take away the cause of princes' hurtes, without theire knowledge: suppose, that you shoulde hinder the composition commanded by the soveraine, knowing poison to be mingled with it, that she woulde take it. You shoulde take away the cause, upon which publicke envy would grounde a quarrell to her hurt. During the time of league, deserve a better creditt, by respective, dutifull, and beneficial service, as them others eyther will, or can, attain, of obstructions in theire own perticulars, to the ende only, that they may conserve the league; which breaking out, woulde hazarde his owne prince. Suppose, that you shoulde compass suche a kinde of creditt with the Q. of Englande's neighbours and allyes, against her express will, *contra voluntatem expressam*, as *implicita voluntas*, is ever to be understoode, tending to the Q. security; as Demetrius had with the Romains, his father's ennimyes, against his father's will, to maintaine the league; the son of Alphonso had with the king of Castile, to defend his father's state; as a trewe freinde woulde have, if he coulde attaine to it, getts suche a powerful enimy, as by adhering into others, might ruine or supplant his freinds; what quarrell coulde a juste and worthy prince pretende against a minister that is diligent in preventing danger? Or what cause hath not a worthy Q. in suche a case to vallewe one, that in dispight of passion *pertinascit*. For doctors must, sometime, beguile, as well the judgement, as the tast, of patients, which they take in cure; or els they cannot be able to make goode the recovery which theire love intendeth, and theire judgement promiseth. Yet how the Q. in suche a case, woulde starte at any probable suggestion, that envy or malignity coulde present, without any further instance, you may guesse, by the late eager apprehension of the vomitt of that

varlet, seeking, as you founde, that poore occasion, to raise a poore advantage for his own private ende: and, though the weaknesse of the grounde coulde not support the weight of his desire, yett hereby we may finde, that credulity was rather ashamed, then curiosity satisfied. For herein looke, as I doute not but you doe, with the eyes of judgement and equality, into your owne estate; you must make a difference, not only betweene the councellors of the first time, but all thease of this time allso, and yourselfe. They, being of the queene's owne time, in probability ar not to fixe the eye upon any other horizon then the present happyness: whereas you, being infinitely yonger than the rest, must have an eye to other dayes, and ar, more probably, delivered in respect of your owne estate, and of your son, for a view to the rising sun, then others, whome the same day of dissolution is like to ende, if not quicklyer. In respect of the Q. stronge constitution is like to rubb or sleepe, and the same clothe to cover, this respect doth move me to commend your judgement, in assuming fellow laborers, that take equall paine, or, at the least, undergoe equall hazarde. Thease reasons only tende to the remoove of suche saucy companions, that for want of truthe, dare speake any thinge; for want of interruption, are encouraged to speake any thinge; upon demonstration of falsehoode and untruthe have not beene punished for speaking; and by the giltiness of Essex, in effecting without judgement, what was undertaken without conscience, and, by consequence averring those reportes of theires by effect, which was before esteemed most absurde to sence and in effect; are confirmed and warranted, when they doe speake any thinge. I stande the longer upon these thinges that concerne yourselfe, because it gives a greater caution to others; that being more to be touched out of truthe, had neede to be more wary and advised in prevention. My confidence in Mr. Secretary is more absolute, then in any mortall man: therefore I must deale more plainly, and more roundly, for the proofe of the first proposition of perrill to growe unto her majesty by their accesse, then otherwise were safe. The only way to

anger, thwarte, and weaken you, is, eyther ruining the success you have in authority, or by kindness over those whome you woulde bringe thither. If there be a monitory angell at the elbowe of the Omnipotent, that eyther may deliver errors; or suggest presumptions in thease parties, cheefly where the eye of Providence is seldome cleere, it is scant possible, that any man shoulde arrive to the tilt's ende, without a counterbuffe. Resorting, therefore, to your owne singular and single judgement, without shaddowes of affection, can you thinke that Cobham, studying the corruptions of the tresoror, Rawley, the weakeness and oversights of the admirall, in cleire distinct offices, by the composition of heinot[a], woulde not make suche a pill for the queene, as woulde purge her of all charity? For, though it may be thought, that out of a radicall integrity, the queene be not sensitive of publicke wrongs, as many princes have beene heretofore; yet so farre as she may derive her owne advantage, out of groundes so plausible to vulgar eares, she will observe and thinke, that, as well in matters that concerne poynts nearer to the quicke of her own conceyte and sence, as in this, there may be conveniency and correspondences. I speake not of the keeper, who perhapps shall play his owne parte upon a stage by himselfe, bycause I finde him not comprised in this knott: but I speake of thease for whome your creditt answers, when your freindship pleades for them. The treasorer's corruptions, indeed, doe, for the greater parte, oppress the subject, but not without some coherancy to publicke interest, which suffers by simpathy; for it will not be hard to prove, that in many thinges the state dothe loose, what he dothe gaine: but in the admiralty there are errors, which subordinatly may be raised to the perrill of the publicke: if decayes, defects, and oversights, be looked to; considering what Rawley in the chapter of Durham house delivers, and what he must studdy, if he will receive the freindship of his mate; who had rather shake the creditt of the admirall in my conscience, than raise the seege of Ostende in the Netherlandes. In plead-

[a] Sic in MS.

ing in defence of matters cleerely to be proved, makes the partiallity more plaine. In leaving them to theire owne apologys, they will give advantage to the accusor. Touching the pretention or forestalement of theire hopes, whome you desire to raise to your owne certainty and strengthe, who will lay before the queene, when dayes of competition drawe neere, the sinnes of our progenitors, the contract betweene the duke of Norfolke and the queene of Scottes, the fawning of Southampton, the match with that lord, the papiste of myselfe, and whatsoever els may eyther create suspicion, wheare the foundations are cleere, or improve by inference, wheare invention hath elbowe roome, there is no doubt but meritt in your freinde, which, as demonstration, hath wrought out all suspicions that are phantasticall, no more emplying weakeness in my lord; though for being son to suche a father than himselfe, by like presumption for being son to one, whome Wiat's faults did sinke, or heire to Oldcastle that was beheaded, thease are the storyes. But yett the queene, that hath beene longe enured with these illatives of circumstance, woulde not soone rejecte a scandalous suggestion; as other princes woulde, that were more confident in profession, or sensitive of industry. Wee know that they which worke against the winde, had neede of duble strengthe; and every opposition is a lett to theire purposes. The queene is never hasty in advancing those against whom nothing can be sayed, eyther out of coulor or cause, tradition or text, opinions or truthe; and therefore greater judgement must be used in the cutting of suche accidental letts, as on the bye, may sette one further oute, than many can restore againe. To conclude, assure yourselfe, that whatsoever course of yours these gallants finde concerning eyther publicke or private, out of which they cannot worke theire owne affection to private endes, they will oppose; and that with suche invention, and arte, (at this daye nothing so muche as the state of offices, and corruption of officers,) as it shall be in theire power to cast a cloude through the great eclipse. Follow them not. They will examine giftes, and vallewe grauntes, and putt the matter to suche hazarde, as wherein they themselves are

not corrupted, for concealement, they will charge others with conspiracy. The first, woulde make them too riche, in sharing with all benefitts; the seconde, too powerful, in taxing adjutors; and both, too arrogant, in craving of theire owne strengthe. And, therefore, the best course were, in all respects, to be ridd of them. Fortune's almesmen and instruments of giddines, in a tickell time, must be undertaken, before they can be prophetts, to knowe theire owne strengthe, like colts: for it may be, that by the benefitt of winde and tide, they may make better speede than we expected. You must think, that many stande at theire guarde, that woulde be labourers, if they knew that this course of information was like to be as well rewarded in the ende, as it is encouraged for theire pleasure, or as safe and agreeable: and, therefore, it is better to crushe theire edges, than to neglect ieopardy. If I shoulde speake my conscience, the only cause that maketh them so slacke in closing with the next pretender, is, desire to advance themselves; and vallewe theire owne creditts, more by some badge of glory, for the stirring of the Scottish appetite, to apprehende theire wowet[b]; fearing, in the meanetime, no danger of interception or anticipation; bycause they live secure of any ill disposition in you, to take that course to fishe that poole, and to moove the state both by your artificial dissembling, and theire owne discovery. The meanes to cutt them of, must be eyther occasionall, or violent: touching the first, as there is no doubt but men voide of witt will ever assault on some side, so thease, of all others, having no one parte of the armor, which eyther St. Paule prescribeth to a Christian, that is, the sheilde of faithe, as a grand gard of integrity; nor which Justinian prescribeth to a good servant, which is, care of the publicke, and sufficiency to serve; may be undertaken with better lykelyhoode of prospering. For Cromwell, speaking somewhat out of the knowledge of his owne occupation, tolde sir Tho. Moore, that eyther by the justice of God, or by contagion of intermeddling, or countermotion of opposites, it ever fell out, that they which tooke dilight

[b] Sic.

in sifting all mennes actions and wayes, were, at the last, founde eyther culpable, or made unfortunate. And very harde it is, if not impossible, to garde those, that are gracious for no one worthy gift, but odiouse in universality. Wee see that thease two gallants, having ever chosen to converse amonge those crocadiles, which praye by lande, and breede in water; amonge the satires, that can both coole and kindle with one breathe; amonge the saylers, that can ever make the way with a side winde; and those crafty fellowes here in Inglande, that, in the civill warres, ever caused theire sonnes to fight on Yorke's side, when they stoode for Lancaster; devide the provinces, at this day, touching traficke of the state, with so greate artifice, as if the peace goe forwarde, Cobham prospers by his industry; if it doe not, Rawley, by his opposition. In matter of intelligence, Cobham is commended as most sincere; in matters of action, Rawley blazed as most sufficient: Cobham, in discourses, holdes a kind of priviledge to vent his passions; Rawley to temporise; Cobham must have the rough handes of Esau, in execution of rigor; Rawley, the soft eye of Jacob, in covering hipocrisy: Cobham must delight, secondly, inveagle, and posses the queene's opinion, by improving danger, casting figures, and contriving invectives against the Scotish hopes, inventions, and actions: Rawley must insinuate his owne affections, applaude theire expectations, and concurr with them: Cobham must, in all thinges, tender the conservation of the present state, to maintaine his owne tenure: Rawley must persuade anticipation, for proofe of his owne destiny; Cobham must exclaime against the small account and reckoning that is made of noblemen: Rawley must, in all discourses, holde them to be fooles and insufficient for charge, cowards, and, therefore, incapable of lieutenancy: Cobham must relate, and gaine the creditt of the Q. satisfaction: Rawley must remaine secure from justification: Cobham must be the blocke almightey, that gives oracles: Rawley must be the cogging spirit, that still prompteth it: Cobham must cum forwarde with the present state, in matters of religion to keepe measure: Rawley must make way with the catholickes, to

gaine by them: Cobham holdeth in with the tresoror, by pretending care of peace, which comming to effect, will, as the scripture says of wisedome, justify the instruments: Rawley ever makes himselve *rasam tabulam*, ready to receave those impressions whiche you leave in him: Cobham rayleth at those freindes you most esteeme: Rawley excuseth them: Cobham beares the envy of all information: Rawley reapes the best use of it: Cobham dares contest and express his passion with agony: Rawley argues out of invention, but submittes with humbleness: Cobham, out of anger, will sometime forbeare to converse with his best freindes; this serves Rawley for a motive of insinuation to greater interest, by expressing greater humility: Cobham may pepper your best freindes: Rawley must be cleere of it. Thus, 'till occasion may give advantage to theire humors, equally exasperate, and equally vindicative, to worke for sharpe remedy of close exceptions, which have beene taken to theire rising in the charge and service of the state; they meane to keepe the ballance, as it were, *in equilibrio:* holding it unsafe, without a stronger tenure than they have at this time, holding only by the weake threede of suggestion, to hazarde the possession which they holde in your inwardness. For, though the thirst of theire ambition be a little slaked by thes meanes, yet doe they finde theire turnes so freindly served by commodityes, by countenance, by satisfaction, in many other kindes, as there were smalle reason to foregoe the present use, for a future dreame; or, being sett against by all other quallityes and degrees within the state, to slippe that anchor, which, by experience, they are only taught to trust unto. This patience of theires, in being thus well pleased with a cuppe of cold watter, when theire soule dothe thirst for *aqua vitæ* of the highest kinde; theire humble carriage, in so greate oppression of hart; their dissimulation of supposed and pretended wronges; theire resolution to watche; theire custome to pray; the satisfaction yett to conclude in theire own judgements; they conclude mine to theire opposition to you, and the weakeness of theire advantage, upon contradiction of opposites. Whereupon,

since it is certaine, theire lying in the winde is only for advantage for the venting of theire passions, and theire advantage cannot choose but growe by time; in all occasions, both publicke and private, it were goode to gaine the starte, which winns the garlande in all prizes of this nature: and cutt downe the thorne, before the time come, wherein it can make account to take holde of you. For to give them a blowe in the Q. conceyte, once possessed with suspicion and prejudice of your suggestion, must, necessarily, be founde more harde, than nowe; when neyther the Q. for her private humor, nor the state for a publicke use or employment, doth stande in any neede of them. Since the maine foundation of theire future building in a diverse ellement, is grounded upon peace with Spaine, and combination with the northe: out of thease two respects, theire may be wayes invented to dissolve them, before they ascende into those highe regions, that shoulde sende them backe like meteors, with combustion or crudity. That out of Scotlande little goode is to be donn, we gather by theire unwillingness to write; by the little good they gott, or theire sollicitor, at the last embargo; by the diffidence in that intrusted nation; by the uncertainty of the K.'s acceptance; and in respect of the danger that might growe to them in case they shoulde not accept; (like the witches of Seville in Spaine, which having all renounced theire beleefe, yett were not all possesed with the power of illusion;) by causing the knight first to sounde the passage, before they putt in theire foote; by giltiness of theire owne opposition to persons that in favour have the starte; by danger of discovery, considering the secretary doth not favour it. Without the adventure, we can desine no grounde of operation; of the adventuring against so many palasados of pikes, there is no probability in suche crafty fellowes. Therefore, the life of operation, in this degree, may be reputed desperate. Some, then, perhappes will then thinke it goode for the kinge to drawe so fare within danger of the nette, as he might plucke with certainty: but herein lyes a greate perrill of impossibility as in the other. But bycause princes, that sometimes

make advantage of occasions and accidents, are not barred, with the bond of honor, from giving that advantage, upon which they purpose to work their advantage afterwardes. Before assurance they are feareful; after assurance, honor is engaged. I doe remember that the state of Scotlande was contented to deliver in Northumberland, and afterwards, which were apparent arguments of advantage, taken upon opportunity; but the one excused by minority, without the king's direction, will make him more advised in the like; and, especially, bycause the precedent of discovering a proposition of service, might discourage many in respect of the like course, how little soever the persons weare to be regarded; and the harme that growes to an English subject, more observed than to an Irish rebell. In setting downe suche ordinary meanes, as may take downe the crests of thease cockes of the game, I doe not undertake that every motion is sufficient to shake a frame. By revolving historyes, and comparing of the time, I finde, that in sundry climates, every one of thease receytes have had his operation with consonant effects: and yett I trust so little to the strengthe of any one particular ingredient, as the composition doth muche more comforte me. I knowe that any circumstance altered, may take away some meanes of bridges they are to pass; which I woulde worke as locall change of planetes in the course of motion; but yett discretion will better helpe the variations in bodyes that are subject to discretion, than those that are lamed, or, rather, whirled about with necessity. I have hearde it noted in my lord of Sussex, that when my lord of Leiester had no other way to take advantage of his oversights, being deepely wise, and extraordinary cautelous, then resolved that theire was no way to hurte him, but by stopping the spring of bounty, since he lived farr above his rate. For in a patient or idle disposition, this drugge woulde doe no good; but it is certaine it stirred him so forcibly out of unkindness, emulation, or necessity, as in passion he grewe, twice or thrice, in my time to speake thease wordes to the queen which lost him absolutely that advantage, whiche temperance, attendance,

and respect, to take his best advantage in dewe time, might have stedded him to the trapping in of those spider webbes, that were only spunn for rashe adventurors, that weire not masters of their own ability. It did my lord of Essex greate goode, as I conceave, that fury thrust out stronge passions upon a suddaine. It is true that thease weare greater men of worth and vallor, but not in opinion and guile; and, therefore, by how muche thease men want better helpes by nature, art, or industry, to countenance a pride above the greatest Lucifer, that hath lived in our age; for so muche shall he the sooner mire himselfe, and make the queen more sensible in scorning so great lameness, in so greate infirmity. Besides the sparkes and flames of fier that will breake out of conflict, assure yourselfe, it will enflame him with some violence, opon the suddaine, to shuffle the stocke; and, finding that his rest is sett upon so slender cardes, seeke all the wayes that he can for a better game, which will bringe him into that snare which he woulde shunn. Otherwise, if it were possible, to drawe the king to consent, that advantage might be taken of theire trafficke with his ministers, or by interception of meanes and instruments that concurr *in termino*. By making our satisfaction the rendezvous, it were not possible to make shorter, nor surer, workes, then by this overture. But as they will not write, without some stronge motive of confidence, and after suche a warrant is awarded, the king will not willingly permitt the cancelling or defacing of his owne workmanship; therefore, no good is to be brought to pass that circumference. Besides, it may be, that the king will be affraide, that suche a scandall, may discourage others from embarking out of feare.

*A Letter of C. Gondamar to some secretary or minister of state concerning Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Guiana.*

[From a transcript by Archbishop Sancroft among Bp. Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian.]

MONSIEUR; mes maux m'ont pressé de façon ces jours, que non-obstant deux saignées, l'une sur l'autre, une autre apostume s'est descouvert, qu'on fit ouvrir avant hier; m'ayant tenu et me tenant encore fort travaillé en continuelles douleurs. Et certes je confesse que j'auroy besoin de medicines bien differentes des faicts, que W. Raleigh va exploitant, ja que j'ay si cordiallement desiré, et procuré la bonne correspondence entre noz maitres et leurs couronnes.

J'ay estimé, comme de raison, la faveur, que sa majesté votre maitre me fait en ce, que me dites de sa parte en la votre, que je viens de recevoir, touchant les procédures de Walter Raleigh; et vous supplie, qu'il vous plaise luy en baiser très-humblement les mains en mon nom, et que soies servy luy dire, que ce, que j'ay maintenant à luy dire sur ce subject est ce, que tant de fois auparavant je previns et dis en tant d'occasions à celle fin, que ce voyage fut destourné; representant pareillement le but, auquel visoient les mal-intentionnés, qui acheminoient cest affaire: tellement, que tout ce, qui en est reussi, et reussira, je l'ay ja dit, et en temps; et sa majesté aura experimenté, que j'ay tousjours dit la verité. Aussi l'on m'asseura plusieurs fois que, ou Walter Raleigh ne feroit pas le voiage, ou le feroit seulement avecq un vaisseau ou deux; un surintendant l'accompagnant affin de voir qu'il ne fit chose mal-faite: et monsieur le secretaire Winwood plusieurs fois tascha de me le faire croire. Je sceus par après, et vis, qu'il faisoit le voiage avecq une armade de navires, et gens, avecq plein commission et authorité de sa majesté; et mesmes le representay plus ouvertement et à plein tant par escrit, que de bouche: à quoy l'on me donna pour response celle qu'on m'avoit donné du premier. Aussi je n'y trouve qu'adjouster, sauf que, là où je sçavois auparavant, combien eût esté agre-

able l'union des deux armades des rois noz maistres à l'encontre des pirates, Turcs et Mores; je ne m'estonneroy maintenant, si l'on se monstre plus retenu et reservé; attendu les exploits, que va faisant l'armade de Walter Raleigh.

Et veu que sa majesté le roy votre maistre me donne licence d'en dire mon opinion; je diray, monsieur, qu'à celle fin, que le roy mon seigneur, et tout le monde se satisface, comme cette armade, qui partit soubz Walter Raleigh pour general avecq la commission, qu'il en eut, n'estoit pour rompre la foy publique; il est nécessaire en faire icy de fort grandes demonstrations; et touts les delays et prolongations, qui s'apporteront en cecy, pourroient rendre les choses irremediables, et incurables; au rebours de ce, que vous et moy desirons pour le service de noz maistres, d'autant que nous devrons tousjours considérer, et peser en commun le bien de l'une et l'autre des parties: vous suppliant aussi mettre en considération l'obligation, avecq laquelle le roy mon seigneur se trouve de donner satisfaction à ses vassaux, et les defendre.

J'espere que sa majesté pourvoira icy du remede, qu'il convient, conforme à sa roialle intention et bonté; et que de votre party apporteres les bons offices, que j'offre y apporter de la mienne. A tant, monsieur, je prie Dieu vous donner tout heureux contentement. De Londres ce 3 Novembre 1617.

Votre tres humble et vray serviteur,
Le Conde de Gondomar.

Transscribed from the original
sign'd with his own hand.

---

*Letter of Queen Anne to the Duke of Buckingham.*

[Transcribed from the original by Archbishop Sancroft.]

ANNA R.

MY kind dogge; if I have any power or creditt with yow, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time in dealing

sincerely and ernestly with the king that sir Valter Raleigh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinarily kindly at your hands and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continew still, as you have been, a true servant to your master.

To the Marquis of Buckinhame.

---

*De Warranto speciali pro Decollatione Walteri Raleigh militis.*

[From Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XVII. p. 115.]

JAMES, by the grace of God, king of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faithe &c. to our righte trustye and wellbeloved counsellor Francis lord Verulam our chancellor of England, greeting.

Whereas sir Walter Raleigh knighte late of the parishe of Saint Martyn in the Fields in the county of Middlesex, with others, hath been indicted of divers high treasons by him committed against us, and thereupon hath bin tryed and found guiltye of the same, before oure deare cousine and counsellor, Thomas earle of Suffolke then chamberlaine of oure household,

Gilbert late earle of Shrewsbury,

Charles late earle of Devon,

Henry lord Howard,

Robert Lord Cecill of Essingdon then our principall secretary,

Edward lord Wotton then our comptroller of oure household,

And other our justices of Oier and Terminer at our citye of Winchester in our countye of Southampton, concerning treasons and other offences lately assigned, which said sir Walter Raleigh was for the same his treasons by them adjuged to be drawn hanged and quartered according to the lawes and customes of this our realme of England in that case provided; which said commission, with the said judgment indictment and the tryall and proceedings thereuppon

were retourned and doe remayne in our said court of Pleas before us to be houlden; and although the said sir Walter Raleigh be adjuged to dye as aforesaid; yet wee, mynding to dispence with that manner of execution of judgement, doe therefore by theis presents pardon remit and release the said sir Walter Raleigh of and from such execution of his judgement to bee drawne hanged and quartered as above-said, and insteede thereof our pleasure is to have the heade only of the said sir Walter Raleigh cut off at or within our palace of Westminster, in or upon some fitt and convenient place or scaffold to be provided in that behaulf, and that in such sort and order as in such cases have beene heretofore done: the said judgment to be drawne hanged and quartered, or any lawe or other thing or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding; willing, charging, and hereby expressly commanding you our said chancellor that, uppon receipt hereof, you do forthwith direct under our greate seale of England, two severall writtes, one to the lieutenante of our Tower of London or his deputy there, for the delyvery of the said Walter Raleigh to the sheriffe of Middlesex, at or within our said palace of Westminster aforesaid, and another writt to the said sheriffe of Middlesex, for the receiving the said sir Walter Raleigh of and from the handes of our said lieutenante or his deputye, and for the executing of him there, at some fitt and convenient place to be there by our said shireff erected and provided for that purpose, in such manner and forme as in such cases hath heretofore bin done or used to bee done, and theis presents shall be your warrant and discharge for the same against us our heires and successors for ever.

Witness ourself at Westminster the eight and twentieth day of October. [1618.]

*Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.*

*The effect of Sir Walter Rauleigh's Speech, written in the hearing of him, before he was beheaded, Oct. 29,* 1618.

[From a MSS. in Archbishop Sancroft's own hand writing.]

Sir Walter Rauleigh was led up to the scaffold in the Old Palace Yard, by the two sheriffs of London, accompanied by Dr. Towlson, deane of Westminster. The throng was great upon his coming, and he was much pressed and crowded, soe as was breathlesse, and seemed fainting upon his arrivall on the scaffold: but after he had paused awhile, his spiritts seemed very cheerful, and his countenance smiling, and he saluted divers of the lords, and others that were in his sight. The principal lords were, Arundell, Oxenford, and Northampton, the lord viscount Doncaster, the lord Windsor and Sheffeild, who was on horseback, sir Ed. Sackville, colonel Cecile, and sir Hen. Rich. His words were much to the effect following.

I have had these two daies two fitts of an ague. Yesterday I was, notwithstanding, taken out of my bed, in one of my fits; and whether I shall escape it this day, or noe, I cannot tell. If, therefore, you perceive any weakness in me, I beseech you, ascribe it to my sicknes, rather than to myselfe. I am infinitely bound to God, that he hath vouchsafed me to dye in the sight of so noble an assembly, and not in darknesse, neither in that Tower, where I have suffered soe much adversity, and a long sicknes. And I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time; as I prai'd God it might not.

Heereupon he told the lords that were in sir Randall Crue's window, that he wished his voice were strong that they might heare him. Who answered, that they would come doune to him. Whereupon the earles of Arundell and Northampton, and the viscount Doncaster, came upp to the scaffold: and after severall salutations he thus proceeded.

There are two maine points, which, as I conceive, have hastened my coming hither, of which his majesty hath bin

enformed against me. The first; that I had some practice with France. And the reason which his majesty had soe to beleeve was, for that, when I first arrived at Plimouth, I had a desire, in a small barke, to have passed to Rochell, and after, because the French agent came to my house heere in London. But, as ever I hope to see God, or to have any benefitt or comfort by the passion of my Saviour, I never had any practise with the French king or his embassador, or agent, neither had I any intelligence from thence, neither did ever see the French king's hand, or seale, as some reported I had a commission from him at sea. Neither, as I have a soule to save, did I ever know of the French agent's coming to my house, till I saw him in my gallery. It is not now a time, either to feare, or to flatter, kings: I am now the subject of death, and the great God of heaven is my soveraigne, before whose tribunall seat I am, shortly, to appeare. And, therefore, have a charitable conceit of me: to swear is an offence; to swear falsely, at any time, is a great sinne. Soe to call God to wittnes an intruth, is a sinne above measure sinfull; but to doe it, at the hower of one's death, in the presence of Almighty God, before whom one is, forthwith, to appear, were the greatest madnesse and sinne, that could be possible. The other matter alledged against me, is, that I should have spoken some disloyall, dishonest and dishonourable words of the king. Mine accuser is a runagate Frenchman, who having runne over the face of the earth, hath noe 'biding place. This fellow, because he had a merry witt, and some small skill in chymical medicines, I entertained rather for his taste, than his judgement. He perjured himselfe, at Winchester, in my former troubles, revealing that, the next daye, which he vowed the contrary, the day before, to me. But by the same protestation I have allready made, and as I hope for my inheritance in heaven, I never did speake any disloyal, dishonourable, or dishonest, words of the king; if I did, the Lord blot me out of the book of life. Nay, I will now protest further, I never thought any such evill of him in my heart. And, therefore, it seemeth somewhat strict, that such a base fel-

low should receive creditt, against the protestation upon my salvation. Touching sir Lewis Stewkly, he is my countryman, and kinsman; and I have this morning taken the sacrament with Mr. deane, and forgiven both Stewkely and the Frenchman. Yett thus much, I thinke, I am bound, in charity, to speake of it, that others may take warning how to trust such. Sir Lewis Stewkely hath justified against me, before the lords, that I told him the lord Carew sent me word to gett me gone, when I first landed. I protest, upon my salvation, neither did my lord Carew send me any such word, neither did I tell Stewkly any such matter. For if I had had halfe soe much, I could have made some meanes. Only I shewed him a letter, and told him, that there would be a course taken, in his absence, for the payment of his debts. For my seeking to escape, I cannott deny it. I had advertisement from above, that it would goe hard with me. I desired to save my life for that, and I feigned myselfe sick, at Salisbury, and, by art, made my body full of blisters, to put off the time of coming before the councils; till his majestie's neerer approach, hoping, by delay, to gain time for obtaining my pardon. David, a man after God's owne heart, yet, for safety of his life, feigned himselfe madd, and lett the spittle fall downe upon his beard, and I find not that recorded as a fault in David, and I hope God will never lay it to my charge, as a sinne. But sir Lewis Stewkely did me a further injury, which I am very sensible of, howsoever it seeme not much to concerne me. In my going up to London, wee lodged at sir Edward Parham's house, an ancient freind and follower of mine, whose lady is my cozen german. There he made it to be suggested unto me, and he himself told me, he thought I had some poison given me. I know it grieves the gentleman, there should be such a conceipt held: and for the cook who was suspected, having been once my servant, I know he will goe a 1000 miles to doe me good. For my going to Guiana, many thought I never entended it, but onely to gaine my liberty; which I would I had bin soe wise as to have kept. But, as I will answer it before the same God I am shortly to appear before; I en-

deavoured, and I hoped, to have enriched the king, myselfe, and my partners. But being undone, and crossed by Kemish, a wilfull fellow, who seeing my sonne slaine, and myselfe unpardoned, would not open the mine, but killed himselfe. And wheras it was reported, that I entended not the voyage, nor cared how it spedd, having already made my fortunes thereby, having 16000 lb. in gold: as I shall answer it before the same God, I had not in all the world, either in my owne hands, or others for my use, directly or indirectly, above an hundred peices, whereof I gave my wife, when I went, 25. The error, I perceive, came in searching the scrivener's bookes, where they found the billes of adventure, amounting to a great summe. And, whereas his majesty was also enformed, that I was brought, by force, back by some of my company, and came not voluntarily, nor submitted myselfe to the king's goodnes, in that respect, I doe protest, that when the voyage succeeded not, and that I resolved to returne home, my company mutinied against me, and fortified the gun room against me, and kept me within my owne cabin, and would not be satisfied, except I would take a corporall oath not to bring them into England, till I had gotten their pardons, there being four of them unpardoned. Soe I tooke that oath, being forced to come to them with mony, with cloaths, and wine, such as I had. Soe we came into Ireland, where they would have landed, in the north part, but I would not, because they were all redshankes. Soe, coming to the south, hoping from thence to write to his majesty for their pardons, in the meane time, I offered them to send them to severall places in Devonshire and Cornewall, to lye safe there till they had beene pardonned. But I am gladd that my lord of Arundell is heere. For when I went downe into my shipp, his lordship and divers others being with me, after salutations, and parting, his lordship tooke me aside, and desired me faithfully and freely to resolve him in one thing, which was, Whether I entended to returne home, or noe, whatsoever fortune I had? I there told his lordship, and gave him my hand, that whatsoever succeeded, if I lived, I would returne (which the earl of Arun-

dell being present, justified.) Other reports are raised of me touching that voyage, which I value not: as that I would not allow the sick persons water enough: those that go such voiages, know, that things must be done in order and proportion: if it had been given out by gallons, to some that were sick, all had perished. But these, and such like, I will passe by. Only I will borrow a little time of Mr. sheriff's to speake of one thinge; and that doth make my heart bleed, to heare such an imputation layd upon me. It was said, moreover, that I was a persecutor of my lord of Essex, and that I stood in a window over against him, where he suffered, and puffed tobacco out in disdaine of him. God I take to witnesse, my eyes shed teares for him when he dyed. And, as I hope to looke God in the face heereafter, my lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered, for I was afarre off in the armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me. And my soule hath bin many times greived, that I was not neerer unto him when he dyed, because I understood, that he asked for me, at his death, to be reconciled to me. I confesse I was of a contrary faction; but I knew, that my lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me, when he was gone; for those thatt sett me upp against him, did afterwards sett themselves against me.

So he desired all, very earnestly, to pray for him, for that he was a great sinner of a long time, and in many kinds, his whole course was a course of vanity. A sea-faring man, a soldier, and a courtier, the least of these were able to overthrow a good mind, and a good man.

Then, having ended his speech, the executioner kneeled, and asked him forgivenes. With which he laid his hands upon his shoulders, and spake to him, and forgave him. Then he called to see the axe, and putt his finger on it to feele whether it were sharpe or not. Then taking his leave of some freinds, the deane of Westminster, and the two sheriffs, he went first on the one side of the scaffold, and requested them all, that they would heartily pray for him, and then, turned to the other side, and made the like request to them, and then giving his hatt to one, and his cappe

to another, the executioner threw downe his own cloake, because he would not spoile the prisoner's gown; and he laid himselfe along thereon, and soe the executioner at two blowes, presently struck of his head, his body never shrinking, nor moving. His head was shewed, on each side, to the people, and then putt upp into a redd lethren bagg, and his wrought velvett gowne cast over his body, which was afterwards carried away in a black mourning coach of his ladies.

---

*A Letter relating to the last Behaviour of Sir Walter Rawleigh, written by Dr. Rob. Tounson, Dean of Westminster, and afterwards Bp. of Sarum, to Sir John Isham.*

[From Hearne's Hemingford, App. p. clxxxiv.]

Sir,

The last weeke was a busy weeke with me, and the weeke afore that, was more. I would gladly have writt unto you, but could find no time: yet I hope yow had the relation of sir Walter Rawleigh's death; for so I gave order, that it should be brought unto yow. I was commaunded by the lords of the counsayle to be with him, both in prison and att his death, and so sett downe the manner of his death as nere as I could: there be other reports of itt, but that which yow have from me is trew: one Craford, who was sometimes Mr. Rodeknight's pupil, hath penned it pretily, and meaneth to putt itt to the presse, and came to me about it, but I heare not that it is come forth. The summe of that, which he spake att his death, yow have I suppose, already: when he never made mention of his offence for which he dyed, namely his former treason; but only desired to cleare himself of new imputations, there mentioned: privately he told me in prison, that he was charged to have broken the peace with Spaine, but he putt that, he sayd, out of the count of his offences: saving that he heard, the king was displeased att it; for how could he breake peace with him, who within these 4 yeares, as he

sayd, tooke diverse of his men, and bound them backe to backe and drowned them; and for burning the towne, he sayd, it stood upon the king's owne ground, and therefore he did no wrong in that. He was the most fearlesse of death that ever was knowen; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience. When I begann to incourage him against the feare of death, he seemed to make so light of itt, that I wondered att him, and when I told him, that the deare servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunke backe and trembled a litle, he denyed not, but yet gave God thankes, he never feared death, and much lesse then, for it was but an opinion and imagination, and the manner of death though to others might seeme greevous, yet he had rather dye so then of a burning fever: with much more to that purpose, with such confidence and cheerfullnesse, that I was faine to divert my speach another way, and wished him not to flatter himselfe, for this extraordinary boldnesse, I was afrayd, came from some false ground: if it sprong from the assurance he had of the love and favour of God, of the hope of his salvation by Christ, and his owne innocency, as he pleaded, I sayd he was an happy man, but if it were out of an humour of vainglory or carelessnesse or contempt of death, or senslessnesse of his owne estate, he were much to be lamented &c. For I told him, that heathen men had sett as litle by their lives as he could doe, and seemed to dye as bravely. He answered, that he was perswaded, that no man, that knew God and feared him, could dye with cheerefullnesse and courage, except he were assured of the love and favour of God unto him; that other men might make shewes outwardly, but they felt no joy within: with much more to that effect, very christianly, so that he satisfyed me then, as I thinke he did all his spectators att his death. After he had received the communion in the morning, he was very cheerfull and merry, and hoped to perswade the world, that he dyed an innocent man, as he sayd; thereat, I told him, that he should doe well to advise what he sayd, men in these dayes did not dye in that sort innocent, and his

pleading innocency was an oblique taxing of the justice of the realme upon him. He confessed justice had bene done, and by course of law, he must dye, but yet, I should give him leave, he sayd, to stand upon his innocency in the fact; and he thought, both the king, and all that heard his aunsweres, thought verily he was innocent for that matter. I then pressed him, to call to mind what he had done formerly, and though perhaps in that particular, for which he was condemned, he was cleare, yet for some other matter, it might be, he was guilty; and now the hand of God had found him out, and therefore he should acknowledge the justice of God in itt, though att the hands of men he had but hard measure: and here I putt him in mind of the death of my lord of Essex, how it was generally reported, that he was a great instrument of his death, which if his hert did charge him with, he should hertily repent, and aske God forgivenesse: to which he made aunswere, as is in the former relation, and sayd moreover, that my lord of Essex was fetcht of by a trick, which he privately told me of. He was very cheerefull that morning he dyed, eate his breakefast hertily, and tooke tobacco, and made no more of his death, then if he had bene to take a journey, and left a great impression in the minds of those that beheld him, in so much that sir Lewise Stukely and the French man grow very odious. This was the newes a weeke since: but now it is blowen over, and he allmost forgotten. The newes which I heare is, that the promoter of Kowel hath gotten his charges of sir Thomas Brookes, and sir Thomas much cheeled, and hath entred into bond of a 100*l.* to the promoter, never to molest or trouble him againe, and the promoter is as cranke and triumpheth in his victory very much, and sir Thomas glad he hath escaped so. I once saw Henry Tremill, and that is all. What is become of Robin Dallison, I cannot tell, but he was here in great expectation of a place, which I thinke now he is fallen from; for all officers here are much younger then himselfe. The businesse of the treasurer sleepeth; and that of my lord of Exceter and sir Thomas Lake will not be called upon this terme.

There be, as I heare, 17000 sheets of paper in that booke, which, upon ordinary account, cometh to eight hundred and fifty pound, the very writing. The king and prince, thankes be to God, are very well. The queene is still at Hampton-court, and crazy they say. Yow will remember me kindly to my lady and your mother, and if yow have any imploiment for me here, yow shall find me allwayes

Att your service

ROBERT TOUNSON.

Westminst. Coll.
Novemb. 9. 1618.

Superscribed, *To the right worshipfull my very loving frend sir John Isham, att his howse in Langport in Northamptonshire*
*This.*

---

*Sir Lewise Stukclye's Appollogie writte with his owne hand.*

[MS. Ashmole 830. 20.]

I KNOW full well that all actions of men, of whatsoeuer condition, in these censurious tymes shal be scanned, as alredy I am informed mine haue bine in the execution of my souuerains late commands: euen since yesterday that I parformed the same, committinge sir Walter Rawligh, and some of his adherants and instruments to his intended scape from out of my custody to the Tower. I haue bine accused for conspiracy and falshood towards him, I therefore held it bee hooffull for me to recollect the passages of my imployment where with I desier to satisfy all good and honest men.

By a letter bearing date the 12th of June from the right honorable the lord high admirall of England I had the first commaundment giuen me for the apprihention of sir Walter Rawligh knight whose shippe formerly had bine by Thom. Hardinge, a publick notary and my deputy at Plimoth, by my commaund arrested.

After which I receaued a letter from sir Robert Naunton principal secretary to his majeste where in was incerted a commaund from the kings majeste that I should bringe him to appeare before the lords.

That I strained my commission to all the libertie I could for his aduantage both in giuinge him time and trust; himselfe hath often acknowledged: and it doth, if he would do otherwise, appeare by the next letter which I receaved from the lordes, of the 23d of July last, rebukinge me of delaies and vaine excuses.

That at Salsbury I did him all the best offices I could, I referre me to his owne conscience and to the testimony of those of the lords that I feare me I halfe weried with sollisitinge ther lordshipps aboue good manners for the accomplishment of all his desiers. Nor had he euer an ill retorne or negative aunswere to any request I made in his behalfe.

Namly to both his sutes the one by Mr. Secritary presented to his majestie the other by Mr. Viz Chamberline, the one for his retiringe to his brothers house neer Salsbury to reccuer helth, the other for proceedinge onne towards London to his house in Brodstreete, and for leaue to remaine there in my custody for 5 daies.

I omitt to repeate ouer the trauell, paines, and care I had in all his sicknesse, and I appeale to his conscience, and the testimony of his owne people, whither I declared my selfe freindly and louingly or not: nay I protest I could not haue pittied those afflictions more then I did had they befallen the sonne of my owne bodie, or my selfe.

At Andeuor I first discouered he had a designe a hatchinge, and that he had not omitted to make use as he thought to aduantage of all his supposed sufferings and Mr. Viz Chamberline's pittie who gat him from his majesty leaue to haue 5 daies liberty to execute what he had plotted for his escape in stead of his pretentions.

A perfect light whereof I haue not yet, but credable information I had, as the euent hath manifested.

Sure I am so easie a man, and so good natured did he find me, as hee assaid to allure me to giue condicent to his

escape. Now beganne I to disauow his iudgment, (I confesse) and to disapprooue his affection to me.

But when I considered how grosse an abuse of his majesty's princly goodnesse was heer intended; forming his excellent clemency to the imadge of that tirany, that he hath bine acused for in the practisse of his life, what tyme he was of greatnesse with her majestie of worthy memory; I could not but abhorre his hipocrisie; which the better to vnmaske, I seemed to condisent vnto him after I was out of hope by comfortable messadges from his honorable good freinde, or by perswation to rectifie his affection and iudgment, which feare had ouer strongly infatuated in him to his ruine: beetweene Stanes and London I added to the knowlidge of his purpose a certain notion of his discouered practisse, wher withall his majestie beinge informed: I had shortly after the iniunction of his majestie to secretie, and commission to do as I haue done: then was it grone the secret of the kinge, which to reuail or disobay had bine in me treasonous trechery.

Nor can ther be given any reason, why mine affection to any man should be other then subordinate and not contrary to my publick dutie: nor were his benefittes any thinge euer to me, much lesse his desert, or the opportunitie of his favour such as could induce any man that hath the conscience to loue him selfe to partake with his ruine.

*A brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles: with the taking away the Lands and Castles of Sherburn in Dorset from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance.*

To the Right Honourable the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament; the humble Petition of Carew Ralegh, esq. only son of sir Walter Ralegh, late deceased,

Humbly sheweth,

" THAT whereas your petitioner conceiveth, that his late " father, sir Walter Ralegh, was most unjustly and illegally " condemned and executed; and his lands and castle of " Sherburn wrongfully taken away from him and his, as " may more at large appear by this brief narrative here- " unto annexed; the particulars whereof your petitioner " is, upon due proofs, ready to make good: your petitioner " therefore, humbly submitting to the great justice and in- " tegrity of this house, (which is no way more manifested, " than by relieving the oppressed,) humbly craveth, that he " may receive such satisfaction for these his great oppres- " sions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this " honourable house shall seem fit.

" And your petitioner shall humbly pray, &c."

When king James came into England, he found sir Walter Ralegh (by favour of his late mistress queen Elizabeth) lord warden of the stannaries, lord lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwall, captain of the guard, and governor of the Isle of Jersey; with a large possession of lands, both in England and Ireland. The king for some weeks used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents, which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks. But finding him (as he said himself) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs and great ac-

tions, he feared lest he should engage him in a war, a thing most hated, and contrary to the king's nature; wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye, especially after he had presented him with a book, wherein with great animosity he opposed the peace with Spain, then in treaty, persuading the king rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that prince then in hand; promising, and that with great probability, within few years, to reduce the West Indies to his obedience. But sir Walter Ralegh's enemies, soon discovering the king's humour, resolved at once to rid the king of this doubt and trouble, and to enrich themselves with the lands and offices of sir Walter Ralegh. Wherefore they plotted to accuse him, and the lord Cobham, a simple, passionate man, but of a very noble birth and great possessions, of high treason. The particulars of their accusation I am utterly ignorant of, and I think all men, both then and now living; only I find in general terms they were accused for plotting with the Spaniard, to bring in a foreign army, and proclaim the infanta of Spain queen of England; but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as impossible. However, sir Walter Ralegh was condemned without any witness brought in against him; and the lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to sir Walter Ralegh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason, or treasonable actions, either against king or state, to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr. Carew Ralegh, son of sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower; but they found his castle of Sherburn, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children, so that he could not forfeit it, but during his own life. And the king, finding in himself the iniquity of sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but still kept him close prisoner; seven years after his imprisonment, he enjoyed Sherburn, at which time it fell out, that one Mr. Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in

great favour with the king; and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruins of sir Walter Ralegh. Whereupon they called the conveyance of Sherburn in question in the exchequer chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherburn forfeited to the crown; a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner and a king of England.

Thus was Sherburn given to sir Robert Car, (after earl of Somerset;) the lady Ralegh[a] with her children humbly and earnestly petitioning the king for compassion on her and her's, could obtain no other answer from him, but that he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car. She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees, with her hands heaved up to heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justness of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongfully exposed her and her poor children to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned. But to proceed: prince Henry, hearing the king had given Sherburn to sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherburn upon him, alleging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but, indeed, with an intention to give it back to sir Walter Ralegh, whom he much esteemed.

The king, who was unwilling to refuse any of that prince's desires, (for indeed they were most commonly delivered in such language as sounded rather like a demand than an entreaty,) granted his request; and to satisfy his favourite, gave him twenty-five thousand pounds in money, so far was

[a] She was the only daughter of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was arraigned in queen Mary's time, and acquitted. See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

the king or crown from gaining by this purchase. But that excellent prince, within a few months, was taken away, how and by what means is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death the king gave Sherburn again to sir Robert Car, who not many years after, by the name of earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then sir John Digby, now earl of Bristol, begged Sherburn of the king, and had it. Sir Walter Ralegh, being of a vigorous constitution and perfect health, had now worn out sixteen years' imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies; so that new persons and new interests now springing up in court, he found means to obtain his liberty, but upon condition to go a voyage to Guiana, in discovery of a gold mine; that unhappy voyage is well known, almost to all men, and how he was betrayed from the very beginning, his letters and designs being discovered to Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, whereby he found such opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of St. Thoma, yet he lost his eldest son in that service, and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

Immediately upon his return home he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondamore, and some others, who could not think their estates safe while his head was upon his shoulders, the king resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation sixteen years past, being not able to take away his life for any new action; and, though he had given him a commission under the broad seal to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, which was conceived by the best lawyers a full pardon for any offence committed before that time, without any further trouble of the law, cut off his head.

Here justice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the same person, upon one and the same condemnation, for things contradictory; for sir Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what

they please, please not him they should, God; and, having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them. To proceed: Mr. Carew Ralegh, only son of sir Walter, being at this time a youth of about thirteen, bred at Oxford, after five years came to court; and, by the favour of the right honourable William earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes; but the king, not liking his countenance, said he appeared to him like the ghost of his father, whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did until the death of king James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, addressed himself to them by petition to be restored in blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such lands as might come unto him either as heir to his father, or any other way; but, his petition having been twice read in the lords' house, king Charles sent sir James Fullerton (then of the bedchamber) unto Mr. Ralegh, to command him to come unto him; and, being brought into the king's chamber by the said sir James, the king, after using him with great civility, notwithstanding told him plainly, that, when he was prince, he had promised the earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherburn, against the heirs of sir Walter Ralegh, whereupon the earl had given him, then prince, ten thousand pounds, that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; that therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherburn, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr. Ralegh urged the justness of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the king was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the king's will; as, the impossibility of contesting with kingly power, the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniences, that it was not possible without it to possess

or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloak were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. Ralegh, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, and prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will.

Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherburn to the earl of Bristol; and, in show of some kind of recompense, four hundred pounds a year pension, during his life, granted to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her during life, in lieu of jointure.

Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candour, (as the nature of the case will permit,) related the pressures, force, and injustice committed upon a poor oppresssed, though not undeserving [b] family, and have forborne to specify the names of those who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalize particular, and perchance noble, families.

Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the commons of England, now represented in parliament, desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will right me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having in my own person (though bred at court) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and for the future being resolved to range myself under the banner of the commons of England; and, so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me.

[b] Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him forty thousand pounds. He was the first of all the English that discovered Guiana, in the West Indies. He took the islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest carack that ever came into England: another ship likewise, laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal.

## *Alphabetical Index to Ralegh's Poems.*


| | |
|---|---|
| As you came from the holy land. | P. 733 |
| As at noon Dulcina rested. | 720 |
| Calling to mind mine eye went long about. | 731 |
| Come live with me and be my love. | 707 |
| Come live with me and be my dear. | 709 |
| Coridon, arise my Coridon. | 699 |
| Court's scorn, state's disgracing. | 735 |
| Court's commender, state's maintainer. | *ibid.* |
| Cowards fear to die, but courage stout. | 729 |
| Even such is time, that takes on trust. | *ibid.* |
| Fain would I but I dare not. | 732 |
| Give me my scallop shell of quiet. | 723 |
| Go, soul, the body's guest. | 725 |
| Here lies Hobinall our pastor while ere. | 735 |
| Her face, her tongue, her wit. | 730 |
| Hey, down a down, did Dian sing. | 705 |
| If all the world and love were young. | 708 |
| If love be life, I long to die. | 699 |
| In Pescod time, when hound to horn. | 701 |
| Like desert woods with darksome shades obscured. | 714 |
| Like truthless dreams, so are my joys expir'd. | 730 |
| Man's life's a tragedy, his mother's womb. | 704 |
| Many desire, but few or none deserve. | 731 |
| Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay. | 718 |
| My wanton Muse, that whilom wont to sing. | 711 |
| Now have I learn'd, with much ado at last. | 719 |
| Passions are likened best to floods and streams. | 716 |
| Prais'd be Diana's fair and harmless light. | *ibid.* |
| Quivering fears, heart-tearing cares | 697 |
| Rise, O my soul, with thy desires to heaven. | 707 |
| Shall I, like a hermit, dwell. | 722 |
| Shepherd, what's love, I pray thee tell. | 706 |
| Sweet violets, Love's paradise, that spread. | 713 |
| Sweet were the sauce would please each kind of taste. | *ibid.* |
| The fairest pearls that northern seas do breed. | 715 |
| The frozen snake oppress'd with heaped snow. | 719 |
| Th' offence of the stomach, with the word of disgrace. | 736 |
| The praise of meaner wits this work like profit brings. | 718 |
| The word of denial, and the letter of fifty. | 736 |
| Water thy plants with grace divine. | 732 |


THE END.

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 005 466 219

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

28D JUN 20 1994
JUN 28 1994
28D JUL 26 1994
JUL 29 1994
AUG 26 1994
SEP 07 1994